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Christian Raffensperger is Professor of History at the Wittenberg University. His books include *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' and the Medieval World* (Harvard University Press, 2012), *The Kingdom of Rus'* (ARC Humanities Press, 2017) and *Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe* (Lexington Books, 2018). The overarching focus of his scholarship is to demonstrate the interconnectivity of medieval Europe, especially inclusive of connections between Eastern Europe (broadly construed) and the rest of the medieval European world; a key aspect of which is examining how the modern construct of medieval Europe was made in the first place. These connections can also be seen in his digital humanities projects such as Russian Genealogy Project, hosted by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (gis.huri.harvard.edu/rusgen). His current project is a study of medieval political culture in medieval Europe.

Stefan Rohdewald is Professor of East and South-East European History at the University of Leipzig, after teaching Southeast European History for several years at the University of

Giessen. He is the author of *Götter der Nationen. Religiöse Erinnerungsfiguren in Serbien, Bulgarien und Makedonien bis 1944* (Böhlau, 2014) and the co-editor of *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff* (Akademie Verlag/De Gruyter, 2013). Rohdewald chairs the priority program *Transottomanica: Eastern European-Ottoman-Persian Mobility Dynamics (SPP 1981)*, financed by the German Research Foundation (www.transottomanica.de). His next book is an expanded, English version of his 2014 monograph and will be published by Brill under the title *Sacralizing the Nation Through Remembrance of Medieval Religious Figures in Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia*.

Maria Alessia Rossi, who earned her Ph.D. in Art History in 2017 from the Courtauld Institute of Art, is an Art History Specialist for the Index of Medieval Art at Princeton University. Her main research interests include medieval monumental art in the Byzantine and Slavic cultural spheres, cross-cultural contacts between the Eastern and Western Christian world, and the role of miracles in text and image. She co-edited *Late Byzantium Reconsidered: The Arts of the Palaiologan Era in the Mediterranean* (Routledge, 2019) and *Byzantium in Eastern European Visual Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Brill, 2020). Rossi is the cofounder of the initiative *North of Byzantium* (NoB), the digital platform *Mapping Eastern Europe* (https://mappingeasterneurope.princeton.edu), and the co-editor of the Trivent book series "Eastern European Visual Culture and Byzantium (13th -17th c.)." Currently, she works on a monograph exploring the role of Christ's miracles in the monumental art of late Byzantium.

Sébastien Rossignol is Associate Professor of medieval European history at Memorial University, Newfoundland and Labrador. His research covers various subjects including early urbanization in Central Europe and the communication processes involved in the use of charters in 13th-century Silesia and Pomerania. He is the co-editor of *Władza a struktury społeczne w średniowieczu na wschód od Łaby. Materiały konferencyjne* (Wrocław/Göttingen, 2008), *Mittelalterliche Eliten und Kulturtransfer östlich der Elbe. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Archäologie und Geschichte im mittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (Göttingen, 2009), Potestas et communitas. *Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Wesen und Darstellung von Herrschaftsverhältnissen im Mittelalter östlich der Elbe* (Warsaw/Wrocław, 2010), *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin* (Montréal, 2010), and *Landscapes and Societies in Medieval Europe East of the Elbe. Interactions Between Environmental Settings and Cultural Transformations* (Toronto, 2013). In addition, Rossignol has written several articles examining the contributions of women to the dissemination of literacy and written culture in medieval Central Europe.

Aleksei S. Shchavelev is a researcher at the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. He is the author of *Slavianskie legendy o pervykh kniaz'iakh: Sravnitel'no-istoricheskoe issledovanie modelei vlasti u slovian* (Moscow, 2007) and *Khronotop derzhavy Rurikovichei (911–987)* (Moscow, 2020), as well as several articles on historical writing (especially *origo gentis* legends) and political thought in medieval Rus', Bulgaria, Bohemia, Poland, Byzantium and Iceland. His research also focuses on problems of state formation in Rus', its interrelations with Byzantium and other surrounding peoples, the chronology and geography of the events taking place in Eastern Europe during the 9th to 11th centuries.

Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski is Professor of Medieval History at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He is the author of a trilogy: *Kościół w Polsce za Mieszka I i Bolesława Chrobrego. Rozważania nad granicami poznania historycznego* (Poznań, 2011), *Początki Kościoła w*

Polsce. Wybrane problemy (Poznań, 2012), *Wczesnopiastowska architektura sakralna (jako źródło historyczne do dziejów Kościoła w Polsce)* (Poznań, 2012). His most recent book is *Religie dawynch Słowian. Przewodnik dla zdezorientowanych* (Poznań, 2018). He has also co-edited a collection of studies entitled *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi* (Warsaw, 2006).

Ivo Štefan is Assistant Professor in the Department of Archeology of the Charles University in Prague. He is the author of several dozen studies devoted mainly to the Christianization and the rise of early medieval states in Central Europe. He is the co-editor of *Kostel Panny Marie na Pražském hradě. Dialog nad počátky křesťanství v Čechách* (Prague, 2018) and the author of *Zrození hřbitova. Počátky farní organizace v českých zemích*, to be published this year by the Karolinum publishing house in Prague. Štefan is the chief editor of *Studia mediaevalia Pragensia*.

Boris Stojkovski earned his Ph.D. in History from the University of Novi Sad (2014) and is now Assistant Professor of Medieval History in the Faculty of Philosophy of that same university. His research focuses on Arab and Ottoman history and its ties to Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages. He is the editor of *Voyages and Travel Accounts in Historiography and Literature* (Budapest/Novi Sad, 2020), a book to which he contributed his own a study on Southern Hungary and Serbia in al-Idrisi's *Geography*. He has also written several articles on al-Idrisi and Abu-Hamid al-Garnati. Currently, he is a part of an interdisciplinary research project on synagogues and Jewish heritage in Vojvodina, for which he prepares a study on the earliest possible mentions of Jews in Southern Hungary during the Middle Ages.

Alice Isabella Sullivan, who earned her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan (2017), is a historian of medieval art, architecture, and visual culture, specializing in the artistic and architectural production of Eastern Europe and the Byzantine-Slavic cultural spheres. She has written on topics related to monumental architecture with a focus on cross-cultural interactions, and the coordination between architecture, decoration, ritual and other ephemeral facets of medieval sacred spaces. She is the author of award-winning articles in *The Art Bulletin* (2017) and *Speculum* (2019), and the co-author of a study published in *Gesta* (2021). She is co-editor of *Byzantium in Eastern European Visual Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Brill, 2020) and co-founder of *North of Byzantium* and *Mapping Eastern Europe*—two initiatives that explore the rich history, art and culture of the northern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in Eastern Europe during the medieval and early modern periods.

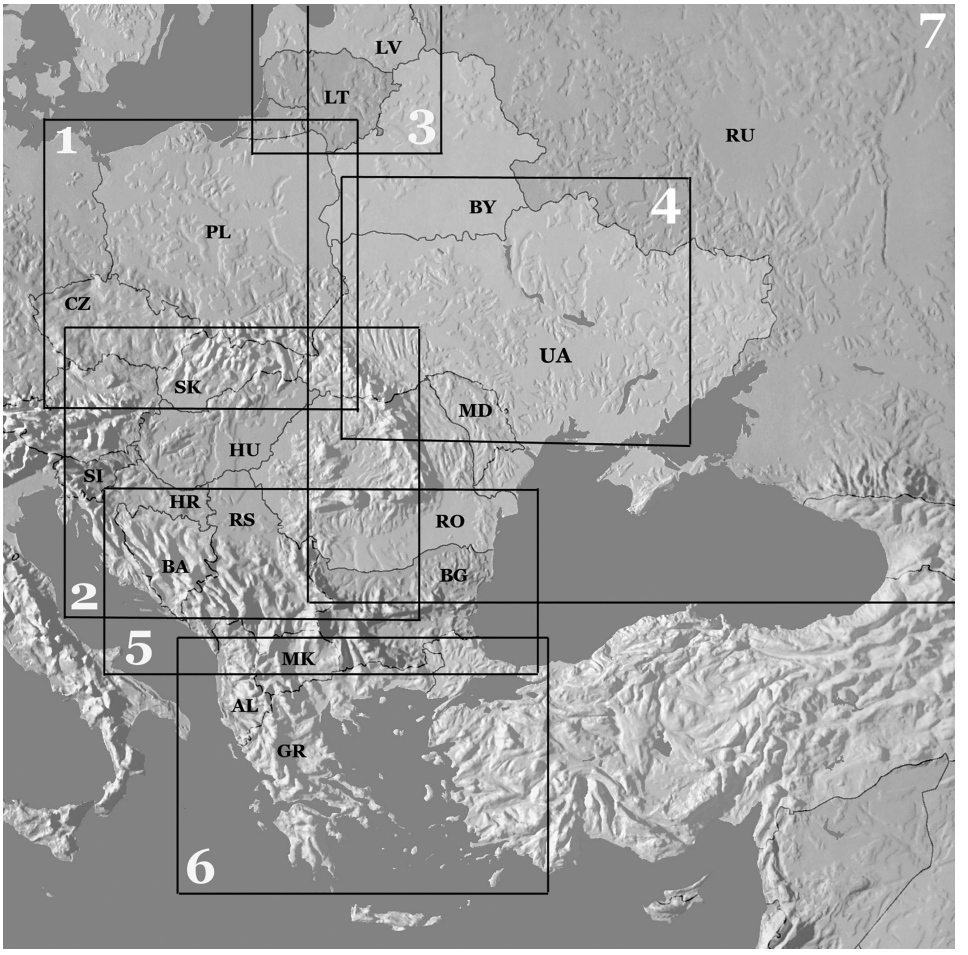
Cameron Sutt is Professor of History at Austin Peay State University. His book, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context* (Brill, 2015), examined slavery in the Hungarian kingdom. He has published on various aspects of medieval Hungarian society including inheritance practices, land-use strategies and estate management, and the property and agency of women.

Aleksandar Uzelac is senior research associate at the Institute of History in Belgrade. He is the author of *Pod senkom psa. Tatari i južnoslovenske zemlje u drogoj polovini XIII veka* (Belgrade, 2015) and *Krstaši i Srbi (XI–XII vek)* (Belgrade, 2018). He dealt with the impact of the early crusades on Southeastern Europe and the history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in several articles published in *Istorijski časopis*, the *Golden Horde Review*, *Oğuz-Türkmen Araştırmaları Dergisi* and *Revista de istorie militară*.

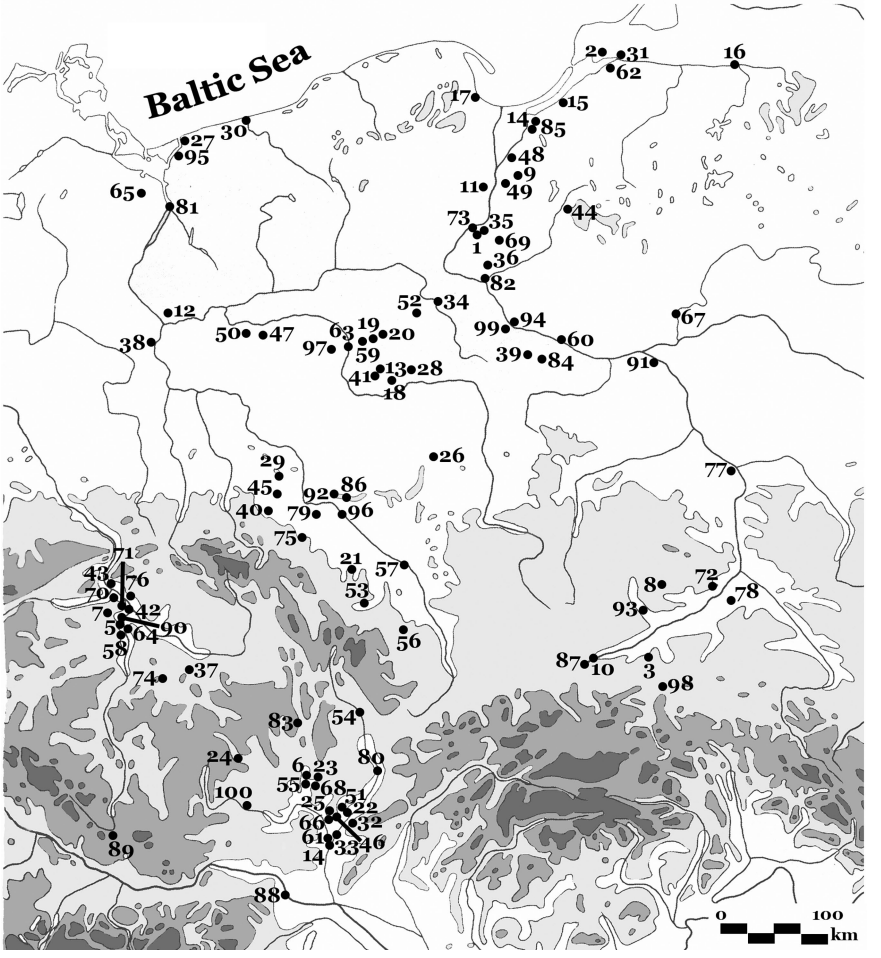
Jan Mikołaj Wolski is Assistant Professor of History at the Waldemar Ceran Research Center at the University of Łódź. He specializes in the spiritual and literary culture of the medieval Slavs. He is the author of *Kultura monastyczna w późnośredniowiecznej Bułgarii (Łódź, 2017)* and co-editor of *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie (Łódź, 2017)*. Another collection of study co-edited by Wolski will be published in Greece this year.

Dušan Zupka is Assistant Professor of History in the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University in Bratislava. He is the author of *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty, 1000–1301* (Brill, 2016) and *Meč a kríž. Vojna a náboženstvo v stredovekej strednej Európe 10.-12. storočie* (Bratislava, 2020). Zupka is co-editor of *Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary and Poland)*, to be published this year by Brill. His research focuses on power, rulership and communication in medieval East Central Europe. Since 2017, he is co-editor of the Brill series "East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450."

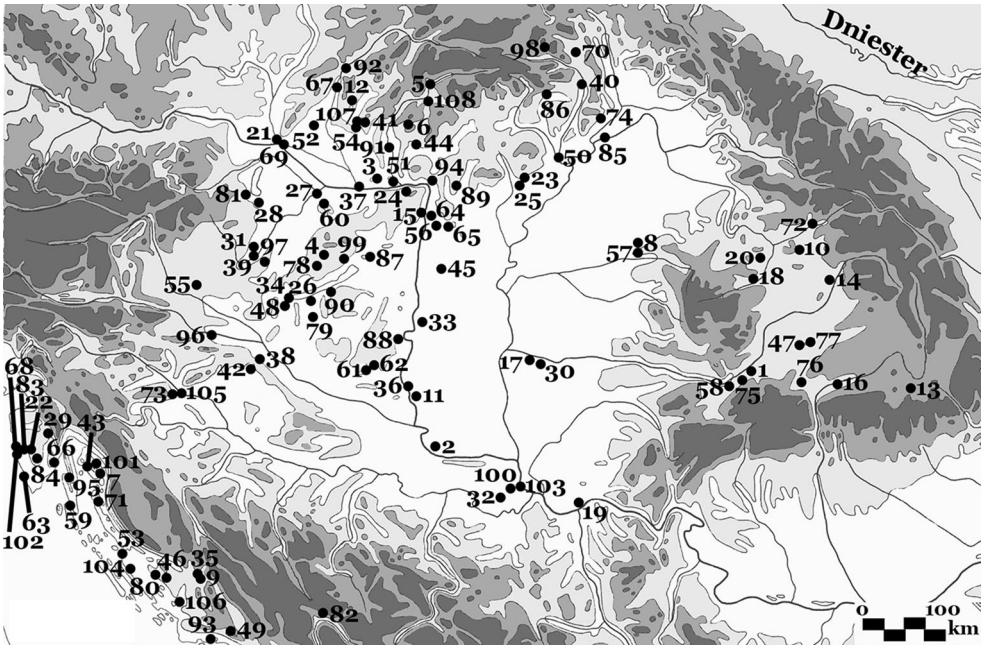
MAPS



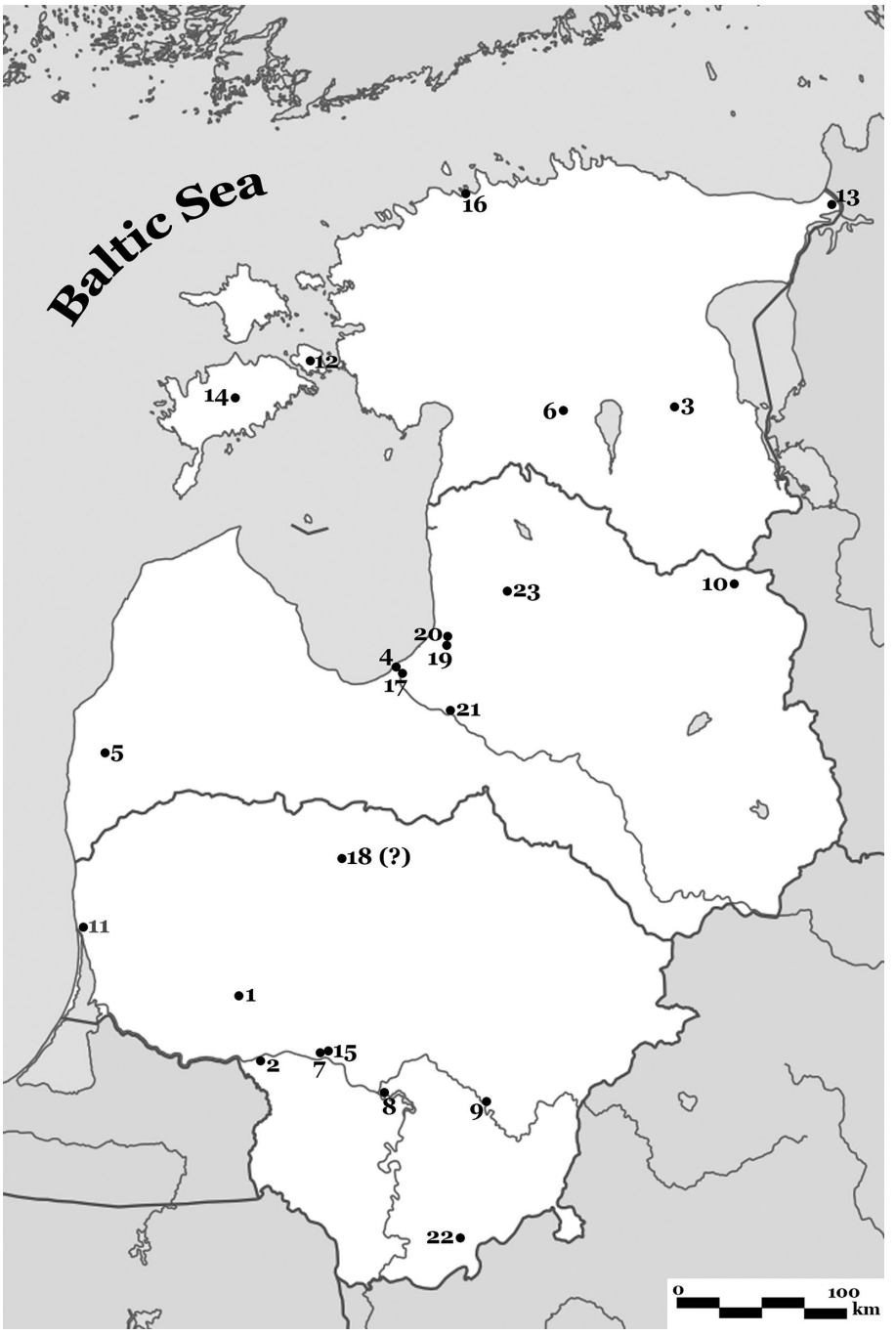
Map 1 The landscape and political map of Eastern Europe. Country abbreviations: AL – Albania; BA – Bosnia-Herzegovina; BG – Bulgaria; BY – Belarus; CZ – Czech Republic; HR – Croatia; HU – Hungary; LT – Lithuania; LV – Latvia; MD – Moldova; ME – Montenegro; MK – Macedonia; PL – Poland; R) – Romania; RS – Serbia; RU – Russia; SI – Slovenia; SK – Slovakia; UA – Ukraine. The numbers refer to the following detail maps



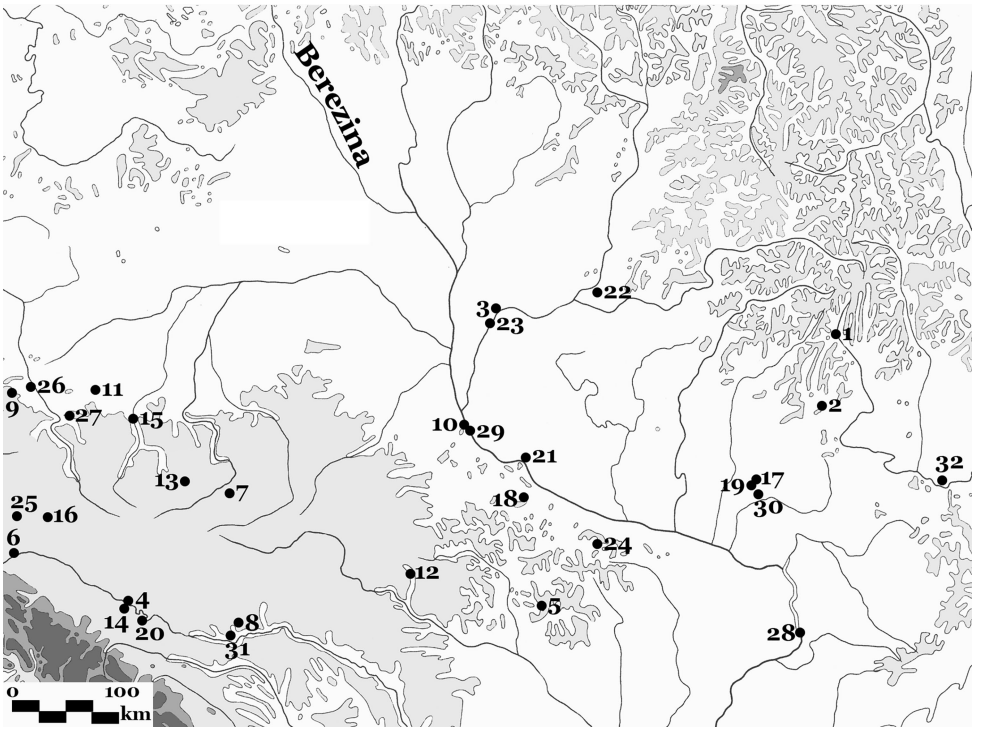
Detail map 1 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Althaus; 2 – Balga; 3 – Bochnia; 4 – Břeclav; 5 – Břevnov; 6 – Brno; 7 – Budeč; 8 – Chmielnik; 9 – Christburg; 10 – Cracow; 11 – Czerwińsk; 12 – Dębno; 13 – Dzierżnica; 14 – Elbing; 15 – Frauenburg; 16 – Georgenburg; 17 – Gdańsk; 18 – Giecz; 19 – Gniezno; 20 – Grzybowo; 21 – Henryków; 22 – Hodonín; 23 – Holubice; 24 – Jihlava; 25 – Josefov; 26 – Kalisz; 27 – Kamień Pomorski; 28 – Kąpiel; 29 – Kliszów; 30 – Kołobrzeg; 31 – Königsberg; 32 – Kopčany; 33 – Kostice; 34 – Kruszwica; 35 – Kulm (Chełmno); 36 – Kulmsee; 37 – Kutná Hora; 38 – Lebus (Lubusz); 39 – Łęczyca; 40 – Legnica; 41 – Łekno; 42 – Levý Hradec; 43 – Litoměřice; 44 – Löbau; 45 – Lubin; 46 – Lužice; 47 – Lwówek; 48 – Marienburg (Malbork); 49 – Marienwerder; 50 – Międzyrzecz; 51 – Mikulčice; 52 – Mogilno; 53 – Nysa; 54 – Olomouc; 55 – Opatovice; 56 – Opava; 57 – Opole; 58 – Ostrov; 59 – Ostrów Lednicki; 60 – Płock; 61- Pohansko; 62 – Pokarwis; 63 – Poznań; 64 – Prague; 65 – Prenzlau; 66 – Prušánky; 67 – Pułtusk; 68 – Rajhrad; 69 – Rehden; 70 – Říp Mountain; 71 – Roztoky; 72 – Sandomierz; 73 – Sartowitz; 74 – Sázava; 75 – Schweidintz; 76 – Sedlec; 77 – Sieciechów; 78 – Sokolniki; 79 – Środa; 80 – Staré Město (Uherské Hradiště); 81 – Stettin (Szczecin); 82 – Thorn (Toruń); 83 – Tišnov; 84 – Tum; 85 – Truso; 86 – Trzebnica; 87 – Tyniec; 88 -Vienna; 89 – Višši Brod; 90 – Vyšehrad; 91 – Warsaw; 92 – Węgrzynów; 93 – Wiślica; 94 – Włoclawek; 95 – Wolin; 96 – Wrocław; 97 – Zalesie; 98 – Zawada Lanckorońska; 99 – Zgłowiączka; 100 – Złotoryja; Znojmo



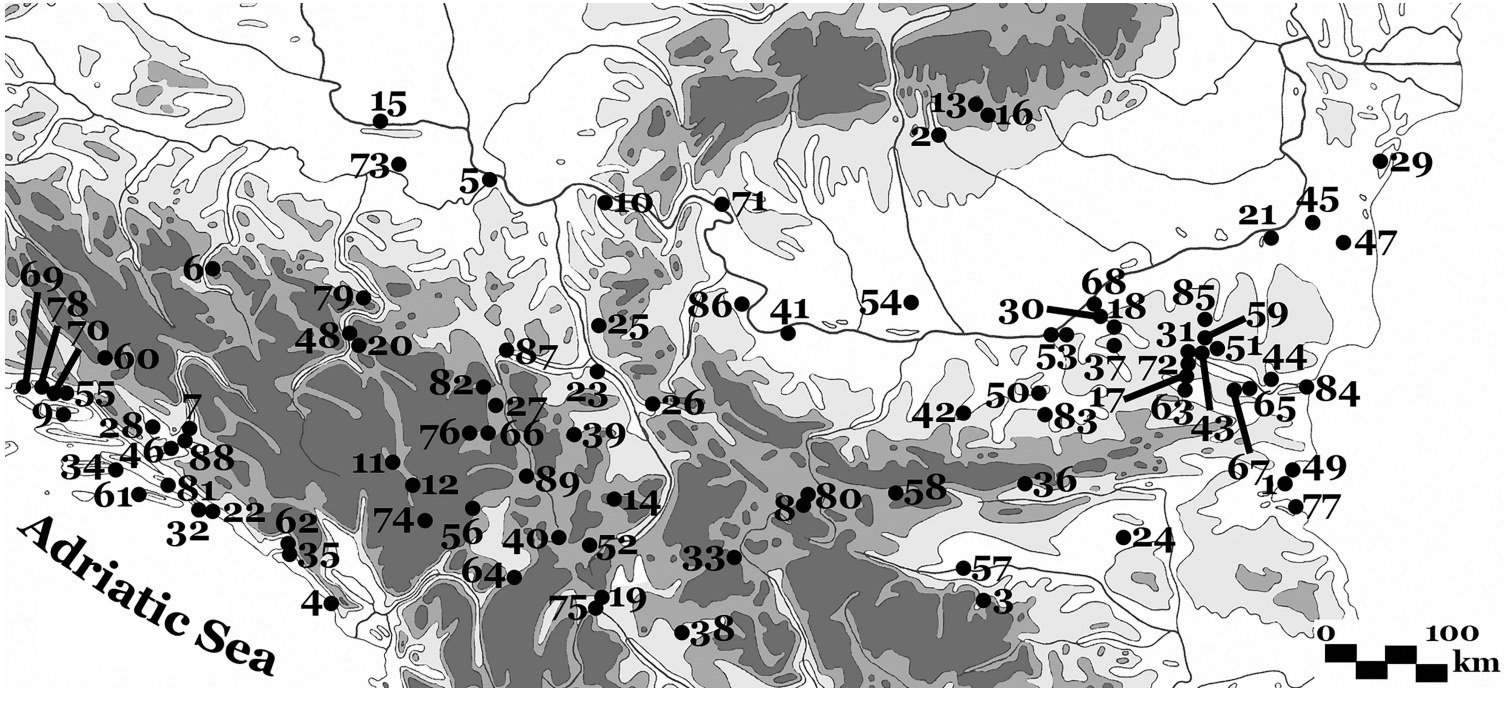
Detail map 2 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Alba Iulia; 2 – Bač; 3 – Bajč; 4 – Bakonybél; 5 – Banská Bystrica; 6 – Banská Štiavnica; 7 – Baška; 8 – Biharea (Bihar); 9 – Biskupija; 10 – Bistriţa; 11 – Bodrog; 12 – Bojná; 13 – Brassó (Braşov); 14 – Breaza; 15 – Buda; 16 – Cârţa; 17 – Cenad (Csanád); 18 – Cluj; 19 – Cuvin; 20 – Dăbâca; 21 – Devín; 22 – Dvigrad (Kanfanar); 23 – Eger; 24 – Esztergom; 25 – Feldebrő; 26 – Fonyód; 27 – Győr; 28 – Hidegség; 29 – Hum; 30 – Igriş; 31 – Ják; 32 – Jarak; 33 – Kalocsa; 34 – Keszthely; 35 – Knin; 36 – Kölked; 37 – Komárno; 38 – Koprivnica; 39 – Körmend; 40 – Košice; 41 – Kostoľany pod Tribečom; 42 – Križevci; 43 – Krk; 44 – Krupina; 45 – Kunbábony; 46 – Lepuri; 47 – Mediaş; 48 – Mosaburc (Zalavár); 49 – Muč Gornji; 50 – Muhi; 51 – Mužla; 52 – Nagyszombat (Trnava); 53 – Nin; 54 – Nitra (Nyitra); 55 – Nova Tabla; 56 – Ócsa; 57 – Oradea; 58 – Orăştie; 59 – Osor; 60 – Pannonhalma; 61 – Pécs; 62 – Pécsvárad; 63 – Peroj; 64 – Pest; 65 – Pilis; 66 – Plomin; 67 – Pobedim; 68 – Poreč; 69 – Pozsony (Bratislava); 70 – Prešov; 71 – Rab; 72 – Rodna; 73 – Samobor; 74 – Sárospatak; 75 – Sebeş; 76 – Sibiu; 77 – Sighişoara; 78 – Somlóvásárhely; 79 – Somogyvár; 80 – Šopot; 81 – Sopron; 82 – Sultići; 83 – Sveti Lovreč; 84 – Svetvinčenat; 85 – Szabolcs; 86 – Szalonna; 87 – Székesfehérvár; 88 – Szekszárd; 89 – Szirák; 90 – Szólád; 91 – Tekov; 92 – Trencsén (Trenčin); 93 – Trogir; 94 – Vác; 95 – Valun; 96 – Varaždin; 97 – Vasvár; 98 – Veľka Lomnica; 99 – Veszprém; 100 – Vinkovci; 101 – Vrbnik; 102 – Vrsar; 103 – Vukovar; 104 – Zadar; 105 – Zagreb; 106 – Ždrapanj; 107 – Zobor; 108 – Zvolen



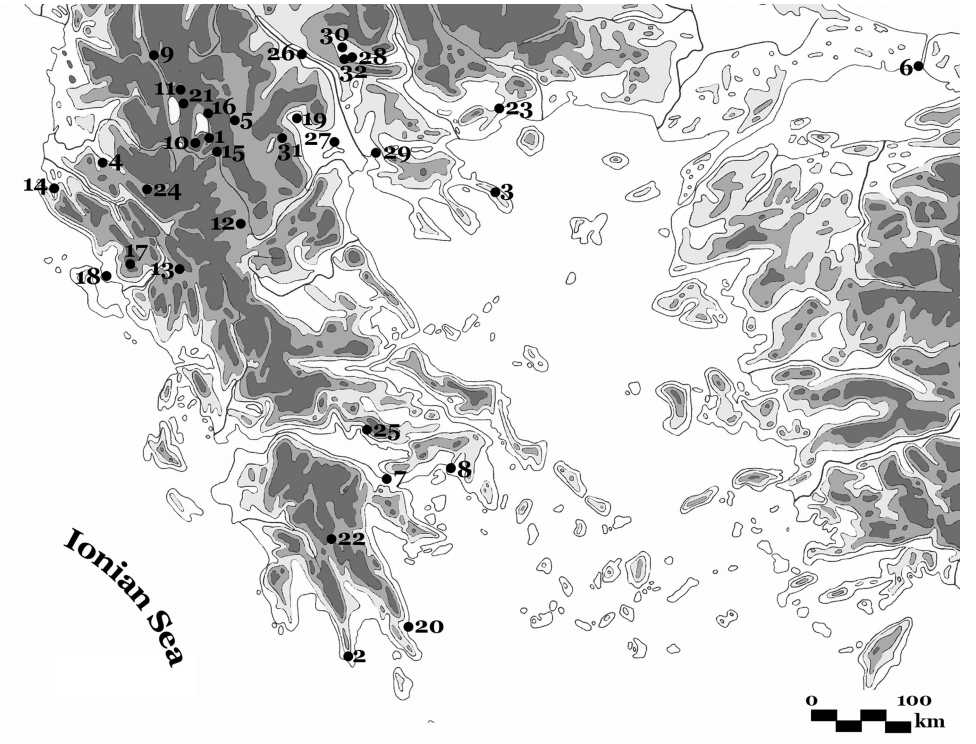
Detail map 3 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Aukaimis; 2 – Bisen; 3 – Dorpat; 4 – Dünemünde; 5 – Durben; 6 – Fellin; 7 – Junigeda; 8 – Kaunas; 9 – Kernavė; 10 – Marienburg; 11 – Memel; 12 – Moon; 13 – Narva; 14 – Ösel; 15 – Pisten; 16 – Reval; 17 – Riga; 18 – Saule; 19 – Segewold; 20 – Treiden; 21 – Üxküll; 22 – Vilnius; 23 – Wenden



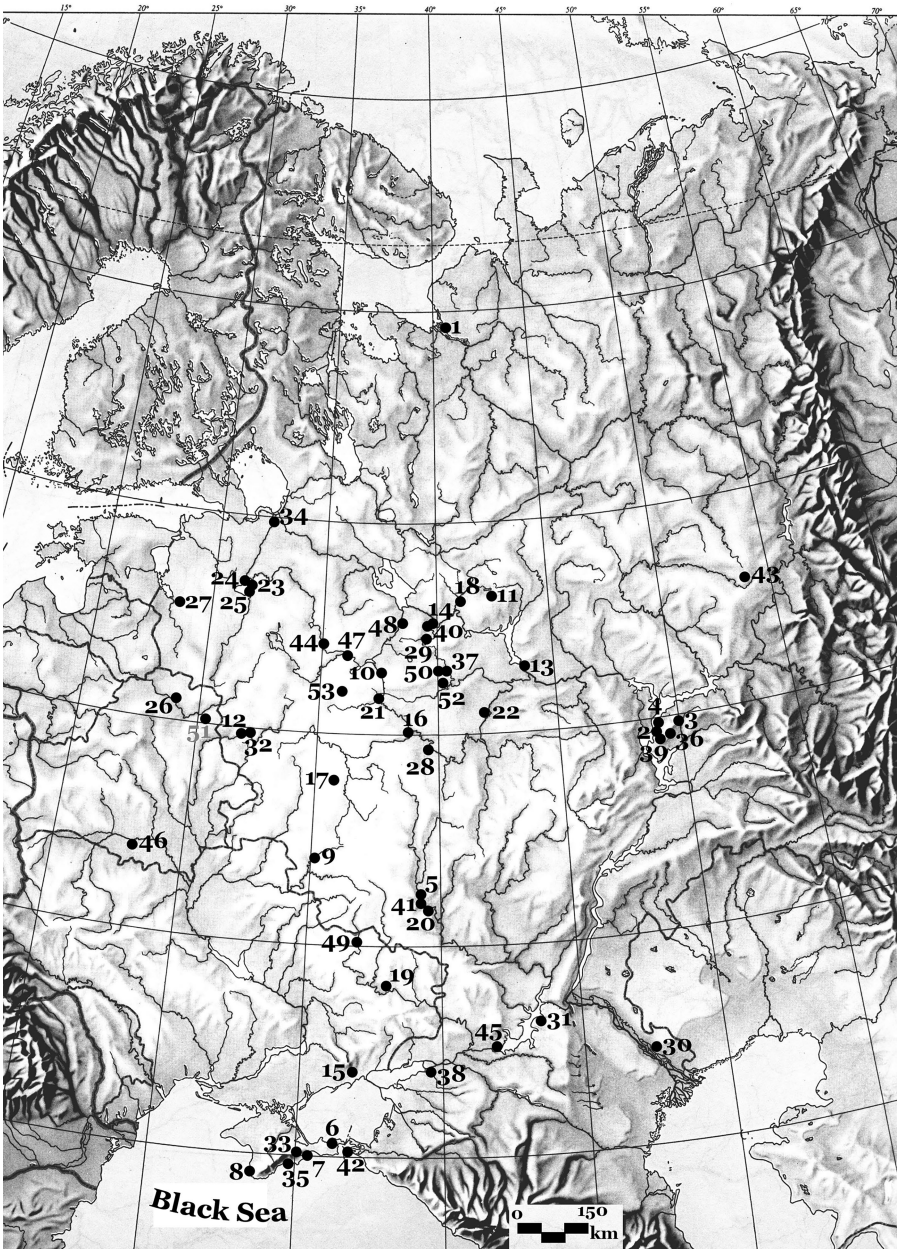
Detail map 4 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Belgorod; 2 – Bezliudovka (Bezliudivka); 3 – Chernihiv (Chernigov); 4 – Halych; 5 – Hlodosy; 6 – Hrabovets'; 7 – Iziaslav; 8 – Kamenets (Kamianets' Podil's'kyi); 9 – Kholm (Chełm); 10 – Kiev; 11 – Kolodiazhne; 12 – Kopiivka; 13 – Kremenets; 14 – Krylos; 15 – Luchesk (Luts'k); 16 – Lwów (L'vigorod); 17 – Malo Pereshchepyne; 18 – Martynivka; 19 – Novi Sanzhary; 20 – Nyzhniv; 21 – Pereiaslavl' (Pereiaslav Khmel'nyts'kyi); 22 – Raihorodok; 23 – Shestovytsia; 24 – Subbotsi; 25 – Sudova Vyshnia; 26 – Ugrovesk; 27 – Vladimir-in-Volhynia (Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi); 28 – Vozensens'ke; 29 – Vydubichi; 30 – Zachepylivka; 31 – Zbruch; 32 – Zlivki



Detail map 5 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Anchialos; 2 – (Curtea de) Argeş; 3 – Bachkovo; 4 – Bar; 5 – Belgrade (Singidunum); 6 – Bilino Polje; 7 – Blagaj; 8 – Boiana; 9 – Brač; 10 – Braničevo; 11 – Brskovo; 12 – Budimlja; 13 – Câmpulung; 14 – Caričin Grad; 15 – Čelarevo; 16 – Cetăţeni; 17 – Chatalar (Khan Krum); 18 – Cherven; 19 – Čučer; 20 – Dabar (Priboj); 21 – Dristra (Dorostolon); 22 – Dubrovnik (Ragusa); 23 – Đunis; 24 – Gledachevo; 25 – Gornji Katun; 26 – Gornji Matejevac; 27 – Gradac; 28 – Humac; 29 – Istria; 30 – Ivanovo; 31 – Kabiiuk; 32 – Koločep; 33 – Kolusha (Kiustendil); 34 – Korčula; 35 – Kotor; 36 – Krăn; 37 – Krepcha; 38 – Krupište; 39 – Kuršumlija; 40 – Lipljan; 41 – Lom; 42 – Lovech; 43 – Madara; 44 – Marcianopolis (Devnia); 45 – Mircea Vodă; 46 – Mogorjelo; 47 – Murfatlar; 48 – Mušići; 49 – Nesebăr (Mesembria); 50 – Nicopolis ad Istrum; 51 – Novi Pazar; 52 – Novo Brdo; 53 – Novgrad; 54 – Obârşia Nouă; 55 – Omiš; 56 – Peć; 57 – Philippopolis (Plovdiv); 58 – Pirdop; 59 – Pliska; 60 – Podgradina; 61 – Polače; 62 – Prčanj; 63 – Preslav; 64 – Prizren; 65 – Provat (Provadiia); 66 – Ras; 67 – Ravna; 68 – Ruse; 69 – Salona (Solin); 70 – Selo; 71 – Severin; 72 – Shumen; 73 – Sirmium; 74 – Sjenica; 75 – Skopje; 76 – Sopoćani; 77 – Sozopol; 78 – Split; 79 – Srebrenica; 80 – Sredets (Serdica); 81 – Ston; 82 – Studenica (Hvostanska); 82 – Svishtov; 83 – (Veliko) Tărnovo; 84 – Varna; 85 – Velino; 86 – Vidin; 87 – Žiča; 88 – Žitomisliči; 89 – Zvečan



Detail map 6 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Agios Germanos; 2 – Ano Boularioi; 3 – Athos; 4 – Ballsh (Glavinitsa); 5 – Bitola; 6 – Constantinople; 7 – Corinth; 8 – Daphni; 9 – Debar; 10 – Devol; 11 – Drembica (Velica); 12 – Grevenon; 13 – Ioannina; 14 – Kanina; 15 – Kastoria (Kostur); 16 – Kurbinovo; 17 – Leshnice e Sipërme; 18 – Malathrea; 19 – Moglena; 20 – Monemvasia; 21 – Ohrid; 22 – Pallandion; 23 – Philippi; 24 – Qafa; 25 – Steiris; 26 – Stobi; 27 – Sthlanitza (Pella); 28 – Strumica; 29 – Thessaloniki; 30 – Veljusa; 31- Vodena; 32 – Vodoča; Vrap



Detail map 7 with place names mentioned in the text: 1 – Arkhangel'sk; 2 – Balymer; 3 – Biliar; 4 – Bolgar; 5 – Bol'shoe Borshevo; 6 – Bosporos (Kerch'); 7 – Caffa (Feodosia); 8 – Cherson; 9 – Dmitriev; 10 – Dmitrov; 11 – Galich (Merskii); 12 – Gnezdovo; 13 – Gorodets (on the Volga); 14 – Iaroslavl'; 15 – Kalka; 16 – Kolomna; 17 -Kozel'sk; 18 – Krutik; 19 – Mayaki; 20 – Mayatskoe; 21 – Moscow; 22 – Murom; 23 – Nereditsa; 24 – Novgorod; 25 – Peryn'; 26 – Polotsk (Polatsk); 27 – Pskov; 28 – Riazan'; 29 – Rostov; 30 – Sarai; 31 – Sarkel; 32 – Smolensk; 33 – Solkhat; 34 – Staraia Ladoga; 35 – Sugdaia (Sudak); 36 – Suvar; 37 – Suzdal'; 38 – Tana; 39 – Tankeevka; 40 – Timerovo; 41 – Titchikha; 42 – Tmutorakan; 43 – Tol'enskoe; 44 – Torzhok; 45 – Tsimliansk; 46 – Turov (Turau); 47 – Tver; 48 – Uglich; 49 – Verkhnyi Saltiv; 50 – Ves'; 51 – Vitebsk (Vitsiebsk); 52 – Vladimir(-on-the-Kliazma); 53 – Volok Lamskii (Volokolamsk)

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INTRODUCTION

Florin Curta

Almost two decades ago, in a conference paper entitled "Location in space and time," the German historian Matthias Springer asked rhetorically how many people in his day were able to distinguish between Slovenia, Slovakia and Slavonia.[1] His was a tongue-in-cheek remark about the then American President George W. Bush, who, in 1999, had told a Slovak reporter that he had learned about his country from its foreign minister visiting Texas. It turned out that that minister, however, was from Slovenia, not Slovakia. At the beginning of the second millennium, this was a politician's gaffe *de jour*. Aware of that, Springer's audience may have nodded and smiled approvingly. No record exists of the reaction that either the German historian or his audience had to the publication of a map just a few years later in a much used and praised handbook of Byzantine Studies. The map purports to show the Empire's northern neighbors, and has Slovaks placed next to Avars, Pechenegs and Khazars.[2] Meanwhile, prominent scholars write nonchalantly about the "Slavlands" being one of the vast and dynamic areas of Europe "whose transformations owed and brought so much to early medieval civilization."[3] The same scholars explain that by the time Charlemagne was born, the "eastern reaches of the Frankish territory" were separated from Byzantium by the "dreaded Avars" and, beyond them, by the "Protobulgarian Empire, then expanding over a great swath [sic] of central Europe, from roughly the modern-day Republic of Moldova down into Greece."[4] Others dread the migration of the (early) Slavs, who "broke the unity of the continuity of the continent" or, alternately, the Mongols, who "were almost entirely a negative force, with their tendency to mass killing and brutal exploitation."[5] At least the Slavs receive occasional kudos: "they may have lacked circuses, togas, Latin poetry and central heating, but the Slavs were as successful in imposing a new social order across central and Eastern Europe as the Roman had been to the west and south."[6] By contrast, the "pony-riding Avars" had only "aggressive impulses."[7] Like them, several other "central Asian peoples entered Europe before the age of the barbarian invasions was over," with the Bulgars and the Magyars at the head of the list.[8] Both groups came from "the grasslands where Europe meets Asia."[9] The Magyars at least played "a significant role in western Europe's eastern frontier," while the Bulgar(ian)s could consider themselves lucky to have such a charismatic leader as "Boris the Bogomil."[10] Under the pressure of the Bulgars and the Moravians from the south and from the east (!), the Poles had to embrace Catholicism.[11] However, it took Emperor Otto II [sic] to establish the archdiocese of Gniezno "on the frontiers of the known world."[12]

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Being left out of history was not the only problem of Eastern Europe. In the 860s, the first wave of Viking invaders crossed the Baltic Sea "to what are now the Baltic states."[13] When they got to Russia, they found there the Varangians, who are "another Slavic people."[14] Like the Bulgarians, the Rus' got lucky, though. First, they were able to overcome, albeit only gradually, "many of the Slavic, Lithuanian, Finnish and Magyar peoples who were then living on the steppe."[15] Second, having tapped onto the resources of Russia, the Rus' began to trade with their neighbors. That much results from "the presence of Iranian coins in eastern Europe."[16] Moreover, since the Byzantines paid in cash, "Kiev had much more of a money economy than did western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries."[17] Third, Cyril and Methodius knew Slavic, and the alphabet called Glagolitic "later developed into Church Slavonic."[18] Even the Euchologion of Sinai was "composed in Glagolitic."[19] Unfortunately, "successive Germanic and Scandinavian attacks threatened the survival of the principalities of Vladimir and Novgorod" after 1240.[20]

While several historians have recognized the importance of integrating the eastern part of the European continent into surveys of the Middle Ages, few have actually paid attention to the region, its specific features, problems of chronology and historiography. Some claim that studying the history of East Central (or Eastern) Europe is simply "provincializing a field of study."[21] The definition of medieval Europe has presumably been expanded, and the eastern part of the Continent has now been incorporated into textbooks of global medieval history. There is no need for a special study of the region, so the argument goes, and to claim otherwise amounts to an ill-conceived refusal to participate in the study of global history. However, at a theoretical level, at least, an "add-Eastern-Europe-and-stir" approach to the history of the Continent or, even more so, of the world is reductionist: a way to distill the specific history of the region to a simple solution, one that can easily match (and confirm) models created on the basis of West European history. In practice, the end result of such an approach is often a caricature of East European history, as shown above on the basis of the evidence selected from the most prominent, if not also egregious examples.[22] To judge by that evidence, one needs more, not less knowledge of the history of Eastern Europe. In fact, a careful examination of the current situation will indicate that, although ignored by many, a chasm has been created, and continues to grow between the production of outstanding works by talented historians of Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, and the reception of that scholarly output, its impact on historiography in general, and its supposed incorporation into "global history." At this point, in order to bridge that chasm and to correct, if only partially, one's own misperceptions and stereotypes, it is important to have essential guidance through the complex past of the region.

This handbook, the first of its kind on the subject, aspires to be that guidance and to make a significant contribution to scholarship by providing a point of reference for the history of whole of Eastern Europe. Geographic monikers for Eastern Europe include East Central Europe, Southeastern Europe, the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin. Eastern Europe, defined here, extends from the Ore Mountains and the Bohemian Forest to the Ural Mountains, as well as, north to south, from the Finnish Bay to the southernmost tip of Peloponnesus. This vast region represents more than two-thirds of the European continent. This book covers the history of the whole region in the Middle Ages, ca. 500 to 1300. The goal is to offer an overview of the current state of research and the basic route map for navigating an abundant historiography available in more than ten different languages. The literature published in English on the medieval history of Eastern Europe—books, chapters and articles—represents a little more than 11 percent of that historiography. The handbook is therefore meant to provide an orientation into the existing literature that may not be available because of linguistic barriers, and, in addition, a minimal bibliography in English.

To accomplish this formidable task, 33 historians and archaeologists from 15 countries have taken on a series of major topics. None of them is concerned with political history *per se*, with the exception of the last two chapters—Francesco Dall'Aglio on the rise of Serbia and the Second Bulgarian Empire and Roman Hautala on the Mongols in Eastern Europe. Christian Raffensperger introduces the problems of the terminology used for the region, the geographical boundaries of the book's coverage and some of the important moments in the history of history writing about the Middle Ages in the region. Daniel Džino addresses the vexed question of the role of migration in the ethnic make-up and the political configuration of East Central and Eastern Europe. Special emphasis is placed in the contrast between well-documented migrations (such as that of the Magyars) and the problems of the historiography postulating migrations that are not attested either in the written or in the archaeological sources (e.g., the Slavs and the Croats). Evgenia Komatarova-Balinova deals with the earliest polities in the medieval history of East Central and Eastern Europe. Since those polities have been established by people otherwise regarded as "nomads," her chapter entails a discussion of state formation among nomads but engages in debates surrounding the interpretation of the archaeological evidence pertaining to the "steppe empires" in the lands north of the Black and Caspian Seas (the Khazars) and the polities established in the northern Balkans (Bulgaria) and the Carpathian Basin (the Avars). The emphasis on nomads continues with Aleksander Paroń's chapter. His goal is to take a fresh, critical look at the work done on medieval nomads, especially in Eastern Europe, over the last three decades or so. The chapter focuses on the relation between pastoralism and nomadism and highlights the specific features of the history of Eastern Europe in relation to the early medieval nomads.

The next two chapters are dedicated to the question of religious conversion. Maddalena Betti deals with the 9th-century conversion to Christianity in Moravia and Bulgaria, the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism and of the Volga Bulgars to Islam. The chapter also discusses the thorny issue of mission (from Byzantium and/or the Frankish Empire), as well as the strategies employed in conversion and the political implications of that transformation. By contrast, Ivo Štefan brings forward four cases of conversion "from the top" in the 10th century. Two of them are linked to matrimonial alliances, and the political significance of those alliances is discussed in detail. The establishment of the ecclesiastical structures and the Christianization of the rural communities in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Rus' are also in the focus of this chapter. The use of violence in the conversion (Hungary, Rus') is also a question of significance in Štefan's contribution to this volume. Continuing those themes, David Kalhous deals with the rise of early medieval states in the second half of the 10th century. His chapter discusses the nature of those polities, the mechanisms responsible for the rise of such political configurations and the impact of later sources on the assessment of the social and political forces responsible for state formation. Kalhous compares five political entities in the region—Croatia, Bohemia, Poland, Rus' and Hungary. A perhaps unusual chapter is that on strongholds and medieval states. The topic of hillforts has gained enormous popularity in the last few years, particularly in relation to supposed slave trade routes. However, of much greater significance, especially in the case of Poland, is the role of strongholds in the building of the earliest medieval states. In her chapter, Hajnalka Herold discusses questions of administration and military organization pertaining to that special role of fortifications, using different areas of East Central Europe for useful comparison.

Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu adopts a similarly comparative approach in Chapter 9, which is dedicated to the rise of the early medieval aristocracy. The question of the medieval elites in East Central and Eastern Europe has received much attention in the last three decades since the fall of Communism. Historians are currently debating the origin of the medieval

nobility and the significance of land ownership in defining the specific features of the social structure of medieval Eastern Europe. Popa-Gorjanu examines the issue through the lens of that already abundant historiography. Equally large is now the body of scholarly literature on kingship in the region. Rulers and rulership have been the object of intense research, especially in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Dušan Zupka discusses the medieval ideals of rulership in East Central and Eastern Europe, while at the same time focusing on key sources (such as "mirrors of kings") produced in the area, which could illuminate the origin and significance of the rudiments of political theory upon which the ideals of kingship were based. By contrast, while still working in a comparative mode (largely on the basis of the three polities in East Central Europe—Bohemia, Hungary and Poland), Adrien Quéret-Podesta takes a more pragmatic look at politics with an emphasis on royal government, from taxation and tolls (especially in Hungary) to the organization of chanceries. The emphasis is placed on the role of the written document in the organization of elaborate forms of government control.

While most chapters in this book are based on the analysis of written sources, Marek Hladík capitalizes on the explosion of archaeological research in the region over the last 50 years or so, which has brought an enormous amount of information pertaining to rural settlements and the agrarian economy. Hladík discusses that on the basis of a case study, namely that of 9th-century Moravia and the surrounding regions. By contrast, Laurenţiu Rădvan's chapter is a survey of towns and urban settlements within the entire region and throughout the entire period covered in this book. By AD 1000, Kiev was one of the largest urban settlements of Europe, a key trade and industrial center of the continent. Three hundred years later, there were several large cities in existence in East Central Europe, which played an equally significant role in European economy. Rădvan discusses the circumstances in which the earliest urban centers developed, the role of the transformations of the 13th century and the granting of privileges to old and new settlements.

The rise of the medieval states in East Central and Eastern Europe coincides with the striking of the first coins as instruments of exchange on the local markets. Dariusz Adamczyk discusses the development of continental trade across the region, from the trade routes established by Viking merchants in the 10th century from the Baltic to the Caspian Sea, to the east-west axis of trade that became the characteristic feature of the later centuries. Cameron Sutt deals with the hotly debated issue of social organization in medieval East Central and Eastern Europe, particularly with the thorny question of slavery. Much like Hladík, he chose a case study (Hungary) to address in detail the problems created in the historiography of the region by Marxist scholars that insisted upon the difference between serfs and slaves. Women and, to a lesser extent, children in the Middle Ages have recently received much attention from historians working on medieval East Central and Eastern Europe. Sébastien Rossignol addresses questions pertaining to research on gender and age categories in medieval society. Of particular significance in this respect is the role of both women and children in the process of Christianization. Although much has been written on Jews in medieval Eastern Europe, there has been no attempt to synthesize a multitude of studies and their conclusions pertaining to different religious minorities in the region. Boris Stojkovski deals comparatively with three such groups (Jews, Armenians and Muslims) in an attempt to define their role in medieval society, and the relations between the Christian majority and the non-Christian groups.

In Chapter 18, Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski deals with the organization of the church structures in the newly converted territories. He places special emphasis not only on the organization and size of dioceses (eparchies) in both Catholic and Orthodox countries in the region,

but also on the key aspect of when and how parishes were first established. Following the publication of a number of influential works on the history of the saint cults in the region, the topic has received a great deal of attention. Paweł Figurski and Grzegorz Pac deal with the cult of pan-Christian saints, as well as with the first native saints—kings, princes and monks. Equally significant is the question of relics and the transformation of some of the sites on which they were kept in centers of pilgrimage. The so-called double faith in the history of Christianization of certain areas of Eastern Europe (especially Rus') has been the target of much criticism in the last years. The whole notion of "popular religion," on the other hand, was targeted by revisionist studies. Kirił Marinow and Jan Wolski explore those issues, with special attention to recent work on the Bogomils of Bulgaria and Bosnia.

The first five crusades crossed (or at least tangentially affected) East Central and Southeastern Europe. Some of them had a great significance for the political developments in the region, particularly after the conquest of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade. In Chapter 22, Aleksandar Uzelac discusses the impact of those crusades upon the political configuration and the social cleavages in the region. Unlike other crusading territories (Outremer, the Iberian Peninsula), Eastern Europe offers a unique example of expeditions sanctioned by the papacy that were neither for the recuperation of previously lost, Christian territory, nor organized against Muslims. The Baltic crusades are therefore a special chapter in the history of the crusades, and they involve directly the history of Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. Gregory Leighton presents the most recent results of the historical research dedicated to that topic.

Christianization in East Central and Eastern Europe meant the adoption of several types of scripts (some created for that occasion only, such as Glagolitic). It is only after that that the written word began to play a significant role in the political and religious life of the region. In her chapter, Mirjana Matijević-Sokol deals with the history of "useful" writing, particularly for record-keeping, transactions and official documents. Despite the heavy influence of canon and Byzantine law, the legal history of medieval Eastern Europe includes a number of original sources, such as the Russkaia Pravda, which have received a great deal of scholarly attention. In both Hungary and Rus', the history of medieval law has usually been written as part of the history of the medieval state. In Chapter 25, Ivan Biliarsky addresses those historiographic problems, as well as the results of more recent studies that insist upon the contextualization of those sources. History writing has a long tradition in East Central and Eastern Europe, which in the case of Bulgaria includes the so-called Bulgar inscriptions meant to commemorate the ruler's deeds or faithful servants. However, a true historiography did not come into being in Eastern Europe before Christianization. The chapter by Timofei Guimon and Aleksei Shchavelev examines the most important works of the medieval historiography of the region, from the Russian Primary Chronicle to the work of Thomas, the archdeacon of Spalato. By contrast (but also with some overlap), Stefan Rohdewald deals with the lives of saints written especially during the later period. He pays special attention to the first texts written in Old Church Slavonic, the lives of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius, as well as to the (Latin) lives of the first royal saints, especially Stephen I, King of Hungary. Furthermore, he discusses the question of the relation between the surviving texts and the "canonization" of saints.

Alice Isabella Sullivan's chapter on monumental architecture is a survey of the most important lines of research on the medieval architecture of the region, which is otherwise known as one of very interesting blending of different artistic traditions. The chapter insists upon the role of the so-called pre-Romanesque monuments of Croatia, Moravia and Poland, as well as on the transfer of architectural patterns from other areas of the Byzantine Empires

into the Balkans. Art historians have recently paid a great deal of attention to monumental programs of fresco painting in both Byzantine (Nerezi) and Romanesque (Kostoľany pod Tribečom) churches. Maria Alessia Rossi discusses those recent studies, as well as the older conclusions of the research dedicated to the earliest frescoes and mosaics of Rus'. Finally, her chapter focuses on the production of icons in the region and their role in liturgical practice.

The last two chapters are dedicated to major political changes taking place in Eastern Europe during the last century considered in this book. Francesco Dall'Aglio discusses the rise and growth of two new polities in Southeastern Europe—Nemanjid Serbia and Assenid Bulgaria. The consequences of the Fourth Crusade upon both states are also discussed in his chapter. Roman Hautala deals with the 1238–1241 campaigns of the Mongols in Eastern (Volga Bulgharia, Rus') and East Central (Poland, Hungary) Europe. While dealing in detail with the destruction and devastation brought by the military campaign, his chapter also insists upon the economic and political transformations brought to the region by the imposition of *pax Mongolica* and the establishment of the Golden Horde in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea.

As apparent already through this brief survey of the contents, this handbook provides considerable room for a discussion of nomads—from Avars to Mongols—who have influenced developments in Eastern Europe from ca. 600 to ca. 1300. The "steppe empires" have rarely been integrated into surveys of the medieval history of Europe, which, more often than not treat Magyars, Pechenegs and Mongols as agents of destruction and doom. Both Khazaria and Volga Bulgharia played a key role in the establishment of trade routes from the Baltic to the Caspian and, later, Black Sea, which brought the Vikings to Eastern Europe and are ultimately responsible for the rise of the polity(-ies) conventionally known as Kievan Rus'.

Moreover, this handbook highlights the role of the archaeological evidence particularly for the earlier segment of the chronological interval covered by the constituent chapters. The extraordinary development of medieval archaeology over the last half of a century has dramatically changed the picture of Eastern Europe between ca. 500 and ca. 1000. Even after AD 1000, archaeology remains the main, if not the only source of evidence for several parts of Eastern Europe—the Baltic region, northern Russia and the territory of present-day Romania. Without archaeology, very little would be known about some of the most fascinating aspects of the medieval history of Eastern Europe. The rise of towns in Russia, the wealth and power of the Avar qaganate, the building in Pliska of one of the largest palatial compounds in early medieval Europe, the earliest mosque and caravanserai built in the 10th century in Bolgar, or the role of brick and stone castles in the Baltic crusades—those and many other facets of the medieval history of Eastern Europe have been brought to the fore by means of archaeological research.

This handbook is also an invitation to comparison between various parts of the region at the same chronological level. For example, the Khazar conversion to Judaism, the Volga Bulghar conversion to Islam and the conversion to Christianity of two other polities are compared in Chapter 5. Similarly, the chapters on state formation and royal saints compare different polities—Bohemia, Hungary and Poland—while that on law contrasts developments in Bulgaria and Serbia to those in Rus'. An even greater emphasis on comparison appears in the chapters on agriculture, strongholds, social hierarchies, law, art and historiography.

Will this handbook provide a remedy to the problems mentioned at the beginning of this introduction? Neither the authors nor the editor wants to buoy themselves up with any false hopes. Books rarely, if ever bring about immediate removal of stereotypes and misrepresentations, but they certainly can contribute to change. It will take time, perhaps several

generations of scholars, to clear the fog and to recognize medieval Eastern Europe for what it really was. With scholarly lucidity and humility, we feel we have accomplished much, if our handbook will serve as navigational buoy through the troubled waters of the 21st-century research on the Middle Ages.

Notes

1 Matthias Springer, "Location in space and time," in *The Continental Saxons from the Migration Period to the Tenth Century. An Ethnographic Perspective*, edited by Dennis Howard Green and Frank Siegmund (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 11–36, here p. 13.

2 *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, edited by Elizabeth Jeffreys with John Haldon and Robin Cormack (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 942 map 12. To be sure, Lynette Olson, *The Early Middle Ages. The Birth of Europe* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 122 knows of a "Czech kingdom of Great Moravia." Sebastian Brather, *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen. Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), p. 110 is equally convinced that the architecture of *Herrenhöfe* in Great Moravia goes back to late antique *villae*.

3 Jennifer D. Davis and Michael McCormick, "The early Middle Ages: Europe's long morning," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe. New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, edited by Jennifer D. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 1–10, here p. 7. The "Slavlands" must be the lands of the Slavs, who were the "people of Slov" (Brather, *Archäologie*, p. 52). Clifford R. Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe*, 3rd edition (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 5 and 195, knows that geographically, those lands must have been far away from the Mediterranean Sea, which was shielded from the Slavic peoples by the Balkans, even though "bands of Slavic adventurers reached the Aegean Sea by 600."

4 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 552. McCormick, "Complexity, chronology and context in the early medieval economy," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003), no. 3, 307–23, here 313 doubts that Eastern Europe was "at the centre of European history." That may be because the swords of the Frankish warriors were superior to those "used by the Slavs," as Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire. Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 129 has it. According to Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 154, Charlemagne "launched attacks against the Slavs in the upper reaches of the Balkans."

5 Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (New York: Viking, 2009), p. 157; Chris Wickham, *Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 176. According to Robin W. Winks and Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Medieval Europe and the World from Late Antiquity to Modernity, 400–1500* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 221 and 224, the Mongol invasion of Poland created a vacuum for further German penetration into western parts of the country. This was presumably because by the early 13th century, Genghis Khan had consolidated under his command both the Huns and the Avars. Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 231 explains that "the Kievan kingdom lasted until the arrival of the Mongols under Genghis Khan in the early thirteenth century."

6 Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians* (London: Macmillan, 2009), pp. 446–47. The Slavic migration was "a response to inequalities of wealth and development and, in that respect, is very similar to modern migrations." The historical merits of the early Slavs are now on everybody's mind. According to Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 195, when entering the Balkans ca. 600, "the Slavs did not displace the indigenous populations of Serbs, Croats, and Macedonians."

7 Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides. The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 93.

8 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 82.

9 Olson, *The Early Middle Ages*, p. 121. Similarly, to both Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 48 and Backman, *The Worlds*, pp. 129, 193 and 194, the steppes north of the Black Sea, from which the Bulgars, the Magyars and even the Slavs came, were "Asiatic."

10 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 6; Judith Herrin, *Byzantium. The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 49. Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 230 explains that the "the Bulgar kingdom was established in the provinces of Transylvania and

Wallachia." Mark Whittow, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: backward and Balkan?" in *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, edited by Andrew G. Poulter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 375–89, here p. 387, has Bulgars finding in Bulgaria "the heirs of the 6th-century military aristocracy," who lived in "backward and Balkan" centers and soon became the "eighth-century servants of the Bulgar qagans." The problem for Bulgarians, however, was that they could never take advantage of their own country. According to Paul Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 18, the lands between the river Danube and the Stara Planina range of mountains were brought under cultivation "only with the advent of widespread irrigation in the nineteenth century."

11 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 221. Lisa Ann Wolverton, "Germans and Slavs in 13th-century Bohemia: Some preliminary remarks on immigrants and law," in *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by Nora Berend (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 297–306, here p. 305 is of a different opinion. According to her, Bohemia and Moravia were lands of opportunity, not "lawless wilderness," like Pomerania and Livonia. A similar line of thinking may be responsible for indicating "Moldavia" on a map of Europe at the time of the "Germanic Invasions" (Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 69, map 3.1).

12 Johannes Fried, *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2015), p 124. "Boleslav the Brave" was meanwhile busy advancing briefly into Bohemia and Moravia, and conquering "Krakow" (Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 107).

13 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 90 and 92. Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 391 (map 13.1) has the Baltic Sea in the middle of Russia.

14 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 42. Similarly, Olson, *The Early Middle Ages*, p. 117 explains that the archaeological record of 10th-century Russia is "very Slavic, but with intrusive Scandinavian elements." At this point, Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 190 disagrees: "the first king of Russia was actually a Swedish Viking named Rurik."

15 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 55. Vladimir of Kiev took it to the next step when putting Constantinople under siege, according to Sean Griffin, *Liturgical Past in Byzantium and Early Rus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 147. Under such military pressure, apparently, the Byzantine emperor "Basil II, taking a break from Bulgar-slaying, negotiated a marriage alliance whereby his sister married the Russian king Vladimir I" (Backman, *The Worlds*, p. 231).

16 Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, p. 94. Novgorod is marked on the map of "Eastern Europe *in 850*" (emphasis added) in Wickham, *Medieval Europe*, p. xi.

17 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 56. It remains a mystery how was it possible then for Kievan Rus' to "collapse in the twelfth century" (Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 222).

18 Herrin, *Byzantium*, p. 131. Scholarly opinions diverge on this matter. According to Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 54, the language of the church became the native Slavonic tongue used in preaching by the followers of Cyril and Methodius.

19 Griffin, *Liturgical Past*, p. 218.

20 Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 222. Meanwhile, the Teutonic Knights focused their energies on expansion into Slavic lands (Winks and Ruiz, *Medieval Europe*, p. 145).

21 Nora Berend, "The mirage of East Central Europe. Historical regions in a comparative perspective," in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective. From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin G. Szende (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 9–23, here p. 16.

22 It is very difficult to decide whether so many factual errors are simply the result of ignorance or a consequence of attempts to make the East European history fit on the Procustean bed of "global history." At any rate, as far as Eastern Europe is concerned, gauging developments in the region by West European standards does not constitute global history. Moreover, there are shades of colonial attitudes in the treatment of the people living in the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe, especially the nomads.

1

SITUATING MEDIEVAL EASTERN EUROPE

Historiography and discontent

Christian Raffensperger

In the Middle Ages, much like today, Europe was not one thing to all people. There is plenty of evidence of that in recent history. When U.S. President George W. Bush began the "War on Terror," he enlisted a "coalition of the willing" that was largely comprised of what he and his secretary of defense called the "New Europe."[1] Those countries, which are located in what the contributors to this book call East Central and Eastern Europe, were regarded by the American administration as being different, and implicitly better, than the "Old Europe," which comprised the western part of the continent, and those unwilling to participate fully in such a campaign. France and Germany, stalwarts of the traditional definition of Europe, and part of "Old Europe" in the terminology of the Bush administration, were not amused.[2]

The "New Europe," which received praise as trustworthy U.S. allies, had in fact been the staunch opponents of the U.S. only recently, as far as the time frame with which medievalists are concerned—before 1989, they were all members of the Communist Bloc. Following World War II, the decisions at Tehran and later Yalta divided Europe into a series of spheres of influence, and the allies granted to the Soviet Union custodianship over the territory focused on in this book, as East Central and Eastern Europe. This is the territory, which Winston Churchill, during the negotiations of those agreements, famously and disingenuously described as falling behind an Iron Curtain:

> From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.[3]

Though so recently allies in World War II, the stage was being set for the Cold War and opposition between the East and the West.

In fact, those terms ("East" and "West") are also important to note for the construction of any dialogue about the territory under discussion. When scholars speak of Western Europe, the adjective is capitalized to indicate the idea of the West and not just a geographic

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orientation. The same is true, of course, about Eastern Europe. The valences attached to those terms, however, are grossly different. In modern English parlance, West and East have taken on positive and negative connotations, respectively. This is now being rightly challenged in many circles, but the ideological implications persist. In my own work, I have largely forsaken "East" and "West," unless discussing those ideas in and for themselves, and instead used the lowercase spelling ("east" and "west"), indicative of direction. In other words, eastern Europe is the eastern part of Europe, while western Europe is at the opposite end of the continent. Scholars throughout this book have their own systems of naming, but names, like so many other things, have their own impact and tell a story.

This chapter is largely about names. Before even tackling the question of East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, one must first discuss what "medieval Europe" means in common parlance, for the majority of readers, as well as for (professional) historians. Even a quick glimpse at the recent literature will immediately result in the following conclusion: "medieval Europe" is typically synonymous with Western Europe. The discussion then proceeds to an examination of why medieval Europe has been constructed in that fashion. This historiographical examination, though brief, will step through some of the major points in the construction of the idea of medieval Europe, and its juxtaposition with the West. Finally, the chapter will examine the specific historiography of East Central and Eastern Europe. Why were these terms used and how were they constructed as separate categories—those are questions that are meant to set the stage for the larger discussion of East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. My hope is that at the end of this book, the reader will appreciate the deep interconnectivities apparent, not just between the two halves of Europe, but throughout the larger medieval Eurasian world discussed herein.

Medieval Europe is a known quantity in the popular imagination. It is the world of castles and siege engines, of knights and chivalry, as well as powerful kings and queens like William the Conqueror and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Alternately, it is the world that supplies the raw material for "Game of Thrones," "The Vikings," "The Last Kingdom," the last generation of video games and so much more on various media channels. To many historians, even though much is in revision, as shown below, the picture of medieval Europe is also relatively hard and fast. A quick look at popular textbooks on medieval Europe, or even at syllabi of courses offered at major universities, could illustrate what modern Anglophone historians regard as medieval Europe.

Survey texts like Barbara Rosenwein's have broadened coverage from just the western portions of Europe to include the eastern half of Europe, along with the Mediterranean and Islamic world.[4] This is undoubtedly an important addition, which many western medievalists typically use to claim that the job of integrating medieval Europe is already done.[5] However, there is much more to do. Rosenwein's largely praiseworthy textbook reproduces the ideas of Dimitri Obolensky's *Byzantine Commonwealth*, which is responsible for creating an alternate world for medieval Eastern Europe.[6] For instance, according to Rosenwein, "choosing the Byzantine form [of Christianity] guaranteed that Russia would always stand apart from Western Europe."[7] Such an idea, built on the structure of Obolensky's "Byzantine Commonwealth," continues to perpetuate the idea that medieval Europe, much like 20th-century Europe, was divided into an eastern and a western half, or into two—one Roman Catholic and the other (Greek) Orthodox.[8] I have effectively refuted this idea in my recent work, which demonstrates through multiple examples that Rus' was intimately connected with the rest of Europe and that Rus' converted to Christianity, and not (just) to its "Byzantine form," as clearly indicated by the history of Christian Rus' for the first couple of centuries after the 988/989 conversion.[9] In other words, despite making a visible effort

to reach all the way to Eastern Europe, Rosenwein's textbook still reproduces a vision of medieval Europe that is largely Western, though with the significant inclusion of the Islamic world, as is currently fashionable in medieval studies.

Rosenwein's textbook, however, is situated at the better end of the spectrum, when it comes to the inclusion of medieval Eastern Europe. William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman's textbook, *The Medieval World View*, represents an even more Western-focused vision of the medieval world.[10] Now in its third edition, this is the basis for a Great Courses class, which has an even broader distribution beyond the academic world. Cook and Herzman's book contains a series of explanatory maps to help students visualize the world covered in the text. I include here the reproduction of one of their maps for the High Middle Ages, as a good illustration of their coverage of medieval Eastern Europe (Figure 1.1). It is quite clear from this map that, for the authors and thus the students using the textbook, medieval Europe is Western Europe, inclusive of Iberia. Of the regions covered in this book, only the cities of Prague and Constantinople are even placed on the map. Rus' is covered by the key, and much of Scandinavia (though not covered in the present volume) is simply expunged. True, maps are faulty things, but they are also vital ways for historians to communicate with their audience. In this particular case, the authors (as well as the publisher) chose a large map displayed on two pages, one of which pages is nearly blank, except for some physical features. This was without any doubt a conscious decision.

Leaving the map aside, the contents of Cook and Herzman's book are also problematic for Eastern and East Central Europe. Besides using the ideas from Obolensky, the authors clearly divide medieval Europe into East and West and elide history from the Middle Ages through the early modern period and even to the present day in multiple instances, though only for Eastern Europe. For instance, in regard to religious conversion once again,

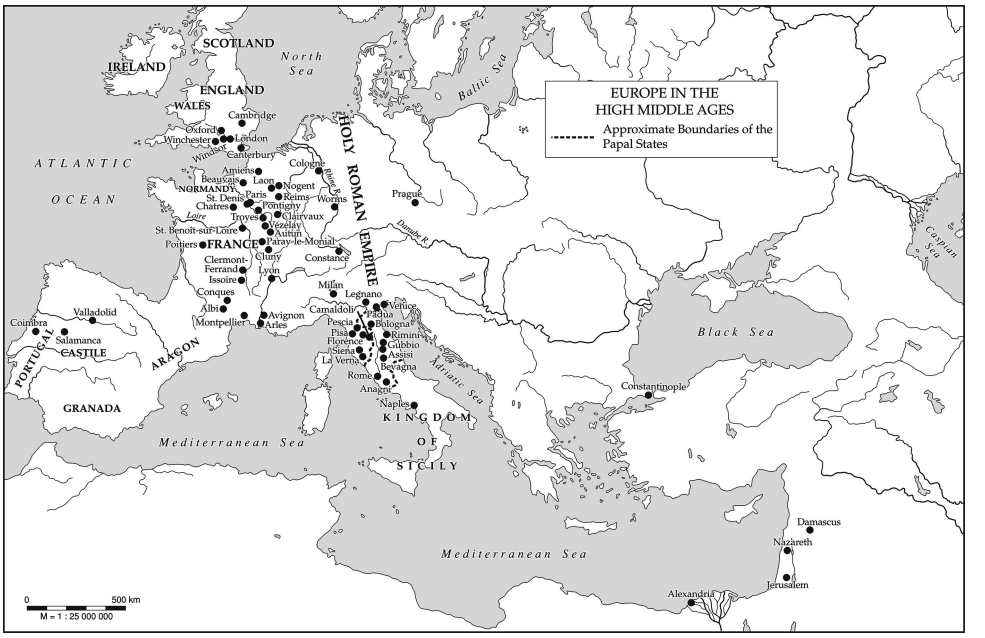

Figure 1.1 Medieval Europe in the High Middle Ages. After Cook and Herzman, *Medieval World View*, pp. 234–35. Map drawn by András Vadas

> like the Balkan Slavs, the Russians received their religion and much of their culture from Constantinople. Indeed, after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the Russians began to think of themselves as heirs to the Roman Empire: just as Rome had given way to Constantinople, so now has the torch passed to the third and final Rome, Moscow.[11]

The conversion of Rus' (not Russia, a modern nation, not a medieval kingdom) in 988/989 is elided to the 15th century, and even beyond, when the rhetoric of the Third Rome is actually deployed closer to the 16th century. The authors also project modern European troubles onto the fault lines that they have themselves created in medieval Europe:

> When we think of problems and misunderstandings within Europe today, we in large part think of tensions and conflicts that exist along the lines of Western and Byzantine spheres of influence, for example, the line between Poland and Russia or that between Croatia and Serbia.[12]

The map mentioned above is not an accident. To Cook and Herzman, Eastern Europe is a rhetorical device meant to explain modern problems; it is not an actual place for consideration alongside the intricate ideas developed for the history of medieval France or the Italian Peninsula.

All of this might lead one to the question, which I have many times asked myself: why is "medieval Europe" constructed this way? How was this notion of Europe in the Middle Ages created? There are multiple avenues for exploring those questions, but in this essay, I will attempt to look only at a few, in order to explain why the idea of medieval Europe was created the way that it was.

Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) is probably as good a place to start as any other. Half a century ago, the British historian Geoffrey Barraclough (1908–1984) reviewed the historiography of the division of Europe in an attempt to move beyond those ideas.[13] It seems that every couple of generations, someone attempts to review and revise current ways of understanding medieval Europe, in terms of east and west. For some reason, the results of such endeavors are never definitive. The job remains undone, ready for another attempt a few decades later. In his own time, Barraclough blamed Ranke for the idea of a divided Europe, for he believed that "Europe was divided into two historical areas—a western area populated by Germans and Latins, and an eastern area identified with Slavs—and all the emphasis fell on the western half" leaving the Slavs as "silent spectators."[14] According to Barraclough, those ideas resonated with Arnold Toynbee (1899–1975), "who, taking over Ranke's categories, claimed to see in 'western society' an 'intelligible field of study' distinct and separate from what he called the 'Orthodox Christian civilization' of Eastern Europe."[15] Ranke's categories created an indelible impression in the minds of scholars about a division in medieval Europe that has persisted to this day, well beyond Barraclough's hopes that it would be abolished in his own lifetime.

Others have suggested that the division in Europe is a relic of the work of Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) and his magnum opus, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.[16] One way through which that influence was perpetuated in medieval studies is via the work of John B. Bury (1861–1927), an eminent scholar in his own right, and the general editor of the first edition of the Cambridge Medieval History series. As Martin McGuire put it 77 years ago, "the *Cambridge Medieval History* has taken its place as the leading general work of reference in the field of medieval history."[17] In planning out the series, Bury kept firmly in mind the

division of the European world that had been articulated by Gibbon and utilized that in framing the various volumes of the series.[18] Within that framework, Bury relegated the entirety of the Eastern Roman Empire to one volume, as clearly expressed in his introduction to that volume:

> This exception to the general chronological plan of the world seemed both convenient and desirable. The orbit of Byzantium, the history of the peoples and states which moved within that orbit and always looked to it as the central body, giver of light and heat, did indeed at some points touch or traverse the orbits of western European states, but the development of these on the whole was not deeply affected or sensibly perturbed by what happened east of Italy or south of the Danube, and it was only in the time of the Crusades that some of their rulers came into close contact with the Eastern Empire or that it counted to any considerable extent in their policies.[19]

As far as Bury was concerned, the east was the east and the west was the west, two discrete entities much like in Ranke's model. Rus' and much of Eastern Europe are "states which moved within that orbit" of Byzantium. The author of the section on "the Empire and its northern neighbors" was Karel Kadlec (1865–1928), a professor of Slavonic Law at the Charles University of Prague.[20] Kadlec's entry discusses the marriage of Sviatopolk, the son of the ruler of Rus', Vladimir Sviatoslavich, to a daughter of Bolesław I of Poland. Wrapped up in that discussion, he engages with the differing Christianities of the two parties engaged in the marriage and the bride's accompaniment which included a bishop. He even proceeds to the eventual conflict between Sviatopolk and his father Vladimir, which involved Sviatopolk's father-in-law Bolesław I as well.[21] In this brief entry used as an example, Kadlec utilizes a great deal of detail as well as Latin sources and sources from Rus' to discuss these events, demonstrating the broader interconnectivity of Rus', and the lack of an Orthodox–Latin divide in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Although he stopped at Vladimir's death in 1015, Kadlec effectively positioned Rus' as part of a larger medieval European world and thus undermined the ideas upon which the Cambridge Medieval History series was based, especially the notion of a hard divide between east and west. Interestingly enough, Kadlec's chapter begins with a historiographical debate, but not on east versus west in medieval Europe. His teaser was the Varangian (now known as Normannist) Controversy: were the founders of Rus' Vikings or Slavs?[22] The most important historians whom Kadlec cited in this context are Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Vasilii Kliuchevskii. It would be germane then to discuss their participation in the evolving creation of the idea of medieval Europe, and the inclusion, or lack thereof, of Eastern Europe.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* is a multi-volume history of Ukraine from the ancient past to the 19th century.[23] Hrushevsky (1866–1934) was a medievalist by training who was interested, as many in the 19th century were, in creating a founding idea for the nation.[24] He was also active in public life, including (briefly) becoming the first president of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918. The first three volumes, of a total of ten in the English translation, cover medieval Rus'. In those volumes, Hrushevsky offers a vision of Rus' that is incredibly broad for any day, including our own, given what we have seen thus far. He presented Rus' as interconnected with the rest of medieval Europe.[25] He cited numerous Latin sources throughout and was familiar with both the Polish and the Hungarian scholarship of his day, which allowed him to tie all of medieval Eastern Europe together, as well as much broader afield. The reason for which this amazingly thorough treatment of medieval Eastern Europe has never made it into the mainstream narrative is largely, I would

suggest, because it was written and stayed in Ukrainian. This is a language not widely read by medievalists, and with serious political issues in regard to Russia and Russian, as discussed below in relation to Kliuchevsky. Besides the current English translation project run by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, there has been only one other translation, namely of volume 1, into German, in 1906. Nonetheless, this was a very influential book, as demonstrated by Kadlec's engagement with Hrushevsky for his chapter in volume 4 of the Cambridge Medieval History series. Furthermore, for his first volume, Hrushevsky stopped at the death of Vladimir Sviatoslavich in 1015, exactly as Kadlec in his chapter written a few decades later. This, in my opinion, is no coincidence.

While Hrushevsky offered a vision of Rus' and Eastern Europe that was deeply integrated, Vasilii Kliuchevskii's view was of a Rus' that existed largely within a vertical silo of Russian history. To him, Rus' was the precursor to Russia and of its greatness during his lifetime.[26] Kliuchevsky was not only a knowledgeable scholar, whose five-volume *Course of Russian History* was translated into 11 languages, including English. He was also a talented teacher at the University of Moscow, and his work was backed by both the Imperial Russian and later the Soviet governments.[27] As late as the 1970s, at the time of Barraclough's efforts to erase the division of medieval Europe, historians of Russia, like Anatole Gregory Mazour (1909–1982), were convinced that Kliuchevsky's "writings will long remain indispensable to every student of Russian history."[28] The first volume of Kliuchevsky's *Course of Russian History* deals with Kievan Rus' in a perfunctory manner that shows no interest in the rest of medieval Europe. For Kliuchevsky, the medieval period was largely a way to connect the ancient origins of Rus' to modern Russia, of which he was so proud.[29] To that end, the narrative is sparse and focused largely on developments that turn Rus' from a polity centered upon Kiev to one focused on the northeastern region, the territory of Vladimir-Suzdal between the Volga and the Oka rivers, the eventual home of Moscow and Muscovy. As a companion to that scheme, and as a devotee of Muscovy (the early modern Russian state), Kliuchevsky was also concerned with ties between Rus' and Byzantium, the only foreign ties of consequence for Rus' history. His goal is quite clear: to create a continuum between the two, that would allow Moscow to succeed Constantinople as an Orthodox center of power. Such a view of Russian history (this indeed is "Russian" not Rusian, i.e., of Rus') became common in later decades, throughout the 20th century, and was accordingly dubbed the "traditional scheme" of Russian history.

Modern historiographic surveys attribute the idea of a divide in Europe to Dimitri Obolensky. His *Byzantine Commonwealth*, published in 1971, codified for multiple generations of historians the idea that the Byzantine Empire ruled over a supranational edifice of polities comprising much of modern East Central and Eastern Europe.[30] The core idea of the book was that there was a common, shared, cultural and religious experience that emanated from Byzantium. It comprised the primacy of the Constantinopolitan church, the role of the emperor as God's deputy on earth, the acceptance of Roman laws and the adoption of Byzantine art.[31] The territory covered by that "commonwealth" included Rus (Russia for Obolensky), modern Romania and much of the Balkan Peninsula. However, the tendrils of the empire stretched across the Danube to the northwest into Hungarian, Moravian and even Czech territories.[32] Obolensky believed that few, if any, were able to recognize this cultural or political commonwealth for what it was, because throughout the Middle Ages and the modern period, the Eastern European polities were only dimly aware of the connections between them, for those bonds were too subtle to be understood. Later, Obolensky regarded Byzantium as a zone of high culture, the influence of which spread naturally to the neighboring regions of lower culture, much like high-pressure weather systems move into low-pressure regions.[33]

Those ideas were incredibly persuasive and continued to influence generations of scholars to the present day, whether actively or passively. Jonathan Shepard (b. 1948), Obolensky's student, has been particularly effective in spreading Obolensky's notion of the commonwealth, working to revise it over the decades in response to criticism.[34] Garth Fowden (b. 1953) has renamed Obolensky's commonwealth "the second Byzantine Commonwealth," with a first Byzantine Commonwealth coming into being in the first millennium.[35] All of this debate and discussion exists within a scholarly territory scarred by harsh criticism of the concept, especially in recent years. Vlada Stanković (b. 1973) has rightly characterized Obolensky's idea as "little more than a modern, post-World War search for the roots of the seemingly unbridgeable differences between Europe's West and East in both political and cultural aspects."[36] To Anthony Kaldellis, the Byzantine Commonwealth is the "product of a modern Slavic and Orthodox bias," which Obolensky used to explain the multi-ethnic nature of the Byzantine state, for he is not able to operate outside a national frame of reference.[37] For my own part, I have raised multiple questions regarding the idea of the Byzantine Commonwealth, but particularly that it was limited to East Central and Eastern Europe. I have offered instead an alternative concept—the Byzantine Ideal—in which Byzantium appears as the medieval Roman Empire, the model for legitimate rulership appropriated by everyone from Anglo-Saxons to Franks, Germans to Bulgar(ian)s, not to mention Turks and Georgians.[38] This is certainly a much larger medieval world than what Obolensky had in mind more than 50 years ago. Nonetheless, despite all criticism, the Byzantine Commonwealth lives on: not just in textbook treatments, but even in a recent symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, where the lead paper was entitled "A new Byzantine Commonwealth."[39] It has by now become clear that, far from being resistant to criticism, this idea persists because it is quite useful for separating Eastern Europe from the west. In other words, the Byzantine Commonwealth gives license to west European medievalists to exclude Eastern Europe, because it is already in a sphere of its own.

The terminology of difference has often been accepted and internalized by scholars working in East Central and Eastern Europe. The Polish historian Jerzy Kłoczowski (1924–2017) has suggested the idea of a "Younger Europe," as an alternative to New or Eastern Europe.[40] Kłoczowski's Younger Europe is the part of the continent that became Christian after the Carolingian period and had not been part of the Roman Empire. As such, it comprises not only East Central and Eastern Europe, but Scandinavia as well. For Kłoczowski, the later Christianization marks those territories more clearly than any geographical descriptor. This does not prevent Kłoczowski from employing "East Central Europe" as a descriptor for the area covered by his research, including in the subtitle of his "Younger Europe" book, a cause of some confusion among scholars.[41] Such terminology has really only caught on in scholarship produced in East Central Europe, though there are the occasional outliers.[42] Emilia Jamroziak has recently engaged with the idea of "Younger Europe" as a territory where, according to Kłoczowski, the newly Christianized territories adopted simpler forms of what was found in the rest of Latin Europe.[43] Talia Zajac has employed the term as a way to draw connections across confessional boundaries, noting that because of the determinant factor of the model, later Christianization, Rus' can be discussed alongside other Slavic polities, as well as Scandinavian polities—which puts it in relevant company given the history of Rus'.[44]

A similar concept may be found in the work of the Hungarian historian Jenő Szűcs (1928–1988). In a series of publications, he created the idea of three distinct regions of Europe.[45] This theory is grounded in a Cold War mentality, which brings to mind the ideology behind the notion of Byzantine Commonwealth.[46] He posits that between the West and Byzantium, there was the region of East Central Europe. This is directly analogous to

the idea popularized during the Cold War of a Western "first world," a Communist "second world," and an impoverished "third world," with the latter as the battleground for the other two. That this is not a random association results from Szűcs's own remark that during the partitioning of Europe in the final stages of World War II, it was "as if Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt had studied carefully the status quo of the age of Charlemagne on the 1130th anniversary of his death."[47] Though some defended Szűcs by arguing that his methodology "was not intended to evoke value judgments," the obvious implications of Szűcs's many statements about Russia, Byzantium and Islam run counter to that line of defense.[48] And there is more. To Szűcs, "the workings of medieval Europe remained at their crudest and least incomplete in the east," in reference to Rus'.[49] According to him, "Occidens referred to the ancient 'world' that formed a belt around the Mediterranean in opposition to Byzantium and Islam, which had expropriated the southern half of that ancient world."[50] In both cases, the pejorative nature of the comments is obvious. This may well be the reason for which, like Kłoczowski's Younger Europe, Szűcs's three regions of Europe have failed to gain a larger following in the Anglophone scholarly world.

In a review of the historiography of Eastern Europe as an idea, Robin Okey (b. 1942) concluded that one could divide Europe into west and east in a variety of ways depending upon the criteria chosen.[51] To Anglophone scholars, however, "Eastern Europe has tended to denote the area of the newly independent Succession States of 1918, leaving obscure the question of Russia's place as a European land."[52] The issue becomes even more complicated, when new divisions are introduced, such as Central or East Central Europe. "The phrase *East Central Europe* was first coined by Tomas Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), the first president of Czechoslovakia, as an alternative to the German word *Mitteleuropa* and its smack of German and Austrian imperialism."[53] To Masaryk, as well as to Oskar Halecki (1891–1973), who later employed the concept, East Central Europe was the land between the German Empire and Rus'.[54] Halecki, who authored a major work on this area, also wrote a short book defining his terms, both chronologically and geographically.[55] He took on the bipolar definition of Europe divided between East and West, pointing out the problems inherent in those terms. In a historiographic review, he discussed critically the use of those terms by other authors.[56] He singled out Jaroslav Bídlo who defined Eastern Europe as the territory of the Orthodox Christians, and later as the territory of the Slavs.[57] Halecki also tackled the problem of Central Europe as a concept and its connections with the idea of *Mitteleuropa* and the German hegemony in the region.[58] Halecki rejected the bipartite division of Europe in favor of a division of Europe into four parts: Western, West Central, East Central and Eastern.[59] Halecki's development of Masaryk's original concept survived and is now embedded in scholarship, as a way to attempt to define more accurately the historical and geographical zones of Europe.

One of the recent books to continue this line of research is Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski's *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*.[60] In the introductory chapter, Berend (b. 1966) writes a thoughtful and incredibly well-sourced introduction that lays out the rationale for choosing that particular title for the book. Therein she notes the pejorative connotation of "Eastern Europe" and that "The name itself was understood by some as a type of historical legitimization of Soviet dominance over the region, by labeling Russia and all the countries of the bloc as one historical region."[61] By contrast, "Central Europe" as a term was reintroduced by dissidents in the 1980s "as a way of distancing themselves and their countries from the Soviet Union and of insisting on ties to the West."[62] Though Berend claims to use the term in a "value-neutral way" and that not to "imply superiority over more eastern areas," the only thing left out of "Central Europe"

to the east is Rus', which is relegated to the status of sole occupant of the maligned Eastern Europe.[63] That scholars studying the history of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary want to distance themselves from the concept of Eastern Europe and attach themselves to Europe more firmly reflects more the politics of the early 21st century, and the fears of Russia under Vladimir Putin, than anything remotely related to life in the Middle Ages. As Okey wittingly put it, "when Hungarians, Poles and Czechs writing in English claim a Central European status for themselves and deny a European identity to Russia, the bizarre situation results in a continent with a west and a center, but no east."[64] Such is the reality that seems to be on offer, and there is quite a lot of historical momentum behind it.

Halecki was not the only advocate of an East Central Europe that excludes Rus'. According to the famous Germanist Karl Leyser (1920–1992), "by the early 11th-century Bohemia, Poland and Hungary were effective members of the European community of *regna*… What had been ethnic reservoirs became ordered polities that permanently stood between the west and the great spaces of Russia."[65] Writing immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Leyser channeled here the desire of the former satellites of the Soviet Union to validate their modern position as part of Europe (understood as the European Union) by projecting those aspirations back into the Middle Ages, and excluding Eastern Europe, back then, as well as now. However, there are more concrete, and less politicized, reasons for scholars to include them into medieval Europe—they were in fact part and parcel of medieval European interactions. What seems inexplicable is the obstinate preoccupation with refusing to do the same for Rus': if early 21st-century Russia is refused a seat at the European table, it must have been the same in the medieval past.

My scholarship has been devoted to the demolition of that premise and to the integration of the kingdom of Rus into medieval Europe. This began with my *Reimagining Europe* and its focus on commonalities between Rus' and the rest of the medieval world. This was a serious attempt to break Rus' out of the outdated frame of the Byzantine Commonwealth, as codified by Dimitri Obolensky.[66] Since that time, I have moved beyond just Rus' toward discussing Eastern Europe, as a geographic unit of the continent, as opposed to Eastern Europe, as a political and cultural, often derogatory, term. My interest now is in integrating that region into medieval Europe as a whole.[67] I am not alone in this endeavor. Yulia Mikhailova compared in some detail the chronicle coverage of Normandy and Rus' in the 11th and 12th centuries and pointed out the many similarities in what was represented, as well as the problems that were introduced into the scholarship by modern terminology.[68] Talia Zajac has developed a very interesting line of research, which highlights the important role that women and the objects surrounding them played in creating a network of movement and relationships in medieval Europe.[69] All of this together is starting, at the least, to move Rus' into the sphere of medieval European scholarship.

One last example, before we close, will demonstrate some of the continuing problems with our terminological issues. Florin Curta (b. 1965), whose work has already been cited here and who is the editor of the current book, has recently published a magisterial history of medieval Eastern Europe.[70] The book covers the entirety of what we have been referring to here as eastern Europe, the world from the Elbe to the east, inclusive of not only "Central Europe" but also "East Central Europe" and even "Eastern Europe." Though it is specifically about half the continent, rather than the whole, it is self-consciously designed as a way to be inclusive of the differences pointed out above in recent historiography. Moreover, Curta points to some of the ongoing problems with terminological issues and the use of history to shape present definitions in his methodological introduction. For instance, he notes that the United Nations has a formal definition for Eastern Europe which is "that part of the

European continent that has been 'under Byzantine and Orthodox influence, which has only randomly been touched by an Ottoman impact, but significantly shaped by Russian influence during the Russian Empire and in the Soviet period.'"[71] The definition highlights the influence that Obolensky's work still bears on the creation of the idea of Eastern Europe. This definition also makes it perfectly clear why many states that were dominated by the Soviet Union do not want to be a part of such a territorial or cultural label in the 21st century. Given the ways in which history is used to construct the present by governments and NGOs alike, the problems under discussion in this chapter and in this book are not "academic" concerns, in the sense of "having little practical use." Instead, the issues that we are raising here are of enormous importance in shaping an understanding of a wider Europe and moving beyond outmoded definitions and labels.

The goal of this chapter has been to review some of the major points raised by scholarship on the topic of Eastern and East Central Europe, and the creation of those concepts. In addition to looking at the ideas of Hrushevsky, Masaryk, Obolensky, Kłoczowski and others, I have tracked the main stages for the creation of the idea of "medieval Europe," as well as the way in which that idea has been and is being used to define and reify the notion of the West. This is being challenged, of course, but it is still true that when an academic publisher receives a manuscript on Rus', it is more likely that that manuscript will end up on the desk of the Russian or East European editor, rather than on that of the editor dealing with medieval Europe. The same is true for titles. The excellent book that Gerd Althoff (b. 1943) wrote on kinship relations is entitled *Family, Friends, and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*. He could get away with it, so to speak, even though the book is actually about the German-speaking world, not about medieval Europe as a whole.[72] Speaking from experience, the same is not permissible for volumes dealing with eastern Europe: their titles have to distinguish their subject matter from "medieval Europe" by adding a directional marker.[73] This is one of the reasons for having this book in your hand, the title of which is *Handbook of East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages*. There is clearly a great deal of work that needs to be done in creating a new vision of the medieval past. Some of that work is being done right now by groups working on ways to try and create a larger medieval globe.[74] However, scholars also need to do work within the frame of medieval Europe to explain and understand the vast web of interconnectivity between the west, the north, as well as the central, east central and eastern portions of the continent. Understanding why those regions were created and have persisted as tropes is an essential part of breaking down some of the historical, and historiographical, barriers.

Notes

1 Mark Baker, "U.S.: Rumsfeld's 'Old' and 'New' Europe touches on uneasy divide," *Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty* 1/24/2003—https://www.rferl.org/a/1102012.html (visit of October 14, 2020). It is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that the Bush administration's use of the phrase was inspired by Bernard Newman, *The New Europe* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1943). Published before the end of World War II, this book was precisely about the same area, and its coming of age in the 20th century.

2 Baker, "U.S.: Rumsfeld's 'Old' and 'New' Europe." For further context on this issue see Tom Lansford and Blagovest Toshev, *Old Europe, New Europe and the US. Renegotiating Transatlantic Security in the Post-9/11 Era* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005); Inga Grote, "Donald Rumsfeld's Old and New Europe and the United States strategy to destabilize the European Union," *Rivista di studi politici internazionali* 74 (2007), no. 3, 347–56.

3 Winston Churchill, "Sinews of peace," a speech at Westminster College (Fulton, Missouri) on March 5, 1946, with full text available at https://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org/sinews-of-peace-iron-curtain-speech.html (visit of October 14, 2020).

4 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
5 I have heard this argument many times from colleagues in the field with whom I met and discussed at conferences.
6 Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971). For a critique of the concept of "Byzantine Commonwealth," see Christian Raffensperger, "Revisiting the idea of the Byzantine Commonwealth," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), 159–74.
7 Rosenwein, *A Short History*, p. 147.
8 This assumption, however, is older than Obolensky's work. Oscar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1950), pp. 11 and 106–07 traces it back to Arnold Toynbee. In almost every volume of his *Study of History*, the British historian opposed the "Orthodox Christendom" to the "Western Christendom." See, for example, Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 321.
9 Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Christian Raffensperger, "The place of Rus' in medieval Europe," *History Compass* 12 (2014), no. 11, 853–65; Christian Raffensperger, "Reimagining Europe: An outsider looks at the medieval East-West divide," in *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe. Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, edited by Balázs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder and András Vadas (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 11–24.
10 William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View: An Introduction*, 3rd edition (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
11 Cook and Herzman, *Medieval World View*, p. 105.
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13 Geoffrey Barraclough, "Introduction. Towards a new concept of European history," in *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pp. 7–14.
14 Barraclough, "Introduction," pp. 7–8. See also Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494 to 1514*, transl. G. R. Dennis (New York: AMS Press, 1976), pp. 5–6.
15 Barraclough, "Introduction," p. 8. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 2nd edition, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 174–77 opposed the "Western World" to Muscovy.
16 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 8 vols. (London: The Folio Society, 1983). The original edition was published in 1776.
17 Martin R. P. McGuire, "An appreciation of the 'Cambridge Medieval History,'" *The Catholic Historical Review* 29 (1943), no. 1, 60–64, here 61. To be sure, McGuire was a Classicist, the chair of the Department of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America between 1949 and 1962.
18 For example, volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, entitled *The Byzantine Empire*, has two parts, one entitled *Byzantium and its Neighbours*, the other *Government, Church, and Civilisation*, both edited by Joan M. Hussey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966 and 1967). Both parts were reviewed by Walter Christopher in *Revue de études byzantines* 26 (1968), 412.
19 John B. Bury, "Introduction," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4 [*The Eastern Roman Empire (717–1453)*] (New York: MacMillan, 1923), p. vii.
20 Charles Kadlec, "The Empire and its northern neighbours," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923), pp. 183–215.
21 Kadlec, "The Empire," pp. 209–10.
22 Kadlec, "The Empire," 203–04. For the Varangian question, see Knud Rahbek Schmidt, "The Varangian problem. A brief history of the controversy," in *Varangian Problems. Report on the First International Symposium on the Theme "The Eastern Connections of the Nordic Peoples in the Viking Period and Early Middle Ages," Moesgaard- University of Aarhus, October 7–11, 1968*, edited by Knud Hannestad, Knud Jordal, Ole Klindt-Jensen, Knud Rahbek Schmidt and Carl Steif (Copenhague: Munksgaard, 1970), pp. 7–20; Gleb S. Lebedev, "A reassessment of the Normanist question," *Russian History* 32 (2005), nos. 3–4, 371–85. See also chapter 7 in this volume.
23 Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, 10 vols. (Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1997–2020; originally published 1894–1934). For a brief presentation of the work, volume by volume, see https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/centres-and-programs/jacyk-centre/hrushevsky-translation-project/index.html (visit of October 14, 2020).

24 For Hrushevsky, see Serhii Plokhy, *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), esp. p. 149 for Hrushevsky as a well-recognized medievalist.
25 For a praise of Hrushevsky's work in regard to medieval Slavdom, see Paul Hollingsworth, "Introduction," in Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 2, transl. J. Ian (Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, forthcoming).
26 V. O. Kliuchevsky, *A History of Russia*, volume 1, transl. C. J. Hogarth (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960).
27 Anatole G. Mazour, "V. O. Kliuchevsky: The scholar and teacher," *The Russian Review* 32 (1973), no. 1, 15–27, here 17 with no. 7, 19, and 20. See also Robert F. Byrnes, *V. O. Kliuchevskii, Historian of Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. xvii–xviii.
28 Mazour, "V. O. Kliuchevsky," p. 27.
29 Mazour, "V. O. Kliuchevsky," p. 22.
30 Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*. I am grateful to Florin Curta for the suggestion that perhaps Obolensky was reacting to Nicolae Iorga's *Byzance après Byzance* (Bucharest, 1935). In that work, Iorga demonstrated the unity behind the eastern European world post-Byzantium. Curta suggests that Obolensky then was attempting to demonstrate that such connections already existed before the fall of Byzantium and as far back as the 9th century. See Dimitri Obolensky, "Great Moravia and the Byzantine Commonwealth," in *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia* (Thessaloniki: SS. Cyril and Methodius Center for Cultural Studies, 1999), pp. 9–15.
31 Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 1.
32 Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 1–2.
33 Dimitri Obolensky. "Byzantine frontier zones and cultural exchanges," in *Actes du XIVe CongrèsiInternational des études byzantines*. Bucarest, September 6–12, 1971, edited by M. Berza and E. Stănescu, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974), pp. 303–13, here 304.
34 Jonathan Shepard, "Byzantium's overlapping circles," in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, August 21–26, 2006*, edited by Elizabeth Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, and Judith R. Ryder, vol. 1 (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 15–55; Jonathan Shepard, "The Byzantine Commonwealth, 1000–1550," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by Michael Angold, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 3–52.
35 Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 8–10.
36 Vlada Stanković, "Putting Byzantium back on the map," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 32–33 (2016–2017), 395–405, here 400–01.
37 Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 109.
38 Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, pp. 10–46.
39 Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, "A new Byzantine Commonwealth," paper presented at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium "Reconsidering the 'worlds of Byzantium'," Washington, DC, April 22, 2016.
40 Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Christianisation de la Pologne," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13 (1988–1989), 75–86, here 75–76.
41 Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa: Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1998). Others have picked up the concept (and the dual terminology) in the meantime: Henryk Samsonowicz, "From 'barbarian Europe' to 'younger Europe'. East Central Europe in the circle of European civilisation (10th–15th centuries)," in *East Central Europe in European History. Themes and Debates*, edited by Jerzy Kłoczowski and Hubert Łaszkiewicz (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Instytuta Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2009), pp. 87–96.
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44 Natalia Zajac, "Women between West and East: The inter-rite marriages of the Kyivan Rus' dynasty, ca. 1000–1204," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto (Toronto, 2017), p. 18.
45 Jenő Szűcs, "The three historical regions of Europe: An outline," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1983), nos. 2–4, 131–84; Jenő Szűcs, *Les trois Europes,* transl. Véronique Charaire et al. (Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1985); Jenő Szűcs, "Three historical regions of Europe: An outline," in *Civil Society and the State. New European Perspectives*, edited by John Keane (London/New York: Verso, 1988), pp. 291–332.
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49 Szűcs, "The three historical regions," p. 133.
50 Szűcs, "Three historical regions," p. 291.
51 Robin Okey, "Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the definitions," *Past & Present* 137 (1992), 102–33.
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53 Florin Curta, "Introduction," in *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Florin Curta (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), p. 1.
54 Curta, "Introduction," pp. 1–2; Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952).
55 The major work is his *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952), while the terminological discussion may be found in Oskar Halecki, *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1950).
56 Halecki, *The Limits*, pp. 105–24.
57 Halecki, *The Limits*, pp. 106–07. See Jaroslav Bídlo, *Dějiny slovanstva* (Prague: Vesmír, 1927).
58 Halecki, *The Limits*, pp. 125–41.
59 Halecki, *The Limits*, p. 138.
60 Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages. Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900 - c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
61 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, p. 8.
62 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, p. 9.
63 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, p. 38.
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65 Karl J. Leyser, "Concepts of Europe in the Early and High Middle Ages," *Past& Present* 137 (1992), 25–47, here 46.
66 Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*; Christian Raffensperger, "Reimagining Europe: Discussing Rus' in a wider context," *Russian History* 42 (2015), no. 2, 204–16; Christian Raffensperger, *The Kingdom of Rus'* (Kalamazoo: Arc Humanities Press, 2017).
67 For instance, Christian Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018).
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70 Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)*, 2 vols. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019).
71 Curta, *Eastern Europe*, vol. 1, p. 4. The internal citation is to Peter Jordan, "A subdivision of Europe into larger regions by cultural criteria," United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, Working Paper no. 48, 23rd session, Vienna, March 28-April 4, 2006, available at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/23-gegn/wp/gegn23wp48.pdf (visit of September 25, 2018).

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2

BETWEEN MIGRATIONS AND *ORIGO GENTIS*

Population movements[1]

Danijel Džino

The geography of Eastern Europe provides excellent conditions for increased connectivity and population movements, and it is not at all surprising that the distant past of the region was significantly affected by migrations. Migratory movements are attested in prehistory (e.g., the Urnfielders), protohistory (e.g., La Tène/Celtic population movements) and Late Antiquity (Huns, Goths, etc.), so medieval migrations should not be seen as an exception, but rather as a continuation of a historical pattern. They impacted the ethnic configuration and the political architecture, but also triggered deeper changes of cultural and social patterns, especially if the local population for this or that reason adopted certain material cultures or models of social organization brought by the migrants. However, in comparison with earlier migrations, medieval migrations were assigned much more importance in modern historiography, largely because they are (much like in Western or Northern Europe) often incorporated into "national biographies" of modern nations during the building of national discourses in the 19th and 20th centuries. That is why they remain sensitive topics of discussion.

The reconciliation of written and archaeological sources concerning medieval migrations represents particular and recurring problems. Most migrations are known from written sources, and due to the privileged treatment of written sources in the early days of archaeology, archaeologists tended to fit their finds into narratives based on the written sources. Changes in material culture were interpreted as evidence of migrations by groups that were supposedly maintaining clearly defined ethnic identities. This led to a remarkable resistance of the culture-historical paradigm in core traditions of medieval archaeologies in Eastern European countries.[2] However, migrations in the written sources are not always exact descriptions of real events and reflect narratives of particular social groups (i.e., the elite migration myth known as *origo gentis*), which justify their privileged position. They can also be narratives coming from imperial centers of power fashioned in order to justify particular political claims or discourses on cultural supremacy. Finally, these migration myths could also be narratives of migrant integration into the Christian and post-Roman world, as recently pointed out by Walter Pohl.[3]

While a dose of healthy skepticism is necessary when dealing with medieval migrations in this part of the world, it is also very important not to "throw out the baby with the bathwater" and reject migrations solely on the principle that there are too many problems with

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their identification.[4] Migration stories from written sources were recorded for a reason, even if particular migrations did not take place, or they took place in a different way from that described by the sources. Material culture provides an opportunity to recognize some signs of migrations, such as similarities between material culture in the place of origin and the destination, continuing contact of migrants with the place of origin, appearance of new cultural and burial patterns, new burial places at the destination and decline of burial places at the place of origin. Archaeology also has the potential to detect migration through modern tools such as DNA testing and different types of isotope analysis, but at the moment, such fancy and sophisticated analyses could, very easily, drive researchers toward a misinterpretation of the evidence.[5] That said, it is important to acknowledge that there is no manual for detecting migrations in archaeology—population movements could be contextualized in very different ways and each case should be assessed in its own particular circumstances. The most important thing, however, is to understand and treat migrations and population movements as a social process, rather than to use them as a simple explanation for changes in material culture.[6] Having all of this in mind, this chapter will address the vexed question of the role of migration in the ethnic makeup and the political configuration of East Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Special emphasis will be placed on the contrast between well-documented migrations and the problems of the historiography postulating migrations that are not attested either in the written or in the archaeological sources. There is not enough space to discuss all migrations, real or imagined, which took place in this wide region between ca. 500 and ca. 1300, so the focus will be placed on some of the best-known examples.

Some migrations could be attested with more or less certainty and are generally accepted across the board by the scholars. A good example in that respect is the migration of the Germanic-speaking Lombards, which according to their migration myth occurred in several phases—first the arrival in Moravia and the Czech lands from the Elbe River, then the movement to Southern Pannonia and finally the departure to Italy under the king Alboin.[7] Archaeology confirms the settlement of new immigrant group little before 500 in Moravia, which is supported by isotope analysis of tooth enamel from cemeteries excavated in Lužice and Holubice.[8] The migration into and from Pannonia (especially in a case of cemeteries such as Szólád) is also well-explored through archaeology, as well as DNA and stable isotope analysis. The research results support the argument for an arrival of smaller groups in Western Pannonia and their use of the Moravian cemeteries for a short span of one or two generations. It seems that the migration to Pannonia occurred in three phases, with the second phase (535–550) associated with the Moravian finds, and the last phase (550–568) associated with the earliest finds ascribed to the Lombards in Italy. The analysis of DNA has established connections between the cemeteries in Szólád (Pannonia) and Collegno (Italy), supporting the migration hypothesis. It seems that the migrants consisted of smaller groups, which were integrated with local populations in both Italy and Pannonia.[9] After the Lombard departure, it is possible to recognize the existence of groups associated with "Germanic" material culture in Pannonia, probably indicating that some communities remained there rather than moving to Italy.[10]

The Lombards apparently left Pannonia because of the Avar arrival, which is also relatively well-attested in the written and material sources. The first known Byzantine encounter with the Avars was their embassy to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian dated to 557/58, as reported by Theophanes and Menander. Menander further explains that the Avars settled in the vicinity of the Alans north of Caucasus and asked for their mediation in order to establish diplomatic contacts with the Empire. The Emperor Justinian agreed to the alliance, giving the Avars gifts and lands so they would keep order in the steppe north of the Black Sea.[11]

The Avars quickly extended their dominance to the lands north of the Black Sea. A decade later, together with the Lombards, they crushed the Gepids in the Middle Danube region. After the Lombard departure for Italy in 568, the Avars remained unchallenged rulers of the Carpathian Basin.[12] However, sources have no details about the actual migration of the Avars to that region—its extent, composition of the migrant groups and their settlement.

Archaeology confirms the contours of this story, with the appearance of a new material culture in a corresponding period in the land to the east of the Middle Tisza—in particular some distinct types of weapons, "nomadic" belt sets as well as apple-shaped cast stirrups.[13] To these could also be added the appearance of "funerary-pyre" assemblages in the Great Hungarian Plain, as well as the appearance of separate elite-burial clusters within existing cemeteries dated to this early period.[14] Even stronger evidence is seen with the arrival of graves with tunnel-shaped shafts, which were not known previously in the Carpathian Basin, but could be related to Southern Ukraine, where we find the Avars first mentioned in the written sources.[15] The DNA research of 7th-century human remains in mostly elite graves also supports the idea of an arrival of a new group with eastern Eurasian ancestry through paternal genetic origins, implying the importance of patrilineal connections with, initially, a small elite group of Avar elites.[16] The place from which the Avars came into the areas north of the Black Sea is a matter of dispute and cannot be established as clearly as their move to the Carpathian Basin. Most authors believe that they were descendants of the Rouran (Juan-Juan) of Inner Asia, which are mentioned in the Chinese annals. Menander clearly states that the Avars were in fact refugees from the Göktürk khaganate, while Theophylact Simocatta provides information that these refugees were originally called Uarkhonitai (from two ethnonyms: Var and Chunni), assuming the name "Avars" only later.[17] Nevertheless, no direct evidence—especially in material culture—can be established with Inner Asia and this hypothesis remains a matter of discussion. It is likely, however, that one group of refugees including several clans, or even families adopted the prestigious name of "Avars," thereby constructing their political identity, one which was open to the incorporation of other groups.[18]

The long story of gradual Magyar migration from the Eurasian plains is contained in their *origo gentis*, which is transmitted by later Hungarian sources such as the *Gesta Hungarorum* written by an unknown author, Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum* from the 13th century and the *Hungarian Chronicle* from the 14th century. As with the other works of such character, we can see them as the manipulation of historical memories for political aims of the elite and should not take their narratives at face value.[19] Closer to the actual migration date is the narrative contained in the Byzantine treaty *De Administrando Imperio*. It says that the Magyars (who are called "Turks") were expelled by Pechenegs from their homeland in Lebedia, which was located in the neighborhood of the Khazars. It seems that the Magyars had been recognizing the supreme power of the Khazar khagan at that time, because, according to the *De Administrando Imperio*, the khagan had power to appoint their leader. After their defeat at the hands of the Pechenegs, one part of the "Turks" went westward and settled in a place called "Atelkouzou" (Etelköz). From there, they were again expelled by Pechenegs. Led by their prince Árpád, they moved across the Carpathians to settle in the Carpathian Basin, in the process taking the land of the Moravians. In Chapter 40, a second Pecheneg defeat of the Magyars is contextualized within the Bulgar-Byzantine war of 894–896. The Magyars and Kabars (another ethnic group of Khazar origin living with them) allied with the Byzantines against the Bulgars and were defeated by the new Bulgar allies—the Pechenegs.[20] This second defeat at the hands of the Pechenegs and the Magyar migration to Central Europe are also attested to by the contemporary Regino of Prüm, while the Hungarian-Byzantine alliance and Hungarian defeat are noted in the Annals of Fulda.[21] The migration from the

Etelköz (most likely the territory between Lower Danube and the Crimea) into the Carpathian Basin would also not have been a move into the unknown, as the Magyars were familiar with the area and its political situation through exploratory raids, and likely also mercenary service. Western written sources report Magyar raids on East Francia (862 and 881), on the Moravians as allies of the East Frankish king Arnulf in 892, and of a seemingly self-organized raid into Pannonia in 894.[22]

The archaeological record of the "Conquest Period" (largely coinciding with the 10th century) in the Carpathian Basin shows important changes in material culture, resulting in a unified archaeological culture, which incorporated influences from the steppe with local traditions and influences coming from the West and Byzantium. Strong connections are detected not only with Saltovo-Mayaki culture of the Middle Volga region, which is associated with the Khazars, but also with the areas further east, such as Lake Uelgi.[23] This is further corroborated by linguistics, according to which there is a strong Turkic influence on Hungarian (an otherwise Finno-Ugrian language). Moreover, DNA-based studies imply connections with the Saltovo-Mayaki culture in the eastern parts of present-day Ukraine, and even further with Central-Inner Asia.[24] Fewer connections with the Etelköz have been detected, which suggests that the Magyars stayed there very shortly.[25] However, there are significant problems with establishing the place of manufacture for steppe-related artifacts as well as with attributing burial assemblages to the first generation of migrants. Even more problematic are the artifacts such as rosette-decorated horse harness, which appear simultaneously in the Carpathian Basin as in the East European steppes, thus challenging the notion of a gradual Magyar migration. Some of those artifacts might have belonged to the Magyar migrants, but it is much more appropriate to consider them a reflection of existing exchange networks in the Eurasian steppe, rather than "ethnic markers" of new migrants.[26] While some pieces of the puzzle are still missing, there is no need to doubt that a Magyar migration into the Carpathian Basin took place as a longer-time process in several phases, which involved different ethnic groups led by the Magyar clans.

The Bulgar ethnonym appears in the 6th and 7th centuries, usually linked to groups of Onogurs and Cutrigurs that occasionally appear in the Balkans and in the Carpathian Basin in the earlier period. However, no indication of their origins or settlement is provided. The Bulgar migration to the Lower Danube is prominent in the written sources, which connect it mostly to the later 7th century during the rule of Constantine IV (668–685). However, Theophanes and Patriarch Nicephorus both knew of Asparukh, the son of Kubrat, who defeated the Emperor Constantine IV. In these accounts, Kubrat appears as the chief of the Onogurs, who ruled Great Bulgaria between the Dniester and the Lower Volga after he separated from the Avars. After Kubrat's death, his sons migrated to different areas—likely after the defeat from the Khazars in the 660s—and one of them named Asparukh reached the Lower Danube after "defeating the Avars." These events, the Bulgar *origo gentis*, are known from other unrelated sources such as the contemporary *Armenian Geography* attributed to Ananias of Širak.[27] The archaeological finds of rich 7th-century burials in the Middle Dnieper region of present-day Ukraine, such as Zachepylivka, Novi Sanzhary, Voznesens'ke, Kelegeia, Hlodosy and (Malo) Pereshchepyne, correspond well to the area ascribed to Kubrat's Bulgaria.[28] Furthermore, three gold rings from a lavish burial assemblage in Pereshchepyne bear monograms deciphered as *Koubratos*, *patrikios Koubratos* and *patrikios Batrahaos*(?) and are usually considered to have been Kubrat's.[29] These burials in Ukraine, regardless of the exact ethnicity of the deceased, show that the region was an important center of power in the 7th century when the sources mention Kubrat.

The graves and cemeteries attributed to pagan Bulgar migrants in the Lower Danube region (Northeastern Bulgaria and Southeastern Romania) may be dated to the late 7th century or early 8th century and show very diverse burial practices. The cluster of burials in the area of Pliska (near Shumen, Bulgaria) are inhumations with a north-south grave orientation, and with offerings of animals (including horses), meat, pots for food and jugs for beverages, which might imply the importance of funeral feasts. Inhumations in the biritual cemeteries in the Varna area also have a north-south grave orientation, but dominant are cremations, with occasional traces of funeral feasts and, albeit rarely, the deposition of weapons. The practice of artificial skull deformation was discovered in some of these burials, as with those across the Danube. Neighboring biritual cemeteries across the Danube in modern Romania are similar to those mentioned earlier with the major difference being a west-east orientation and somewhat richer assortment of grave goods. The construction of the graves is also very diverse, with barrows present in Kabiiuk, and tunnel-like shafts dug into the grave pits like in the cemeteries of Istria near Constanţa or Devnia-1 near Varna.[30] Elite graves are more difficult to locate, with an important find being the burial of a young male in Kabiiuk, under a barrow and next to the skull and severed legs of a horse, along with a rich array of grave goods, including gold earrings, belts sets decorated with strap ends, mounts with scrollwork and a circular lobe ornament dated to the early 8th century. Similar strap ends and mounts with scrollwork have been found in burials from Divdiadovo (Shumen) and Gledachevo.[31] These are very much reminiscent of the neighboring Late Avar assemblages in Hungary and Slovakia, or the Vrap hoard in the hinterland of Dyrrachium (Albania), which may be dated to ca. 700–720.[32] The traces of Asparukh's polity and political events following its establishment might be the hoards of silver coins (hexagrams) struck in the names of Constantine IV and found in the Lower Danube region of Romania. Further evidence may be the early medieval encampments such as the one in Kabiiuk next to the earlier mentioned barrow inhumations. Strong connection with steppe traditions is suggested by the appearance of gray, so-called Saltovo or Pastyrs'ke wares, with good analogies within the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, which is associated with the Khazars.[33]

The Bulgar *origo gentis* and the story of five brothers migrating in different directions might contain some memories of refugee groups escaping the Khazars in the 660s. However, except for their presence in the Lower Danube, and the Volga Bulgars attested much later, this is difficult to reconcile with the other evidence.[34] The archaeological evidence confirms social change and migration of ethnically diverse groups in the Lower Danube region around ca. 700, corresponding with the aforementioned written sources, which clearly indicate the Bulgar migration under khan Asparukh in the 660s/670s.

The migration of the Croats is much more complicated and controversial than the previous cases. *De Administrando Imperio* contains the Croat *origo gentis* story, which describes the settlement of the Croats who came from "Unbaptized" or White Croatia, located "beyond Hungary and next to the Franks," led by five brothers and two sisters. After defeating the Avars, part of the Croats settled in Dalmatia and the other part in Pannonia. In Chapter 31, however, the Croats are settled in Dalmatia after seeking protection from Emperor Heraclius (610–641), and after defeating the Avars on the emperor's orders, under the leadership of "Porgas' father."[35] Recent scholarship sees the testimony of Chapter 31 as a literary construct placed within the Byzantine political discourse of the mid-10th century, with the Croat *origo gentis* from Chapter 30 probably developing at the 10th-century Croat court, where historical memories of population movements ca. 800 were used as a tool to justify supremacy.[36] The location of White Croatia is difficult to determine taking into account that the ethnonym Croat is first attested to in Dalmatia, and only later in Ukraine, Bohemia, Moravia,

Carinthia and Poland.[37] The dating of the possible migration is also disputed. It was initially dated to the 7th century following the information on Heraclius provided in Chapter 31 of the *De Administrando Imperio*, but more recently, it has been interpreted as the migration of a small elite group (rather than the romanticized notion of a whole people on the move) in the context of the Frankish expansion into Central Europe ca. 800.[38]

The ethnic name "Croat" appears first in local Latin epigraphy and ducal charters from the mid-9th century, as an act of self-determination of the ruling elite (or clan) of the Duchy of Dalmatia, which extended through the modern-day Northern and Central Dalmatian hinterland including parts of Central Croatia, Southwestern Bosnia and Western Herzegovina.[39] Outside sources failed to notice any Croat identity before the 10th century: *De Administrando Imperio* did it in the middle of the century, and the *Historia Veneticorum*, finished after 1008, mentions Croats by name for the first time in relation to the events of 912.[40] Seventh-century Dalmatia shows changes in material culture: namely, the simplification of social networks, and disappearance of late antique elites who invested their resources in church building and privileged burials. Connections with Late Antiquity were maintained only in a narrow coastal strip, which likely remained part of the Byzantine Empire ruled by the surviving local elites. However, there is no evidence to support a large-scale Slavic migration in this period: there is no Prague/Korchak pottery, and early medieval cremations (none of which has been radiocarbon-dated so far) are scarce and appear to be later than the 7th century.[41] The evidence from the Dalmatian hinterland (modern Herzegovina and Bosnia) reveals large-scale depopulation and no traces of immigrants in the 7th and 8th centuries. Instead, important changes in material culture begin after ca. 775, when the image of elites in the Dalmatian hinterland starts to change, again presenting them as "violence specialists." This is best reflected in the appearance of "warrior graves," accompanied by deposited weapons and horsemen equipment, the styles of which are of Carolingian origins, like those in Crkvina (Biskupija near Knin). Some authors attribute the appearance of "warrior graves" to the migration of the Croats ca. 800 from the valley of the Elbe River, whereas others ascribe the changes to cross-cultural exchange and the rising Carolingian influences, taking into account that most other burials do not show changes from burial habits recorded in the post-Roman period.[42] Little stable isotope analysis has been done on any of the burials from this period, and when done, long-distance migration could not be established.[43] It is possible to accept the migration of some Slavic-speaking groups from Central Europe at this time, especially when one takes into account the appearance of cremation and new burial places and cemeteries, such as the burials in Podgradina-Rešetarica, where "warrior burials" were planted in the ruins of an abandoned church. Another example is Crkvina, in the village of Biskupija, where burials around and inside reused late antique vaulted crypts close to the ruins of the early Christian church start in this period, after a long period of inactivity in the post-Roman period.[44] However, it is problematic to pinpoint the Croat migrants in the archaeological record, for these movements most likely included different Slavic-speaking groups competing for the leadership of the Carolingian Dalmatian duchy. The Croats seemingly came to power only in the 830s.[45] Overall, the migration of the Croats as one of the social groups composed of "violence specialists" in service of the Carolingian Empire is very likely. That said, the evidence provided by *De Administrando Imperio* should be discarded as historically irrelevant. It is also difficult to accept that Croat identity was initially an ethnic identity. Instead, it is more likely that due to the political and organizational success of this group, "Croatness" became an elite ethnic discourse in the mid-/late 9th and 10th centuries, gradually accepted by the remaining local population and other settled Slavic groups.[46]

The migration of the Serbs is also recorded in *De Administrando Imperio*, but this time no local *origo gentis* was noted. The *De Administrando Imperio* unsurprisingly dates the migration from "unbaptized Serbia" to the reign of Heraclius—mentioning that the emperor first allowed the Serbs to settle in the neighborhood of Thessaloniki and later in the area east of the Neretva River.[47] However, the ethnic name "Sorabi," reminiscent of "Serbs," appears first two centuries later when the rogue Carolingian Duke of Lower Dalmatia—Liudewitus—hid among "the dukes of the Sorabi" located somewhere in the Dalmatian hinterland, an event dated to 822 or 823.[48] The *De Administrando Imperio*, in the mid-10th century, recognized a distinct group of "baptized" Serbs, who lived in the eastern parts of Dalmatia and the parts of Moesia, which bordered the Bulgars. Their homeland was located in "White Serbia," beyond the Magyars and next to the Franks and "White Croatia." *De Administrando Imperio* also refers to the neighboring Slavic-speaking groups: the Zachlumi, the Trabunitae, the Narentani and the Canaliti—all Serbs descended from the "unbaptized Serbs."[49]

The archaeology of Ras—modern-day Sandžak in Serbia and Montenegro—where the early medieval Serb polity of Rascia developed in the 9th century does not indicate any settlement of immigrants, and no graves that could be dated to the 7th century, so the whole story of a 7th-century Serb migration is highly problematic. The archaeological evidence for the "warrior-graves" and Carolingian artifacts from the early 9th century comparable with those from the Dalmatian duchy is also missing. However, evidence of new burial rites has been uncovered in early medieval barrows in the area of Sjenica (Kobiljka and Sugubina). They contained remains of pyres found beneath a layer of stones together with fragments of early medieval slow-wheel pottery dated from the 9th century onward, as well as charred animal bones. The absence of human remains and the remains of funerary pyres, animal bones and pottery are reminiscent of the finds from the damaged barrow from Sultići near Konjic in Northern Herzegovina. The only evidence of human remains has come from the barrows in Sugubina, which also contained the remains of a funerary pyre and pottery fragments.[50] While these were not originally interpreted as burials, the evidence points to different conclusions. For example, barrow III in Kobiljka contained the remains of a wooden structure that was used to hold an urn,[51] indicating that these were indeed the remains of cremation burials. The finds from Sjenica are reminiscent of the contemporary cremation burials of the Slavs west of the Bug River, who placed the funerary remains and remains of the pyre on the barrow or scattered them elsewhere, which might explain the absence of human remains.[52]

The ethnonym "Sorabi" that appears in the Frankish Annals refers to one of the three most significant groups of Polabian Slavs on the eastern Carolingian frontiers, the other two being the Abodrites/Obodrites and Veleti/Wilzi. "Sorabi," like the names of the other groups of Polabian Slavs, was an umbrella term that encompassed a number of smaller, heterogeneous communities and polities. The elite of the Dalmatian Sorabi/Serbs, including the "baptized" Serbs, likely originated from, or claimed the origins of the Polabian Sorabi. One of the more significant groups who settled in this strategically important area for the Byzantines must have therefore been initially recognized as such in the official "ethnic nomenclature" of the imperial administration. The other groups were then subsequently perceived by the Byzantines in the same way as by Frankish annalists—as offshoots of those Sorabi. Thus, it seems that the migration of the Serbs should be ascribed to early 9th-century movements of Slavic-speaking groups, post-dating the destruction of the Avar qaganate. Unlike the supposed migration of the 7th century, population movements in this period are supported by archaeological evidence from Dalmatia, especially its hinterland, where settlements of small groups throughout the whole 9th and even early 10th century are attested to by the appearance of new burial grounds. The memories of this migration from Northeastern Europe were also

preserved by some elite families, such as the family of Michael, the prince of the Zachlumi in the 10th century, who claimed that his ancestors came from the banks of the Vistula River.[53]

The migration of the Slavs

The most complex of the medieval migrations is that of the Slavs. Traditional explanations developed in the 19th and 20th centuries based on palaeolinguistics argued that the Slavs originated from a common homeland located in the Pripet marshes (Northern Ukraine), and from there started to migrate toward the west, the south and the north—the areas inhabited by the speakers of modern-day Slavic languages.[54] The early medieval Slavs in Eastern, Central and Southeastern Europe have been identified with the Sclavenes, a new group unknown to ancient ethnography until first recorded in 6th- and early 7th-century, mostly Byzantine sources. Archaeologists, on the other hand, have linked the Slavs to the appearance of particular features of the Prague/Korchak, Kolochin and Pen'kivka cultures, such as distinct styles of handmade pottery, cremations, "Slavic" bow fibulae and sunken-floored huts. The uncritical integration of palaeolinguistics, history and archaeology resulted in the construction of a grand narrative of Slavic migrations occurring in the 6th and 7th centuries. According to that narrative, the Slavic population "flooded" the entire territory from the southern Baltic shores and the Elbe River all the way down to the Adriatic and Aegean seas. This entrenched narrative was first criticized by two books both published in 2001, which highlighted the different ways that the existing interpretations of the Slavic migrations had been based on a patchwork of very different evidence and conjectures, purporting that it is impossible to say with certainty how, when and where the Slavs originated. Curta went one step further, arguing that the appearance of the Slavs was less a matter of gradual development and more one of intellectual invention, imagining and labeling by Byzantine writers.[55] This caused lengthy, voluminous and sometimes emotional debates with some local East European scholars, which was not surprising taking into account that Slavic migrations and Slavic origins are deeply embedded in the national biographies of the modern Slavic nations.

There is no space here to engage with this problem in more detail, but rather only to underline some of the evidence for the Slavic migrations. Unlike the earlier discussed examples of migrations, there is nothing even remotely resembling a Slavic *origo gentis* recorded before the 12th-century work, the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennykh let*). Instead, the supposed origins of the Slavs are recorded in external sources such as Jordanes and Procopius and, in this regard, they are very unreliable.[56] The so-called Sclavenes are consistently located across the Lower Danube in the literary sources, which cover the period of the later 6th and early 7th centuries. While raids of the Sclavenes are often mentioned as reaching as far as Greece and the Istrian Peninsula, there are very few instances, which suggest any settlement outside the Lower Danube region before 626, when the historical narrative breaks down. For instance, a certain *provincia Sclaborum* is recorded to have been raided by Bavarians in 592, and this likely refers to Carinthia, a region from which the Slavs launched attacks on the Lombard Duchy of Friuli later in the 7th century.[57] Another, often cited piece of written evidence for the Slav settlement in Dalmatia is the description of the Slavic capture and destruction of the provincial capital Salona during the reign of Heraclius, as recorded in *De Administrando Imperio*. However, doubts about that account have been raised, when no archaeological evidence has been found of the destruction of Salona. Instead, there is evidence of lingering habitation within the city walls until at least the late 7th century.[58] More evidence mentioning the Slavs appears only after the mid-7th century, for example, during the campaign of Emperor Constans II against an ill-defined Sclavinia, which was

most likely located close to Constantinople (656/657), or the recording of Severeis and the "Seven Tribes," two Slavic groups said to have been conquered by Asparukh's Bulgars.[59] Evidence of contemporary Slavic settlement in the vicinity of Thessalonica is also provided by the second book of the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius*, written in the later 7th century. That said, while the book relates Slavic migrants to earlier events in the region (e.g., the siege of Thessalonica in 616/17), it seems that the author was anachronistically reflecting upon the situation in his own time.[60]

The palaeolinguistic notion of an ancestral Slavic homeland in the Pripet marshes is not documented archaeologically. Known sites of the Kolochin, Pen'kivka and Prague/Korchak cultures in Ukraine and Belarus, attributed to the Slavs, coincide in time with, or are even later than sites in the Lower Danube region where the 6th-century sources located the Sclavenes.[61] The Kolochin and the Pen'kivka cultures did not expand westward, but on the contrary were replaced in the late 7th century or in the 8th century by other archaeological cultures originating in Eastern Ukraine. In fact, the archaeological evidence suggests strong cultural influences in the opposite direction—from the Lower and Middle Danube to the Middle Dnieper region during the 7th century.[62] Thus, a starting point in looking for the Sclavene migrations should be the material culture of the Lower Danube, which according to the early Byzantine sources was inhabited in the 6th century and early 7th century by the Sclavenes. That is a region characterized by a settlement layout with a central open area, houses with clay ovens, the use of handmade pottery combined with wheel-made pottery or pottery thrown on a tournette, cremation burials, claypans, a strong presence of early Byzantine coins, buckles, amphorae remains, fibulae with bent stem, and bow fibulae.[63]

However, migrations from the Lower Danube region after ca. 600, which are mentioned in some sources, are also difficult to support archaeologically, except perhaps the appearance of cremation and biritual (inhumation and cremation) cemeteries in the northern part of modern-day Bulgaria. Many of these cremations are in simple pits and in cist graves, not in urns, so simply attributing those burials to the Sclavenes remains problematic. Other aspects of the 6th-century material culture in the lands north of the Lower Danube are equally absent.[64] Dalmatia generally lacks any evidence for larger-scale migration of foreign groups until ca. 700, and even then the evidence is limited to the appearance of new settlements made of sunken-floored huts in the northeastern and eastern parts of the modern-day region of Bosnia, such as Mušići.[65] Similarly in the lands south of the Danube River, cremations have not been discovered far into areas of modern-day Serbia, and the new post-Roman settlements made of sunken-floored huts in the region, similar to those in Northeastern and Eastern Bosnia, cannot be dated before 650. No evidence exists from Southern Pannonia, with the exception of cremations that may be dated before the 9th century, at Vinkovci, which have been radiocarbon-dated to ca. 700.[66] Recently discovered settlements in Northwestern Croatia and Slovenia along the Mura River (such as Nova Tabla) were originally attributed to the Slavs and their inception dated to the early 6th century. While they do have some elements that could be related to Lower Danube culture such as claypans, most other elements of shared material culture are missing, including, crucially, cremation burials. Moreover, both the dating and the ethnic attribution of Nova Tabla finds remain doubtful and problematic.[67]

The material culture of contemporary communities farther to the north from the Danube (Poland, Moravia, Bohemia and Belarus) is different from that in the Lower Danube region, so it is difficult to prove that the Slavs in those remote regions came from the place where they are mentioned in the written sources. Away from the Lower Danube region, most typical are the remains of log houses with stone ovens, exclusively handmade pottery

of specific forms, large settlements, fortified sites that functioned as religious or communal centers and burials under barrows.[68] Archaeological assemblages attributed to the Slavs in Northern Germany or Northern Poland cannot be dated earlier than ca. 700.[69] The traces of a new population might be detected in Moravia and Slovakia, where cremations replaced inhumations in row-grave cemeteries. However, none of the archaeological assemblages associated with the Prague culture in Bohemia and Moravia may be dated before ca. 600. Multidisciplinary research on the important settlement site of Roztoky, associated with the Prague culture, indicates that the settlement was not established suddenly but gradually, while radiocarbon dating places its establishment at any point between 568 and 678.[70]

This short overview does no justice to the enormous complexity of the problem posed by the unsolved questions of the Slavic origins, spread of population and language. However, the impression one gets from examining the archaeological and written sources is that the spread of the Slavs was a process more complex and different from other migrations in medieval Eastern Europe. The Sclavenes located in the 6th- and early 7th-century Lower Danube region by contemporary sources were a group of heterogeneous communities who likely shared some common features, but lacked a compact elite core capable of providing ideological foundations for the establishment of a political entity. On the other hand, at the same time, a loosely connected network of communities started to form in Central and Central-Eastern Europe—the culture with Prague-type pottery—that shared some elements of common material culture.[71] While cultural influences from the Lower Danube and population movements within Central Europe cannot be excluded, the culture with Prague-type pottery was different from that of the Lower Danube and should be seen as an independent development. The establishment of the Avar khaganate provided an opportunity for increased communication and spread of cultural features recognized by the outsiders as "Slavic," through cultural contact and limited-scale population movements. Thus, we can say that the spread of Slav culture and ethnicity was a long-time process rather than a migration of particular group from point A to point B. So it seems that many of the Slavs one can find in the late 8th- and early 9th-century Eastern and Central Europe were in fact "becoming Slavs" rather than being of common "Slavic descent." This allows for a reassessment of medieval Slav-ness as a result of the process of longue durée cultural change, rather than its driving force.[72] Additional spread of the Slavs in Central and Southeastern Europe seems to be a consequence of the Avar demise and of the migration movements in the 9th century mentioned earlier in the context of Croat and Serb migrations.

Conceptualizing migrations

The conceptualization of medieval migrations in East Central and Eastern Europe has lacked both flexibility and diversity in approach. The most significant problem is the view of migrations as large-scale movements of already formed ethnic groups and the conceptualization of early medieval ethnicity as a primordial sense of identity.[73] Medieval ethnic names recorded in the sources are not easy to interpret. In some cases, they depict the identity of an elite group, while in others, they might reflect solely the perception of outside authors, which are rooted in an available body of knowledge or a particular ideological/political discourse. As demonstrated by the selected examples discussed above, determining ethnicity and migrations in the archaeological record is extremely difficult, even when migrations are well-attested in the written sources. This also applies to later migrations, such as that of the Pechenegs to the Lower Danube region and the Eastern Balkans in the 11th century and the 12th century, which is well-recorded in the sources, but not visible in the material record.[74]

A view of migrations as a conquest is another frequently used conceptual tool, probably best embodied in the Hungarian term *honfoglalás* (conquest of the homeland). Certainly, this conquest cannot be rejected in conceptual analyses—the arrival and settlement of the Mongols in the 13th century resulting in establishment of the Golden Horde khanate was exactly that—the result of a conquest. The Croats were probably involved in the conquest of the eastern Adriatic Byzantine enclaves in early 9th century and their rise to power could be interpreted as a direct consequence of that conquest. However, they were part of the Carolingian military system and the Dalmatian (later Croat) duchy was initially established as a Carolingian frontier duchy. So, the settlement cannot be interpreted as a consequence of a Croat (or Slavic) conquest. In fact, a significant number of migrations in medieval Eastern Europe are movements of refugee groups led by well-organized and ruthless cores of warriors capable of taking power in the new areas of settlement. Those groups were already familiar with the area of future settlement through earlier contacts—usually military raids—as illustrated by the examples of the Avar, Bulgar and Magyar migrations. This does not mean that all refugees were successful in grabbing power—the 9,000 Bulgars escaping the Avars in the 630s together with their families ended up being slaughtered by the Franks.[75] There is also another type of forced migration recorded in the sources, which is also invisible archaeologically. The Sermesianoi, for instance, were East Roman captives whom the Avars settled in the vicinity of Sirmium in the 7th century, and whose descendants were resettled back in the Empire after half a century. Similar to the destiny of the Sermesianoi was that of the Byzantines whom the Bulgar khan Krum took as prisoners and settled across the Danube in the 810s.[76] The slave trade in early medieval Central and East Central Europe, which is still an insufficiently researched topic, represents another aspect of forced migrations, which should be taken into consideration.[77] Finally, while overexaggerated in earlier scholarship, the explanation of population movements as the colonization and settlement of sparsely inhabited areas might be a valid explanation for the appearance of the Slavs from Central and Eastern Europe in Southern Pannonia, as well as the Western and Central Balkans in the 9th century (but not earlier).

Conclusion

This short and by no means all-encompassing overview of migrations in medieval Eastern Europe illustrates the statement that migrations were very important in shaping the ethnic and political picture of the region. That said, population movements are difficult to establish and attest in both historical and archaeological records, and, in most cases, they are also embedded in the "national biographies" of modern nations and reified in popular and scholarly interpretations of the past. In most of the cases, hidden behind migrations, there are real population movements taking place at some point in time, but sometimes "migration" turns into a descriptive and largely misleading term for much more complex social processes, such as the appearance and spread of the Slavs. Nevertheless, the most significant problem with research on medieval migrations remains the limited and fairly rigid range of interpretative approaches to conceptualizing population movements in local East European scholarship.

Notes

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3

STEPPE EMPIRES WITHOUT EMPERORS

Avars, Bulgars and Khazars

Evgenia Komatarova-Balinova

"O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!" That is what Emperor Justinian I (527–565) reputedly exclaimed in admiration of his own foundation, the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[1] Justinian's reign is often referred to as an "era," and he himself is hailed as "the Great" because of the grand scale of his construction activities and administrative reforms, as well as his military campaigns. The reign is also regarded as one of the last (if not the final) bright episodes in a 200-long period in European history called the "Dark Ages." That catchphrase is supposed to reflect the complex and dynamic transformation of the social and economic structures within the East Roman Empire. As a result of a series of events that took place in the "long" 6th century, despite some unsurpassed cultural achievements, the Empire lost a good deal of territory, such as the recently (re)conquered central and north areas of Italy, now taken by the Lombards.[2] Some have pushed the beginning of the so-called Dark Ages in the northern Balkans as early as the 5th century.[3] The main argument in favor of that idea is the collapse of several urban agglomerations such as Sirmium (now Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia), Singidunum (now Belgrade) and Nicopolis ad Istrum (now Nikyup, near Veliko Tărnovo, in Bulgaria).[4] About a century later, Justinian the Great focused his construction activities on that same region of the northern Balkans in order to enhance the defense of the imperial frontier on the Danube.[5]

Another feature of the "Dark-Age" history of the lands in Central and Eastern Europe was the almost concomitant rise of three political formations of the Avars, the Bulgars and the Khazars, respectively. With the former two, Byzantium engaged in long-lasting wars when not maintaining friendly, neighborly relations in order to keep peace at the northern frontier. With the Khazars, however, the Empire engaged in diplomacy. Geographically and culturally, those three formations belong to the steppe corridor of Eurasia, stretching over thousands of kilometers—from Lake Balaton to the Yellow Sea. The nomads inhabiting the steppe belt possessed their own "spiritual sedentariness,"[6] which left foreigners with the impression of a space "beyond." A testimony of that sedentariness of the mind, some 300 years after Justinian's exclamation cited above, is the words of the Bulgar Khan Omurtag (814–831), carved in stone: "Man dies, even if he lives well, and another is born."[7] The contacts between the "steppe empires" at the time of their rise and Byzantium at the time of its decline resulted in an array of cultural phenomena, which have posed difficult problems of interpretation for 20th- and early 21st-century scholars. Take, for example, Pliska—the capital of Bulgaria. Much is known

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about it, yet too little. The common opinion is that, immediately after their settlement in the north(east)ern Balkans, the Bulgars built their impressive capital in a region that had been seemingly abandoned for almost a century, if not more. They built it following Byzantine traditions, providing it at the same time with an original look. How could recent immigrants have built such a town, when none existed in the lands from which they have migrated, remains a mystery. Moreover, 120 years after the discovery of Pliska, many scholars are still confounded by questions that have apparently no straight answer: what was Bulgaria—an empire, a monarchy, a state, a khanate or a khaganate?[8] Some believe that Bulgaria was a "steppe empire" and the Bulgars one of the "imperial peoples," like the Turks, the Uyghurs and the Khazars.[9] Linguistically minded historians meanwhile insist on *pax*, a supposedly neutral term to describe the political formations of steppe people.[10] This conceptual confusion stems from the different sources that scholars employ in order to construct and/or reconstruct the past. The sparse narrative sources and the utter lack of domestic ones are perhaps the foremost reason for the terminological imprecisions. Many expect archaeology, with its constantly enriched empirical basis, to fill in the gaps in the fragmented written evidence, which leads to several paradoxes. At the time of the Cold War (and shortly after that), those expectations were reflected in the dissemination of the culture-historical paradigm. That paradigm was particularly strong in Eastern Europe, where it led to the creation of the so-called national schools of archaeology, every one of them engaged politically in the construction and the validation of the national(ist) discourse. Because of massive investments in archaeology, those were also the years of large-scale excavations and the accumulation of a staggering quantity of artifacts far larger than anything before or after that period. The interpretation of these varied archaeological data through the prism of the written sources, few, brief and rather uninformative, defined "once and forever" the early medieval communities as static groups of people, frozen in time and devoid of their own dynamics of development. Static, in fact, is the "dark side" in the study of the "Dark Ages."

Because of the inability of both historians and archaeologists to delineate precisely the form of social organization on the basis of their respective sources, a number of familiar, but ill-defined terms have been in use of quite some time, and mechanical comparisons introduced and accepted at face value. The concept of "empire" is a case in point, and the addition of such substantival or adjectival modifiers as "steppe," "nomadic" or "mobile" neither adds precision, nor can change the fact that the ruler is a khan or a khagan. His is a political status very different from that of an emperor, no matter how much the one strove to emulate the other, mostly through insignia and symbols of power. There have been attempts at a moderate use and applied meaning of such concepts as "state," "khaganate" and "empire." How successful such attempts are may be gauged by examining such phrases as "states with nomadic elites," "quasi-imperial confederations" or "quasi-imperial state-like structures."[11] At least the latter are defined as hierarchical structures, each with a ruling family (or a dynasty), whose members are connected through blood relations; officials; no codified legislation and no legal institutions, as the exclusive rights to judge are reserved for the ruler; and, in general, an underdeveloped government apparatus.[12] To various degrees, those characteristics may be observed for the formations of the Avars, the Bulgars and the Khazars. None of those characteristics, however, is of much assistance in defining any of those formations.

Avars

"Thousands" (and multiples) is the most befitting noun to describe the archaeological legacy of the Avars. The sites on which assemblages relate to one or more phases of the Avar age (568–788/796) are scattered over an area of 155,000 square miles in East Central Europe,

covering the modern states of Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia and Romania.[13] Researchers dedicated to their study hail from half of the European Union and even from countries outside it. The Avar military raids covered distances of *thousands* of kilometers, and some 70 *thousand* graves from three *thousand* excavated cemeteries or isolated finds are known from the Carpathian Basin alone.[14] By contrast, only about 30 settlements are so far known.[15] The imagination of even the most courageous and determined researcher could hardly grasp the rate of archaeological data accumulation, and the interpretation of this enormous material can hardly keep up with it. This was a problem from the very beginning of Avar archaeology, namely in the last quarter of the 19th century when a number of cemeteries were excavated in and around Keszthely (Zala county, Hungary), at the western end of Lake Balaton. Within a few years, no less than five *thousand* graves were unearthed. By now, Avar archaeology is a subfield with its own, very large literature in multiple languages and few are those who have attempted to assess this rich historiography.[16] Given this abundance of evidence, it is at first glance surprising to learn that "the history of the Avars was written mainly by their enemies."[17] The Avars were apparently so bent on *imitatio imperii*, particularly in the late 7th century that one archaeologist even called their polity "Byzantium on the Danube."[18]

The beginning of Avar history, presumably linked to the Central Asian Juan-Juan, is "veiled with the darkness of the unknown," not so much because of the small number of sources, but because the name Avars was used for more than one "ethnic" group.[19] Once the Avars entered the radar of both the early Byzantine sources and of Emperor Justinian's diplomacy, their history between 558 and 626 could be fairly well reconstructed. Much of that history has to do with raids into the Balkans, which have been aptly called *Blitzkrieg* tactics and culminated in the siege of Constantinople in 626.[20] The archaeology of the Avars during that period as well as later has recently been labeled "pure archaeology" for two reasons. First, "no contemporary nation defines itself as a descendant of the Avars, and therefore, they are neither used as a tool for anyone's "historic justification," nor give grounds to anyone else to blame their national problems on them." Second, "with the exception of the first and last few decades of the existence of the Avar Khaganate, there are almost no written data on the Avars and their political formation."[21] Both factors explain the almost exclusive preoccupation in Avar archaeology with problems of chronology. The diversity of the multiple grave goods in Avar cemeteries allows the construction of similar typologies and clusters, where the dating of separate groups of finds can be compared and calibrated, by use of statistical methods, mainly through quantitative and combinatory analyses.[22] On the basis of the "chronological horizons" (i.e., phases of Avar culture) established by such means, one can distinguish between weapons, pieces of horse tack, jewelry and dress accessories, as well as the pottery most typical for each part of the Avar age—early (ca. 570 to ca. 630), middle (ca. 630 to ca. 680) and late (ca. 680 to ca. 820). The chronological system of that age relied initially on such indicators as early Byzantine coins, but radiocarbon dating has been recently used with great success.

Two of the trademark sites of the Early Avar age are Keszthely and Kölked-Feketekapu. The cemeteries excavated in and around Keszthely are believed to be representative for the Keszthely culture, a rare phenomenon in early medieval archaeology because of its high degree of heterogeneity. S-shaped fibulae and earrings with basket-shaped pendants point to contacts with (northern) Italy. Moreover, disk-shaped fibulae with Christian images signal late antique traditions associated with Christianity. In one of the cemeteries excavated in Keszthely, a pin was found with the Latin inscription of its owner's name, Bonosa. On the other hand, silver belt kits of the so-called Aradac (or Felnac) type indicate contacts with

steppe lands north of the Black Sea and with the Byzantine world in the Crimea.[23] The diversity of the so-called Keszthely culture is interpreted either as an indication of the continuity of a local Romanized population that came under Avar rule, or as a late antique legacy enriched with new cultural elements.[24]

The cemetery excavated at the Feketekapu site in Kölked (Baranya county, Hungary) has a complex horizontal stratigraphy, which covers the last decades of the 6th century and the entire 7th century, with graves distributed in separate zones labeled A–F, among which several other smaller groups have been identified.[25] Much like in Keszthely, a great variety of dress accessories (earrings and belt fittings) have been found with excellent analogies in Merovingian assemblages known from excavations in southern Germany, France and Italy.[26] On the other hand, grave 388 produced a bow fibula with zoomorphic ornament of the so-called Dnieper type, with many analogies in Ukraine.[27] Zone B in the cemetery shows the first phases of the new culture in the region, along with connections with the Balkans and Italy.[28]

The beginning of the Middle Avar age has recently been the subject of much debate, because it does not seem to be related to sudden cultural changes. Directly associated with the problems of the "transition" from the Early to Middle Avar age is the appearance in the lands between the Danube and the Tisza of very rich "princely graves." This phenomenon coincides in time with equally rich (if not even richer) assemblages in steppe lands of Eastern Europe. Initially, the beginning of the Middle Avar age was set around 650, largely on the basis of gold pressed pseudo-buckles such as found in Kunbábony, the richest of all "princely graves."[29] However, more recently, the date has been pushed back a couple of decades, although the Middle Avar age is still the shortest of all phases—only 50 years.[30] The pseudo-buckles in Kunbábony have good analogies in an extraordinarily rich assemblage from Malo Pereshchepyne (Poltava region, Ukraine), which encouraged some to draw the conclusion that Kunbábony and Malo Pereshchepyne coincided in time.[31] Since the latter assemblage is associated with Byzantine coins, the latest of which were struck in the name of Emperor Constans II (642–668), Kunbábony was also dated to the middle or the beginning of the second half of the 7th century.[32] However, the complications of the cultural and historic interpretation of the Malo Pereshchepyne including the identity of the person buried (or supposed to be buried) there lead directly to an obvious, yet uncomfortable question: why should the "princely graves" from Hungary coincide in time with Malo Pereshchepyne, especially since the course of historical events in the northern Black Sea region had little, if anything to do with those in the Carpathian Basin? To be sure, some have posited that with the dissolution of Great Bulgaria, a group of Bulgars under the leadership of Kuber, one of Kubrat's sons, moved to the Carpathian Basin.[33] However, as Csanád Bálint long noted, to read the archaeological material in light of the written sources is simply text-driven archaeology, a special case of the culture-historical paradigm.[34] The limits of that paradigm for the historical interpretation are immediately observable. If the "princely graves" from Hungary are the archaeological correlate of the rich Bulgars from the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, one would expect to find similarly rich burials in Bulgaria, where, according to the same written sources, another group of Bulgars migrated at the same time. In reality, there are no such graves in Bulgaria, and no gold finds dated to the time of the migration, with a couple of exceptions.[35] The lack of luxury goods related to the elite, as well as of any items related to "the ordinary population" led some to the conclusion, according to which there are no "typically Middle Avar" finds in Bulgaria.[36] Nor can a supposedly "Avar group" be isolated in any early cemetery attributed to the Bulgars.[37] Recent attempts to isolate instead a group of belt fittings, called Vrap-Velino (after two finds in Albania and Bulgaria,

respectively), and to link the elite burial in Kabiiuk to the Bulgars under Kuber inside the Avar khaganate have been equally sterile.[38]

Changes in manufacturing technology and the ornamental style of belt sets characterize the Late Avar age. From a technological point of view, the most important change is the generalized use of mold casting. In terms of style, the close links of the earliest Avar-age casts and the belt fittings in the Vrap hoard show that, shortly before and after the year 700, the source of inspiration for the metalwork of the Late Avar age was Byzantium.[39] However, during that age, no elite (rich) graves are known and the number of grave goods deposited decreased considerably in large cemeteries with "commoners."

Very little can be said about the Avar society on the basis of the archaeological data. The interpretation of luxury grave goods, besides the obvious, raises a methodological problem: burial is not a mirror of social reality. Rich burials may well be the result of factors and norms, which are not necessarily expressed in a material way.[40] According to the written sources, but not to the archaeological data, some kind of centralized (dynastic) power existed in Avar society. That power was characterized by the dualism of the khagan's power and titles, for which there are perfect parallels in the Turkic Khaganates.[41] However, similar titles such as *kapkhan*, *tarkhan* and *zhupan* that appear among both Bulgars and Khazars had different meanings.

Bulgars (in the Balkans)

During the second half of the first millennium, "Bulgars" was a name for a population that inhabited all the historic and geographic areas of Eastern Europe that are known for the so-called steppe cultures. For a comparatively shorter period of time between the 670s and the late 9th century, that name was appropriated by three different formations on the map of medieval Europe: Kubrat's polity called "Great Bulgaria" in the written sources, Bulgaria in the Balkans and Bulg(h)aria on the Volga.[42] The former polity was short-lived. The existence of Bulg(h)aria-on-the-Volga ended with the Mongol conquest in the 13th century and that of Bulgaria-on-the-Danube with the Ottoman conquest of the late 14th century. However, the name survived and is now taken by the Republic of Bulgaria.[43] According to both the written sources and to modern scholars eager to link those sources to the archaeological record, the medieval Bulgars were almost everywhere in Eastern Europe, from the Danube Delta to the Middle Dnieper and the Middle Volga, as well as to the Lower Kuban and the western coast of the Caspian Sea. The only apparent problem is that there is no uniform, standard culture in all these territories to express the supposedly Bulgar mindset, religious ideas and burial customs.

The core of Bulgaria-in-the-Balkans occupies the northeastern part of present-day Bulgaria, an area no larger than 5,400 square miles. Some 80 sites in that area are known for a variety of finds—a capital, a number of *auls* (courts), earth embankments, settlements and cemeteries. Not all of them received the same degree of scholarly attention or even publication. Because of that, it is almost impossible to define the Bulgar culture in the Balkans on the basis of the archaeological data, in sharp contrast to the situation in Avar archaeology. As a consequence of that lack of definition, the beginning and the chronology of the archaeological culture associated with Bulgaria-in-the-Balkans remain obscure. To circumvent the problem, scholars have employed two methods. Some have used pottery and its chronology. Others have preferred metal artifacts, specifically belt fittings, often from stray finds. Because analogies for both categories of archaeological evidence are few and far between, the search for parallels has expanded into other cultural areas, such as the Carpathian Basin during the

Avar age, as well as the steppe lands of Eastern Europe, where the written sources locate Great Bulgaria.[44] At least in the former case, as shown above, the results of the search have been disappointing.

While historians of the Avars rely on flimsy evidence to advance the idea of a dynasty of khagans, at least for the first century of Avar history, scholars interested in Bulgar rulers think they are in a much better position. Ever since the 1860s, they at least have a written source, which the Croatian historian Franjo Rački (1828–1894) first called the "List of the Bulgar Khans." This is list of 13 rulers with the periods of their respective reigns given in yearly cycles, as well as their clan affiliation. The source is written in Old Church Slavonic (in its East Slavic redaction) and is preserved in three manuscripts, one from the 15th century and the other two from the 16th century.[45] Scholars assume that the first five individuals in the list ruled in Great Bulgaria, on the basis of the identification of the name Kurt with Kubrat, as well as of the remark, according to which "these five princes ruled beyond the Danube with shaved heads. And after that, to this side [or beyond] of the Danube came prince Isperih [Asparukh]."[46] Whether the List reflects the genuine political tradition of the Bulgars, or not, the ruler is called *kana sybigi* in 10 inscriptions written in Greek and dated to the 9th century, before the conversion to Christianity.[47] Some have suggested that *kana* may be read as "khan" or as abbreviation of "khagan."[48] Whatever the case may be, the power of the Bulgar khans did not reside in their titles, but in their actions.[49] The representation of that power, however, is worth a comment. Only a few portraits of the Bulgar rulers are known. One of them is on the seal of Tervel (ca. 700–721), bearing the title of Caesar.[50] Equally interesting is the gold medallion with Omurtag's image, which was found on the Tsarevets Hill in Veliko Tărnovo. The face portrait follows the artistic conventions of the Byzantine iconography. Byzantine are also his attire and insignia—the chlamys with a fibula, the cross and the *akakia,* as well as the crown. In the upper field of the medallion, there is an inscription in mixed Greek and Latin characters: "(Medallion) of *kana sybigi* Omurtag."[51]

The ultimate material expression of the power of the Bulgar khans was their capital in Pliska. Its ruins were discovered in 1899 by the Czech scholar Karel Škorpil on the outskirts of the village Aboba (now Pliska, in the region of Shumen). The identification of the ruins with Pliska known from the written sources was made possible by an inscription found in 1905 in Chatalar (now Khan Krum, near Shumen).[52] The town spreads over 8.28 square miles and is surrounded by 12.19 miles (19.6 km) of earthen ramparts. It has been suggested that about 10,000 people must have been mobilized only for the construction of the ramparts.[53] Only 0.6 percent of the area covered by the town has been excavated, revealing a variety of buildings and finds. The double ramparts divide the site into an Outer Town and an Inner Town. The Outer Town is an irregular quadrangle with points of entry in the middle of all four sides.[54] The date of the embankment remains uncertain, as it is based on a few ceramic shards, loosely dated to the 8th century and 9th century.[55] The Inner Town is located in the center of the Outer Town and covers some 118 acres (Figure 3.1). Unlike the Outer Town, the Inner Town is surrounded by a wall built in the *opus implectum* technique, with alternating layers of ashlars laid across and along the wall.[56] The ashlar construction may have reached as high as 12 m.[57] There are four, brick-vaulted gates on each side of the curtain wall, each one of them flanked by towers. The original masonry is preserved only at the southern gate, which had spiral staircases built within the towers. There were round towers at all four corners of the curtain. Nonetheless, judging by the standards of the time, this was hardly a defensive structure. Some have rightly concluded that the curtain of the Inner Town served the representation of power, not the military needs of the site.[58] Pliska's innermost line of defense is the Citadel (Figure 3.2). Its layout is rectangular and covers an

Figure 3.1 The Inner Town of Pliska. Aerial photograph by Andrei Aladzhov. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia

Figure 3.2 The Citadel of Pliska. Photograph by Andrei Aladzhov, with the author's additions: 1—the stone and brick wall of the Citadel, 2—the "Small Palace," 3—the cross-domed church, 4—the Bath, 5—the presumably pagan sanctuary, and 6—a stone square. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia

area of 2.5 acres. The walls of the Citadel rest on two courses of stone blocks upon which a brick structure is built. There are narrow points of entry on the northern western and southern sides. The largest stone buildings inside are residential. One of them is the Small Palace, next to which is a structure interpreted as a pagan sanctuary, as well as a cross-domed church and a tripartite bathhouse with an associated hypocaust system. All those buildings are arranged around a square covered with stone slabs. The whole ensemble occupies only the western half of the Citadel and represents an unfinished construction phase, which was suddenly disrupted in the early 10th century. As a result of the intensive excavations over the past ten years, it has been established that to the north from the Citadel there was another, earlier complex of buildings, equally impressive in size, but made of timber. Those were also rectangular buildings with an elaborate inner partition, and outer walls over 40 m in length. This may also have been a palatial compound, as suggested by a small hoard found there in 2012 (Figure 3.3). The hoard consists of 12 glass artifacts, five of which are double plates made of potassium and sodium glass with human figures engraved in gold, framed by tendrils.[59] All figures are almost identical, dressed in the same way, and the artifacts may depict a particular episode of a narrative or a procession.

The archaeological record of pre-Christian Pliska may be dated within a relatively short span (less than a century), but the history of the site during that period was full of dramatic episodes of building, destruction and restoration. This makes the task of separating and dating occupation phases particularly difficult. The synchronous character of at least some buildings results from the discovery of a system of underground tunnels between them. Those secret passages are some of the most impressive engineering feats at Pliska. Their combined length is nearly 1.2 miles, of which only 5 percent have been studied. That no solid evidence exists for an occupation phase dated before ca. 800 prompts the question whether, before Pliska, the Bulgar khans resided elsewhere, for example, in the ancient town of Marcianopolis (now Devnia).[60] Others maintain that the Bulgar khans were peripatetic rulers, with no fixed capital before Symeon the Great's choice of Preslav in the early 10th century.[61]

Outside Pliska, few if any early medieval settlements have been studied. Much like in the case of Avar archaeology, the development of the archaeology of early medieval Bulgaria was marked by a desire to explore cemeteries. With no settlement archaeology to speak of, the idea that before permanent settlements the presumably nomadic Bulgars lived in camps is nothing more than speculation. The idea was to link such temporary settlements to finds of Gray Ware with burnished ornament, but the pottery in question was most certainly produced by specialized craftsmen using kilns in permanent settlements.[62] Whatever open settlements have been excavated cannot be dated with any degree of accuracy between the 8th and the 10th centuries. Most archaeologists still operate with the idea that a settlement must be pre-Christian if a synchronous cemetery is found nearby.[63] Following such standards, there are three settlement zones: the Black sea coast, the right bank of the Danube and the Ludogorie Plateau, in the environs of Pliska, Preslav and Madara. All settlements known so far are open (without fortifications), and without any pre-planned layout. The main type of dwelling is the sunken-floored building, with a heating facility (oven or hearth) in one of the corners. A few sites on the Black Sea coast have also produced aboveground buildings, all of rectangular layout.[64] The dwelling of circular plan (inappropriately called "yurt"), which is commonly associated with the nomads, is the least documented. However, the stone model of such a building, complete with engraved, hunting scenes, was found in Devnia and is often cited as proof that yurts truly existed in early medieval Bulgaria.[65]

Research on cemeteries started in 1948 with excavations in Novi Pazar, a few miles east of Pliska. Despite the fact that only 42 graves have been excavated, the cemetery was a sensation

Figure 3.3 Pliska, glass plates with gold inlays from the hoard discovered in the so-called Round Square, north of the Citadel. Photograph by Krasimir Georgiev. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia

at the time of its discovery, and its interpretation the subject of much debate.[66] Stancho Stanchev (Vaklinov) first attributed it to the early Middle Ages, specifically to the period of the First Bulgar Empire, as a result of his collaboration with the Soviet archaeologist Mikhail Artamonov (1898–1972), who saw a resemblance between the Gray Ware with burnished ornament found in graves excavated in Novi Pazar, and that from sites in the Soviet Union attributed to the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, which he in turn linked to the Khazar Khaganate.[67] To this day, over 40 sites are known on which cemeteries dated to the same period have been excavated. Some are biritual (i.e., with both cremation and inhumation graves), others strictly cremation cemeteries. The westernmost point of their distribution known so far is Obârşia Nouă (Olt County, Romania), near the confluence of the Olt and Danube rivers.

To the east, cemeteries have been found on several sites on the Black sea coast from Capul Viilor (Histria, in Istria, Constanța County, Romania) to Varna (Bulgaria). In biritual cemeteries, the ratio of cremations to inhumations varies greatly, but it appears that most people in pre-Christian Bulgaria cremated their dead. This is true especially for the Black Sea coast, where over 75 percent of all graves are cremations.[68] By contrast in the Ludogorie Plateau, the percentage of cremations in the total number of graves is less than a third.[69] The cremated remains are placed directly in the pit, in urns or in cists (some made of bricks, others of stones). Cists and urns cluster in the Black Sea coastal region, while pit cremations appear especially in the interior. There are two types of inhumations—pit and cist graves, the latter prevailing in those same cemeteries that have high numbers of cremations. On the Black Sea coast, many inhumations include skeletons placed in fetal or otherwise abnormal position. Such graves have a different orientation (typically north-south). Cemeteries in the Black Sea coastal region have also produced evidence of postmortem mutilation of the bodies.[70]

The problem of the relative chronology of those cemeteries is extremely complex, because of the modest number and quality of grave goods (in other words, there are few chronological indicators). Most grave goods consist of ceramic vessels, either Gray Ware with burnished ornament (jugs, cups, pots, bowls and buckets), or kitchenware (pots made of clay tempered with sand, with combed ornament). Despite attempts at classification and chronology, the conclusions of various authors have not been verified (much less calibrated) by independent dating.[71] A few belt fittings are the only chronological indicators.[72] The fact that all of them are worn out, broken or incomplete suggests that they ended up in the grave after long use, perhaps as gifts (for the deceased) or heirlooms, not as dress accessories. At any rate, those artifacts can only provide a general *terminus a quo*, much like pierced ancient coins deposited as grave goods.[73]

Perhaps the thorniest of all issues concerning the archaeology of early medieval Bulgaria is the origin of the culture revealed by the excavations of settlements and cemeteries. Some claim that this was a "ready-made" culture, the development of which remains to be discovered by archaeologists.[74] Others see no problem in tracing the culture back evolutionarily ca. 500 years, in order to be synchronized with and to confirm the information of the written sources about the establishment of the Bulgar state in the Lower Danube region.[75] Naturally, both cannot be true: political history and material culture develop simultaneously, or they don't.[76] For the moment, the prevailing interpretation is that which takes the Bulgars back in time to Late Antiquity. In that respect, it makes sense to have an ongoing dispute over what can be attributed to the Bulgars in assemblages found in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea and what should be attributed to the Khazars.

Khazars

Of all political formations considered in this chapter, the Khazar Khaganate covered the widest swathe of land, from the Severskii Donets to the Volga on a west-east axis, and from the middle course of the Don to the foothills of Caucasus Mountains in a north-south direction. Most sites dated to the period of the Khazar Khaganate are in the Kharkiv, Luhansk and Donetsk regions of Ukraine, the Voronezh, Rostov, Stavropol' and Krasnodar regions of Russia, as well as in the Republic of Karachay-Cherkessia. To that, one should also add Eastern Crimea and the Kerch Peninsula. The Khazar Khaganate was not only the largest political entity established by nomads in Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages, but also one of the most stable state formations in Eurasia.[77] The study of this phenomenon is related to issues of varying complexity, which require different approaches. None of them has any

chance to succeed until one defines the "Khazars." Was that an umbrella term for populations of different origins (in other words, a macro-ethnonym), the name of a particular ethnic group or a term for a social group?[78] Can archaeology answer those questions, even with the assistance of a few written sources? To be sure, there are many written sources on the Khazars and the Khazar Khaganate, but each one of them is relatively short, and they often contradict each other. Some are in Greek and Latin, others in Hebrew, Armenian, Georgian and even Chinese.[79] According to most scholars, during the 7th century of strife inside the West Turkic Khaganate, first the Bulgars and then the Khazars severed from it, both creating independent political formations. The former did so under the leadership of the Dulo clan, the latter—under the Ashina clan.[80] Much like the List of Bulgar Khans in the case of early medieval Bulgaria, one particular source has dominated discussions about the origin of Khazaria as a "state." The source in question is the so-called Khazar Correspondence, specifically the letter of King Joseph, written ca. 950 to Hasdai ibn-Shaprut, the Jewish court physician and minister of Abd al-Rahman III, the Umayyad caliph of Córdoba (912–929). Intrigued by the rumors (most likely coming from Constantinople) about a Jewish kingdom somewhere in the East, Hasdai decided to write a letter to its king. The response of the king is preserved in two versions—short and long—based on the same text. For the purpose of this chapter, the most important part of the letter is that in which King Joseph explains that his people descend from the clan of Togarmah, the son of Japheth.[81] His country had initially been inhabited by the people called "w-n-t-r," who, despite being numerous ("as the sand on the shores of the sea"), were driven out and pursued by the king's ancestors all the way to the "Run" (or "Duna") River.[82] At the time the letter was written, the people in question continued to live along that river and near Kustadin (probably Constantinople). The location of the people called "w-n-t-r" points to the hypothesis that they were the Bulgars settled in the Balkans. Their name is most likely a Hebrew transcription of a name rendered as "Oghondor" in the 7th-century Armenian Geography and "Unugundurs" or "Onogurs" in the Greek sources.[83] It is evident from the content of the letter that the historical memory of the Khazars did not go beyond the mid-7th century, and in that respect, it reflects the first significant episodes of Khazar history connected to the establishment of the "state."[84]

The archaeological culture associated ever since the 1930s with the population of the Khazar Khaganate is named after two key sites known since the 19th century: the catacomb cemetery in Saltovo (now Verkhnyi Saltiv, in the Kharkiv region of Ukraine) and the stronghold in Mayatskoe (Voronezh region, Russia). There are now over 1,000 sites attributed to the Saltovo-Mayaki culture and the number keeps rising—strongholds, open settlements, isolated barrows and cemeteries. The decisive impetus in the recognition of the culture and the development of Khazar archaeology is related to the Volga-Don archaeological expeditions of the early 1950s. The research carried out by those expeditions consisted of salvage excavations in anticipation of the building of the large reservoir at Tsimliansk (near Volgodonsk, in the Rostov region of Russia) connecting the Don and Volga rivers. As a result of those excavations, about half of the brick-made stronghold at Sarkel was unearthed. Both ramparts and the interior layout were studied in great detail.[85] The enormous amount of archaeological evidence resulting from the activity of the Volga-Don expeditions prompted the first attempts at interpreting the newly discovered culture in its entirety (primarily on the basis of the pottery) and diversity (primarily on the basis of the settlement and cemetery finds). Archaeologists soon identified variants. On the basis of burial customs and forensic anthropology (especially cranial types), the Soviet archaeologist Ivan I. Liapuskhin (1902–1968) distinguished a "forest-steppe" from a "steppe" variant. He attributed the former to a population of Alanic immigrants from the central region of Northern Caucasus.

The other variant (also called Zlivki after a cemetery site in the Kharkiv region) he attributed to the Bulgars.[86] Liapushkin's work left the Khazar out of Khazaria, as its only inhabitants were apparently Alans and Bulgars. According to him, the Khazars, unlike the Bulgars and the Alans, remained nomads until the end of their Khaganate and therefore left few, if any archaeological traces.[87] Ever since Liapushkin's study, the ethnic interpretation of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture has remained an important topic of discussion among archaeologists.[88] Meanwhile, it has become clear that few if any of the sites attributed to that culture have been studied exhaustively. Given the spotty state of research in different parts of the territory covered by the Khazar Khaganate, the debate about the variants of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture seems to be pointless.[89]

Perhaps the foremost (and unambiguous) feature of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, irrespective of its variants, is the pottery—kitchen-, table-, and transport wares—both handmade and thrown on a slowly turning wheel (tournette).[90] There is yet no systematic study of all wares, and the only monographic study is an unpublished dissertation on the tableware with burnished ornament, commonly regarded as the "signature" ware of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture (Figure 3.4).[91] Much like in Bulgaria, any attempt at building a relative chronology for the Saltovo-Mayaki ceramic material runs into the problem of lacking chronological indicators.[92] As a consequence, the idea that one could track the formation of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture by looking at the development of pottery must be treated with great caution.[93] Nor could an evolutionary approach be of much assistance: the handmade pottery is not the earliest and appears on all types of sites from all periods, i.e., throughout the entire history of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture.[94] Needless to say, the handmade pottery defies any attempt to distinguish variants and "ethnic" groups inside Khazar Khaganate.

Cemeteries are another example of "cultural uniformity" (or "state culture") within the khaganate, which may well be compared to the Late Avar culture. Much like in the Carpathian Basin, the cemeteries of the Saltovo-Mayaki provide clear evidence of a seemingly sudden sedentization of the population, after a period of mobility from the south to the north, no doubt prompted by the Khazar-Arab wars of the 740s in the Caucasus region, and the conquest of Derbent on the Caspian Sea (now in Dagestan) by the Arabs.[95] Despite the fact that they existed within a political coalition and under the conditions of a certain uniformity of material culture, various groups within the Khaganate preserved some of their own "ethnic" characteristics, the greatest expression of which may be found in burial customs.[96] There are five basic types of cemeteries in Khazaria: flat inhumation, catacomb inhumation, flat cremation, inhumation under barrows and biritual. Biritual cemeteries are found primarily in the northwestern and southwestern borderlands. Flat inhumation cemeteries cluster in the region of the middle and upper course of the Severskii Donets River, but they appear also in the Crimea and along the coasts of the Kerch Peninsula.[97] A few have also been found in the valleys of the Kuban and Lower Don rivers, but this may well reflect the current state of research in the area. One of the most typical cemeteries of this group is that excavated in Zlivki, in the region of Kharkiv (Ukraine), in the early 20th century.[98] Most grave pits are rectangular, some with steps, and the bodies were laid in them in supine position, with a west-east orientation, together with food and only a few, if any, other grave goods.[99] Flat cemeteries with inhumations have been dated on the basis of dirhams struck in the 8th century.[100] Two cemeteries excavated in Russia—Dmitriev (Belgorod region) and Mayaki (Voronezh region)—are examples of biritualism. On both sites, the largest number of graves is catacomb inhumations, each with a chamber and a *dromos* (vestibule) set at a right angle.[101] A comparatively smaller number of graves are simple, pit inhumations. In addition, there were urn cremations in Dmitriev.[102]

Figure 3.4 Tableware with burnished ornament from catacomb inhumations in the cemetery excavated by V. A. Babenko (1896) and Countess P. S. Uvarova (1902) in Saltovo (now Verkhnyi Saltiv, region of Kharkiv, Ukraine). Photograph by Evgenia Komatarova-Balinova. Courtesy of the State Historical Museum in Moscow

The written sources suggest that Khazaria was a centralized state, with several administrative centers.[103] In his letter, King Joseph mentions three cities, in one of which he moved, together with his servants, during the winter period.[104] The search for the Khazar capital Itil has not produced any results so far, and attempts to locate it in Samosdelka, in the Volga Delta, are not convincing, given that the earliest occupation on that site remains unknown.[105] Some have gone as far as to postulate an urban culture in Khazaria (the ultimate stage of the sedentization of the nomads), but there is no archaeological evidence of that.[106] Recent excavations in Semikarakory on the Lower Don have confirmed that conclusion. This may well have been one of the camps of the Khazar khagan, but was definitely not a city or even town. Doubts have been raised even about the defensive military qualities of the stronghold.[107]

One of the future areas of growth in the archaeological study of Khazaria, which may shed some light on the social organization, is the investigation of barrows of the Sokolovska balka type. Judging by the rich grave goods—belt fittings, weapons and coins—those barrows may be dated to the early period of the Khaganate, between the mid-7th and the first half of the 8th century. They are therefore witnesses of the rise of the Khazar "state."[108] Moreover, they appear in the same region of the Lower Don where strongholds were built after the mid-8th century.

Notes

1 *Diegesis peri tes Agias Sophias*, in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, edited by Theodor Preger, vol. 1 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1901), p. 105; Michael Glykas, *Annales*, edited by Immanuel (Bonn: E. Weber, 1836), p. 498. See also Victoria Errain-Casamiquela Gerhold, "Defeating Solomon: Intertextuality and symbolism in the legend of Hagia Sophia," *Studia Mediaevalia. Revista de pensamiento medieval* 11 (2018), no. 1, 11–38.

2 In Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, the Empire managed to hold its ground, albeit just formally. See Michael Decker, *The Byzantine Dark Ages* (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), p. 9.

3 Alexander Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars. Campaigning, Diplomacy and Development in Illyricum, Thrace, and the Northern World A.D. 527–65* (Prenton: Francis Cairns, 2016), pp. 117, 121 and 123; Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), p. 31.

4 Otto Brukner, "Iskopavanja v Sirmiumu 1957–1960 godine" [Excavations in Sirmium (1957–1960)], in *Zbornik radova sa simposiuma o limesu 1960 godine*, edited by Miodrag Grabić (Belgrade: Societas archaelogica Jugoslaviae, 1961), pp. 77–82, here p. 80; Ivana Popović, "Sirmium au Ve et VIe siècle: les sources écrites et les données archéologiques," in *Sirmium à l'époque des grandes migrations*, edited by Ivana Popović, Michel Kazanski and Vujadin Ivanišević (Leuven/Paris/Bristol: Peeters, 2017), pp. 7–24; Andrew Poulter, "The transition to Late Antiquity on the Lower Danube: The city, a fort, and the countryside," in *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, edited by Andrew G. Poulter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 51–97, here pp. 79–82; Decker, *The Byzantine Dark Ages*, p. 129.

5 Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars*, pp. 161–88.

6 Iu. Drobyshev, "Ekologiia Velikoi stepi" [The ecology of the Great steppe], in *Kochevye imperii Evrazii v svete arkheologicheskikh i mezhdistsiplinarnykh isledovanii. IB Mezhdunarodnyi congress srednevekovoi arkheologii evraziiskikh stepei, posviashchennyi 100-letiiu rossiiskoi akademicheskoi arkheologii*, edited by B. V. Bazarov and N. N. Kradin (Ulan Ude: Izdatel'stvo BNT s SO RAN, 2019), pp. 22–47, here p. 24.

7 Veselin Beshevliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi* [Bulgar inscriptions] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1992), pp. 207–15, esp. p. 208.

8 Empire: Nikola Mavrodinov, *Starobălgarskoto izkustvo. Izkustvoto na Părvoto bălgarsko tsarstvo* [Bulgar art. The art of the First Bulgarian Empire] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1959); Rasho Rashev, "Severoiztochnata arkheologicheska granitsa na Părvoto bălgarsko tsarstvo" [The northeastern archaeological border of the First Bulgarian Empire], in *Bălgarite v Severnoto Prichernomorie.*

Izsledvaniia i materiali, edited by Petăr Todorov, vol. 4 (Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii," 1995), pp. 89–95. Monarchy: Stanislav Stanilov, *Bălgarskata monarkhiia prez srednite vekove* [The Bulgarian monarchy in the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Klasika i Stil, 2003). State: Stamen Mikhailov, "Pliska - stolitsa na Părvata bălgarska dărzhava" [Pliska, the capital of the First Bulgarian state], *Arkheologicheskie otkritiia v Bălgariia* (1957), 137–59; Stancho Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobălgarskata kultura, VI-XI vek* [Formation of the Old Bulgarian culture] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1977), p. 79; Andrei Aladzhov, "Vizantiiskiia grad i bălgarite (VII-IX vv.) po arkheologicheski danni" [The Byzantine city and the Bulgarians (7th to 9th cc.) according to the archaeological data], Ph.D. Dissertation, Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Institut s Muzei (Sofia, 2010), p. 161; Pavel Georgiev, "Society and state in Bulgaria (the end of 7th-the middle of the 9th century)," in *Pagan Bulgaria. Power and Society*, edited by Metodi Daskalov (Sofia: Natsionalen Arkheologicheskii Institut s Muzei, 2017), pp. 15–26, here p. 15; Ludmila Doncheva-Petkova, "Pagan necropolises in the territory of Bulgaria from late 7th c. to 860s," in *Pagan Bulgaria. Power and Society*, edited by Metodi Daskalov (Sofia: Natsionalen Arkheologicheskii Institut s Muzei, 2017), pp. 27–40, here p. 27. Khanate: Stanislav Stanilov, *Khudozhestveniiat metal na bălgarskoto khanstvo na Dunav (7–9 vek). Opit za empirichno izsledvane* [The metalwork of the Bulgar khanate on the Danube (7th to 9th cc.). An attempt at an empirical study] (Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2006).

9 Tsvetelin Stepanov, *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of the Others* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), p. 4. On the history of the phrase and its use, see Walter Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 200–09.

10 Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1980); Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

11 *Kochevye imperii Evrazii v svete arkheologicheskikh i mezhdistsiplinarnykh isledovanii. IV Mezhdunarodnyi congress srednevekovoi arkheologii evraziiskikh stepei, posviashchennyi 100-letiiu rossiiskoi akademicheskoi arkheologii* [The nomadic empires of Eurasia in the light of the archaeological and interdisciplinary research. The fourth international congress of medieval archaeology of the Eurasian steppes, on the occasion of the centenary of Russian archaeology], edited by B. V. Bazarov and N. N. Kradin (Ulan Ude: Izdatel'stvo BNT s SO RAN, 2019), p. 7; N. N. Kradin, *Kochevniki Evrazii* [The nomads of Eurasia] (Almaty: "Daik Press," 2007), p. 81; Tat'iana M. Kalinina, *Problemy istorii Khazarii (po dannym vostochnykh istochnikov)* [Problems of Khazar history (on the basis of the Eastern sources)] (Moscow: Universitet Dmitriia Pozharskogo, 2015), p. 134.

12 Kradin, *Kochevniki*, p. 81; Kalinina, *Problemy*, p. 134.

13 For the territorial span of the more important Avar monuments, see Falko Daim, "Avars and Avar archaeology," in *Regna and Gentes. The Relationships between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, edited by Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 463–570, here pp. 466–67, fig. 2; Georgios Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars, 6th–9th Century AD. Political, Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), p. 198 map 3.

14 Magdalena Maria Elisabeth Schmid, *Das Gräberfeld von Rákóczifalva in Zentralungarn und die Chronologie des spätawarischen Fundmaterials* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2015), p. 19.

15 Raimar W. Kory, "Avar settlements: A challenge to archaeological research," in *The Turks. 1: Early Ages*, edited by Hasan Celal Güzel, Cem Oğuz and Osman Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), pp. 607–16; Martin Odler, "Avarské sídliská v strednej Európe: problémová bilancia" [Avar settlements in Central Europe: The balance of the problem], *Studia mediaevalia Pragensia* 11 (2012), 17–96; Hajnalka Herold, "Settlements of the Avar Khaganate," *Antaeus* 35–36 (2018), 187–204, here 187 fig. 1b.

16 Csanád Bálint, "Vvedenie v arkheologiiu avar" [Introduction into Avar archaeology], in *Tipologiia i datirovka arkheologicheskikh materialov Vostochnoi Evropy. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, edited by Rimma D. Goldina (Izhevsk: Izdatel'stvo Udmurtskogo Universiteta, 1995), pp. 38–87; Falko Daim, "Istoriia i arkheologiia avar" [The history and archaeology of the Avars], *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 9 (2002), 273–384; Daim, "Avars"; Kardaras, *Byzantium*, pp. 1–6.

17 Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 2 and 5. Echoing Pohl, Tivadar Vida, "'They asked to be settled in Pannonia…' A study on integration and acculturation - the case of the Avars," in *Zwischen Byzanz*

und der Steppe. Archäologische und historische Studien. Festschrift für Csanád Bálint zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by Ádám Bollók, Gergely Csiky and Tivadar Vida (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), pp. 251–70, here p. 259 claims that the Avar elite displayed its power by means of dress accessories borrowed from its enemies, the Byzantines or the Franks.

18 Eric Breuer, *Byzanz an der Donau. Eine Einführung in Chronologie und Fundmaterial zur Archäologie im Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum* (Tettnang: Lorenz Senn, 2005). Before Breuer, Csanád Bálint, "A Mediterráneum és a Kárpát-medence kapcsolatai a kora középkori régészet szempontjából" [The relations between the Mediterranean and the Carpathian Basin in light of early medieval archaeology], in *Változatok a történelemre. Tanulmányok Székely György tiszteletére*, edited by György Erdei and Nagy Balázs (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum/ELTE BTK Középkori és Kora Újkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 2004), pp. 37–41, here pp. 38–39 called the Avar culture "sub-Byzantine."

19 Daim, "Istoriia," p. 274.

20 Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars*, pp. 330–62, Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 22–26, 163–97 and 164–65 map 3; Kardaras, *Byzantium*, pp. 20–87. For *Blitzkrieg* tactics, see Florin Curta, "Avar *Blitzkrieg*, Slavic and Bulgar raiders, and Roman special ops: Mobile warriors in the sixth-century Balkans," in *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages. Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*, edited by István Zimonyi and Osman Karatay (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), pp. 69–90.

21 V. Staikov, "Etno-kulturni vrăzki po Dolen i Sreden Dunav prez rannoto srednovekovie (po dannite na nekropolite)" [Ethnic and cultural relations between the Lower and the Middle Danube during the early Middle Ages (on the basis of cemeteries)], Ph.D. Dissertation, Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Institut s Muzei (Sofia, 2020), p. 25. However, Eduard Krekovič, "Ktol bol prvý? Nacionalizmus v slovenskej a maďarskej archeológii a historiografii" [Who was the first? Nationalism in Slovak and Hungarian archaeology and historiography], *Študijné zvesti* 36 (2004), 51–53 seemingly disagrees with Staikov's first reason for Avar archaeology being "pure": At least one contemporary nation defines itself as (partially) descending from the Avars.

22 Jozef Zábojník, "Seriation von Gürtelbeschlaggarnituren aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei und Österreichs," in *K problematike osídlenia stredodunajskej oblasti vo včasnom stredoveku*, edited by Zlata Čilinská (Nitra: Archeologický ustav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1991), pp. 219–321; Peter Stadler, *Quantitative Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren I* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005).

23 Éva Garam, *Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzéti Múzeum, 2001), pp. 115–19; Daim, "Avars" pp. 470–71; Csilla Balogh, "Masque type mounts from the Carpathian Basin," in *Avars, Bulgars and Magyars on the Middle and Lower Danube*, edited by Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, Csilla Balogh and Attila Türk (Sofia/Pilicsaba: Archaeolingua, 2014), pp. 37–54. For late antique traditions, see Róbert Müller, "Spätantike Elemente in den Gräberfeldern der frühen Keszthely-Kultur," in *Zwischen Byzanz und der Steppe. Archäologische und historische Studien. Festschrift für Csanád Bálint zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Ádám Bollók, Gergely Csiky and Tivadar Vida (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), pp. 271–89. It is worth mentioning that the concept of "Keszthely culture" has recently been rejected as inappropriate for the description of the cultural heterogeneity visible in the cemeteries excavated in and around Keszthely. See Volker Bierbrauer, "Die Keszthely-Kultur und die romanische Kontinuität in Westungarn (5.-8. Jh.). Neue Überlegungen zu einem alten Problem," in *Von Sachsen bis Jerusalem. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel der Zeit. Festschrift für Wolfgang Giese zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Hubertus Seibert and Gertrud Thoma (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2004), pp. 51–72; Gábor Kiss, "Die Entstehung und Anwendung des Keszthely-Kultur-Begriffs aus forschungsgeschichtlicher Sicht," in *Keszthely-Fenékpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, edited by Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska (Budapest/Leipzig/Keszthely/Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2011), pp. 491–508.

24 The latter interpretation builds upon the archaeological evidence of the destruction of the Roman fortress in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta and the partial robbery of graves near the basilica and the horreum (Daim, "Istoriia," pp. 299–301).

25 Attila Kiss, *Das awarenzeitlich-gepidische Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu A* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1996); Attila Kiss, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld in Kölked-Feketekapu B* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum/Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Régészeti Intézete, 2001),

especially pp. 395–400 with figs. 183 and 185. For the horizontal stratigraphy, see Zsuzsanna Hajnal, "A Kölked-feketekapui 'A' és 'B' temetők együtes értékelése" [The combined assessment of cemeteries A and B in Kölked-Feketekapu], in *Thesaurus Avarorum. Régészeti tánulmanyok Garam Éva tiszteletére*, edited by Tivadar Vida (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2012), pp. 607–44. The adjacent settlement, itself with multiple phases of occupation, has not yet been published. However, see, Zsuzsanna Hajnal, "Házak a Kölked-Feketekapui avar kori telepen," [Houses in the Avar-age settlement in Kölked-Feketekapu], *Archaeologiai Értesitő* 134 (2009), 91–116.

26 Kiss, *Das awarenzeitlich-gepidische Gräberfeld von Kölked-Feketekapu A*, pp. 270–76.

27 Igor O. Gavritukhin, "Archaeological heritage of the Avar Khaganate and the southern part of Eastern Europe. Periodisation, dating and synchronization," *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008), 63–125, here 115. fig. 18. See also Éva. Garam, "Az avar kori kengyelfibulákról" [Avar-age bow fibulae], in *Zbornik na počest Dariny Bialekovej*, edited by Gabriel Fusek (Nitra: Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2004), pp. 91–101, here pp. 95 and 97 fig. 5/1. For the Dnieper type, see Vlasta E. Rodinkova, "K voprosu o tipologischekom razvitii antropozoomorfnykh fibul (prostye formy)" [On typological development of anthropzoomorphic fibulae (simple forms)], *Rossiiskaia Arkheologiia* (2006), no. 3, 41–51].

28 Gavritukhin, "Archaeological heritage," p. 68.

29 Daim, "Avars," p. 487. For the debate surrounding the Middle Avar age, see Csanád Bálint, "Der Beginn der Mittelawarenzeit und die Einwanderung Kubers," *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008–2009), 29–61; Péter Somogyi, "Neue Überlegungen über den Zustrom byzantinischer Münzen ins Awarenland (numismatischer Kommentar zu Csanád Bálints Betrachtungen zum Beginn der Mittelawarenzeit)," *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008–2009), 347–93; Csanád Bálint, "Antwortschreiben an Péter Somogyi," *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008–2009), 395–401. For Kunbábony and the associated pseudo-buckles (a generic term for buckle-shaped belt mounts), see Elvira H. Tóth and Attila Horváth, *Kunbábony. Das Grab eines Awarenkhagans* (Kécskemét: Museumdirektion der Selbstverwaltung des Komitats Bács-Kiskun, 1992), here 108–29.

30 Peter Stadler, "Avar chronology revisited, and the question of ethnicity in the Avar qaganate," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, edited by Florin Curta (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 47–82, here p. 59 table 1 (630–80).

31 Oleksyi V. Komar, "Pereshchepinskii kompleks v kontekste osnovnykh problem istorii i kul'tury kochevnikov Vostochnoi Evropy VII-nach. VIII v." [The Pereshchepyne assemblage in the context of the main problems of the history and culture of the sixth- to eighth-century East European nomads], in *Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia*, edited by A. V. Evgelevskii, vol. 5 (Donetsk: Izdatel'stvo Donetskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2006), pp. 7–244 and 413–32, here pp. 26–49; Gavritukhin, "Archaeological heritage," pp. 82–84.

32 Vera N. Zalesskaia, Zlata A. L'vova, Boris I. Marshak, Irina V. Sokolova and Natalia A. Foniakova, *Zlatoto na Khan Kubrat. Pereshchepinskoto săkrovishte* [Khan Kubrat's gold. The Pereshchepyne treasure] (Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2006), pp. 44–45.

33 István Bóna, "Avar lovassír Iváncsáról" [Grave of an Avar horseman at Iváncsa], *Archaeologiai Értesitő* 97 (1970), 243–63, here 259, on the basis of the historical interpretation of Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Kuvrat fiának, Kubernek a története és avar kori régészeti leletanyag" [The history of Kuber, the son of Kuvrat, and the archaeological material of the Avar age], *Antik Tanulmányok - Studia Antiqua* 15 (1968), 84–87.

34 Bálint, "Der Beginn," pp. 29–31.

35 The exceptions are the belt set from Madara and a pendant from Gledachevo. For Madara, see V. Mikov, "Posledni mogilni nakhodki" [Late barrow finds], in *Madara. Razkopki i prouchvaniia*, vol. 1 (Sofia: Dărzhavna pechatnitsa, 1934), pp. 429–38, here p. 434 fig. 292. However, according to Uwe Fiedler, "Nochmals zur Datierung von Grab 5 im Hügel III von Madara," *Problemi na prabălgarskata istoriia i kultura* 3 (1997), 125–40, the belt set in Madara must be dated at least 60 years *before* the migration of the Bulgars to Bulgaria. For Gledachevo, see Metodi Daskalov and M. Tonkova, "Rannosrednovekoven kolektiven grob săs srebărni kolanni garnituri ot Gledachevo, Radnevsko" [An early medieval collective burial with silver belt fittings from Gledachevo near Radnevo], *Arkheologiia* 51 (2010), no. 1–4, 78–101, here 93 and 95 fig. 14/2. There are no analogies for the Gledachevo pendant in any assemblage of the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. One analogy was found in a hoard discovered in Bol'shaia Orlovka (Rostov region, Russia) together with coins, the latest of which were struck for Emperor Tiberius III Apsimar (698–705), half a century *after* the death of Kubrat. See L. S. Il'iukov and V. M. Kosianenko, "Rannesrednevekovyi

kompleks iz Bol'shoi Orlovki" [The early medieval assemblage in Bol'shaia Orlovka], in *Srednevekovye drevnosti Dona*, edited by Iurii K. Guguev (Moscow/Jerusalem: Mosty kul'tury/Gesharim, 2007), pp. 85–113, here p. 109 fig. 19/4. For two other pendants supposedly of a 7th-century date, see Stanislav Stanilov, *Vtorata ogărlitsa v Preslavskoto săkrovishte* [The second necklace from the Preslav hoard] (Sofia: Zakharii Stoianov, 2019), pp. 61–65 and fig. 23.

36 Uwe Fiedler, "Die Donaubulgaren und die Mittelawarenzeit - ein Antagonismus," *Antaeus* 29–30 (2008–2009), 127–42, here 136.

37 Staikov, "Etno-kulturni vrăzki," pp. 179–204.

38 Stanilov, *Khudozhestveniiat metal*, pp. 90–157; Rasho Rashev, Stanislav Stanilov and Stanimir Stoichev, *Kabiiuk. Rannosrednovekoven mogilen kompleks* [Kabiiuk. An early medieval burial assemblage] (Sofia: Klasika i stil, 2014), p. 117. Stanilov failed to answer the most troubling question. Even if one admits for the moment that the Vrap-Velino belt fittings may be associated with the migration of Kuber, why didn't Asparukh's migration leave similarly visible traces? To be sure, much of the fascination with Kuber is little more than adopting uncritically the interpretation of the Vrap hoard offered by Joachim Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap in Albanien. Beiträge zur Archäologie der Awarenzeit im mittleren Donauraum* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986); see also Joachim Werner, "Der Schatz eines awarischen Kagans des 7. Jahrhunderts aus Vrap (Albanien)," *Problemi na prabălgarskata istoriia i kultura* 1 (1989), 19–31, here 23–30. For a critique of Werner's interpretation, see Éva Garam, "Über den Schatzfund von Vrap (Albanien)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 49 (1997), 23–33.

39 Falko Daim, "'Byzantinische' Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zu Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter*, edited by Falko Daim (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2000), pp. 77–204, here pp. 94–109.

40 Bálint, "Vvedenie," p. 43.

41 Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 352–68.

42 For "Great Bulgaria," see Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, edited by Carl de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig: G. G. Teubner, 1883), p. 357; Nicephorus, *Short History*, edited and translated by Cyril Mango (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), p. 86.

43 The name "Bulg(h)ars" has also been recycled by nationalists in modern Tatarstan. See Uli Schamiloglu, "We are not Tatars! The invention of a Bulgar identity," in *Néptörténet - nyelvtörténet. A 70 éves Róna-Tas András köszöntése*, edited by László Károly and Éva Kincses Nagy (Szeged: JATE Press, 2001), pp. 137–53. The different spelling (*Bulghars* instead of *Bulgars*) is meant to draw a distinction between Bulgars on the Volga and Bulgars in the Balkans. Ever since Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930), another distinction is drawn in English-language scholarship between Bulgars before and Bulgarians after the conversion to Christianity. In most other languages (including Bulgarian), the Bulgars are "proto-Bulgarians."

44 To be sure, the interpretation of those sources has caused some debate. See H. Lauterbach, "Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Protobulgaren nach einem Bericht bei Teofanes," in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, edited by Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), pp. 539–619; Dimităr I. Dimitrov, "Za teritorialniia obkhvat na Kubratova Velika Bălgariia" [On the territorial extension of Kuvrat's Great Bulgaria], in *Sbornik v chest na akad. Dimităr Angelov*, edited by Velizar Velkov, Zhivko Aladzhov, Georgi Bakalov, Dimităr Ovcharov, Stanislav Stanilov and Katia Melamed (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1994), pp. 164–70; Tsvetelin Stepanov, "O lokalizatsii 'Velikoi Bolgarii' Kubrata" [On the location of Kubrat's Great Bulgaria], *Bulgarian Historical Review* 23 (1995), no. 2, 5–11; András Róna-Tas, "Where was Khuvrat's Bulgharia?" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 53 (2000), no. 1–2, 1–22; Georgi Atanasov, "Politicheskiiat tsentăr na Kagan Kubrat po sreden Dnepăr - izkhodna tochka v emigratsiiata na khan Asparukh kăm Dolen Dunav" [The political center of Kagan Kubrat in the Middle Dnieper region--the starting point of the migration of Khan Asparukh to the Lower Danube], in *In honorem professoris Stanislav Stanilov ad multos annos*, edited by Boni Petrunova, Andrei Aladzhov and Valeri Grigorov (Sofia: Nacionalen Arkheologicheski Institut s Muzei, 2016), pp. 126–52.

45 Mosko Moskov, *Imennik na bălgarskite khanove (novo tălkuvane)* [The *List of the Bulgar Khans*: A new interpretation] (Sofia: Dărzhavno izdatelstvo "Petăr Beron," 1988), pp. 17–19. For the structure of the text, see Rasho Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura VII-IX vek* [The Bulgar pagan culture of the 7th to 9th cc.] (Sofia: IK "Klasika i stil," 2008), p. 240. For the manuscript transmission,

see Liudmila V. Gorina, V. "'Imennik bolgarskikh khanov' v sostave Ellinskogo letopistsa" [The *List of Bulgar Khans* in the Hellenic Chronicle], *Bulgarian Historical Review* 19 (1991), no. 3, 93–97. See also Chapter 25 in this book.

46 Moskov, *Imennik*, pp. 24–26.

47 The two rulers given that title are Omurtag (814–831) and his son Malamir (831–836). For the inscriptions, see Beshevliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi*, pp. 207–08, 216, 225, 227 and 230–38. In addition, the title appears on two gold medallions struck for Omurtag; see Ivan Iordanov, "Medal'onite na khan Omurtag (814–831)" [The medallions of Khan Omurtag], in *Ottuka zapochva Bălgariia. Materiali ot Vtorata nacionalna konferentsiia po istoriia, arkheologiia i kulturen turizăm "Pătuvane kăm Bălgariia." Shumen, 14–16 mai 2010 g.*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev (Shumen: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Episkop Konstantin Preslavski," 2011), 161–69. For the title, see Evgenii Sachev, "Părvobălgarskiiat izraz kanasybigi ot srednovekovnite pismeni pametnitsi" [The Bulgar title kanasybigi in medieval inscriptions], *Palaeobulgarica* 7 (1983), no. 2, 88–90; Tsvetelin Stepanov, "The Bulgar title KANASYBIGI: Reconstructing the notions of divine kingship in Bulgaria, AD 822–836," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), no. 1, 1–19; Florin Curta, "Qagan, khan or king? Power in early medieval Bulgaria (seventh to ninth century)," *Viator* 37 (2006), 1–31, here 26–29.

48 Beshevliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi*, p. 72; Georgiev, "Society and state," p. 21.

49 Curta, "Qagan," p. 1.

50 Iordanka Iurukova, "Oloven pechat na Tervel" [Tervel's seal], *Numizmatika* 12 (1978), no. 2, 3–8. See also Georgi Atanasov, "Za kesarskata promotsiia i vladetelskite insignii na khan Tervel" [Khan Tervel's promotion to the rank of Caesar and the insignia of his power], *Epokhi* 3 (1994), 61–71.

51 Ivan Iordanov, "Ednostranni zlatni moneti-medal'oni s imeto na Khan Omurtag (predvaritelno săobshtenie)" [A rare gold medallion with Omurtag's name], *Numizmatika* 10 (1976), no. 4, 18–34; Stamen Mikhailov, "Novo tălkuvane na tărnovski zlaten ednolitsev medal'on" [A new interpretation of a gold medallion from Tărnovo], *Istoricheski pregled* 49 (1993), no. 1, 83–87.

52 Beshevliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi*, p. 216. See also Günter Prinzing, "Pliska in the view of Protobulgarian inscriptions and Byzantine written sources," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, edited by Joachim Henning, vol. 2 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), pp. 241–52.

53 Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura*, p. 56.

54 Rasho Rashev, "Zemlenoto ukreplenie na Pliska" [The earthworks at Pliska], *Pliska-Preslav* 4 (1985), 7–15, here 8–13; Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura*, p. 58.

55 Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura*, p. 58.

56 Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura*, p. 77.

57 Mikhailov, "Pliska," p. 139.

58 Rasho Rashev and Ianko Dimitrov, *Pliska. 100 godini arkheologicheski razkopki* [Pliska, a century of archaeological research] (Shumen: Svetlana, 1999), p. 16. The Inner Town wall is dated after the rampart of the Outer Town.

59 Andrei Aladzhov, Stanislav Stanilov and Evgeniia Komatarova-Balinova, "Krăgla kamenna ploshtadka - severna periferiia" [The Round Stone Square - the northern margin], *Arkheologicheski otkritiia i razkopki* (2012), 355–358, here 358; Andrei Aladzhov, "Katalog," in *Pagan Bulgaria. Power and Society*, edited by Metodi Daskalov (Sofia: Natsionalen Arkheologicheskii Institut s Muzei, 2017), pp. 164–65, here p. 164.

60 Pavel Georgiev, "Nachaloto na Aboba-Pliska" [The beginnings of Aboba-Pliska], in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. V chest na profesor Veselin Beshevliev*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev, Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Georgi Bakalov and Rosina Kostova (Sofia: Tsentăr za izsledvaniia na bălgarite TANGRA TanNakRa IK, 2003), pp. 175–82, here pp. 175–76.

61 Chavdar Kirilov, "Das Hauptstadtproblem im frühmittelalterlichen Bulgarien in gesamteuropäischer Perspektive," in *Der Donaulimes in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter*, edited by Andreas Schwarcz, Peter Soustal and Antoaneta Cholakova (Vienna: LIT, 2016), pp. 279–98, here pp. 289–97.

62 Stancho Vaklinov, "Za kharaktera na rannobălgarskata selishtna mrezha v Severoiztochna Bălgariia" [On the character of the early medieval settlement network in northeastern Bulgaria], *Arkheologiia* 14 (1972), no. 1, 9–14, here 9–11.

63 Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura*, p. 143. See, for example, Ianko Dimitrov and Greta Stoianova, "Novootkriti rannosrednovekovno selishte i ezicheski nekropol v s. Velino, Shumensko (predvaritelno săobshtenie)" [A newly discovered early medieval settlement and cemetery in Velino, near Shumen (preliminary report)], *Prinosi kăm bălgarskata arkheologiia* 5 (2009), 95–117.

64 Dimităr I. Dimitrov, "Rannobălgarsko selishte pri s. Brestak, Varnensko" [A Bulgar settlement near Brestak, Varna district], *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 5 (1969), 113–35, here 113–23; Dimităr I. Dimitrov, "Prinos kăm izuchavaneto na starobălgarskoto zhilishte v severoiztochna Bălgariia" [Contribution to the study of the early medieval house of northeastern Bulgaria], *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 9 (1973), 101–09, here 101–06; Liubka Bobcheva, "Prabălgarsko selishte pri s. Topola, Tolbukhinski okrăg" [A Bulgar settlement in Topola, district of Dobrich], *Pliska-Preslav* 2 (1981), 198–201, here 198–201.

65 Rasho Rashev, "Model na iurta ot Devnia" [A yurt model from Devnia] *Arkheologiia* 18 (1976), no. 1, 38–45, here 39–43.

66 Stancho Stanchev and Stefan Ivanov, *Nekropolăt do Novi Pazar* [The cemetery in Novi Pazar] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1958). Much like Pliska, which some believed to be a Roman, not early medieval site, Novi Pazar was attributed to a late Sarmatian population, and its dating to the early Middle Ages denied. See Stamen Mikhailov, "Edin starinen nekropol pri Novi Pazar" [An old cemetery near Novi Pazar], *Izvestiia na Arkheologicheskiia Institut* 20 (1955), 293–336, here 314–26; Dimităr Krăndzhalov, "Sur la théorie erronée de l'origine protobulgare de la cité près d'Aboba (Pliska)," in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines. Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961*, vol. 3 (Belgrade: Comité yougoslave des études byzantines, 1964), pp. 193–203. For the political circumstances in which such preposterous ideas were put forward, see Florin Curta, "Medieval archaeology in South-Eastern Europe," in *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957–2007*, edited by Roberta Gilchrist and Andrew Reynolds (London: Maney Publishing, 2009), pp. 191–223, here pp. 200–01.

67 Stanchev and Ivanov, *Nekropolăt*, p. 45. See also Mikhail I. Artamonov, "K voprosu ob arkheologicheskikh pamiatnikakh slavian i prabolgar na nizhnem Dunae" [On the question of Slavic and Bulgar archaeological materials in the Lower Danube area], in *Slaviano-balgarskoto selishte krai selo Popina, Silistrensko*, edited by Zhivka Văzharova (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1956), pp. 3–10.

68 Evgeniia Komatarova-Balinova, "Sravnitel'naia kharakteristika elementov pogrebal'nogo obriada biritual'nykh mogil'nikov nizhnedunaiskogo naseleniia i saltovo-maiackoi kul'tury" [A comparison of burial custom features between biritual cemeteries in the Lower Danube region and in the Saltovo-Mayaki culture], in *Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia. 9. Khazarskoe vrem'ia*, edited by A. V. Evgelevskii (Donetsk: Izdatel'stvo Doneckogo nacional'nogo universiteta, 2012), pp. 135–64, here Table 1. See also Dimităr I. Dimitrov, *Prabălgarite po severnoto i zapadnoto Chernomorie. Kăm văprosa za tiakhnoto prisustvie i istoriia v dneshnite ruski zemli i roliata im pri obrazăvaneto na bălgarskata dărzhava* [The Bulgars in the northern and western Black Sea region. On the question of their presence there and their history in the lands now in Russia, as well as their role in the formation of the Bulgarian state] (Varna: Georgi Bakalov, 1987), p. 87.

69 Komatarova-Balinova, "Sravnitel'naia kharakteristika," p. 143 Table 2.

70 Komatarova-Balinova, "Sravnitel'naia kharakteristika," p. 156 Table 4.

71 Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, *Bălgarska bitova keramika prez rannoto srednevekovie (vtorata polovina na VI-krai na X v.)* [Bulgarian ceramics of the early Middle Ages (second half of the 6th to the late 10th c.)] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1977); Uwe Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1992), pp. 121–50.

72 A buckle of the Corinth type in grave 119 and a buckle with cross-shaped plate in grave 185 of the biritual cemetery in Balchik (Dobrich region), for which see Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, Kircho Apostolov and Viktoriia Ruseva, *Prabălgarskiiat nekropol pri Balchik* [The Bulgar cemetery in Balchik] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov," 2016), pp. 34–139. A buckle of the Boly-Želovc type in grave 13 of the cemetery excavated in Razdelna (Varna region), for which see Dimităr I. Dimitrov,"Nekropolat pri gara Razdelna" [A cemetery near the Razdelna train station], *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 14 (1978), 120–52, here fig. 18.

73 Valeri Grigorov, "Starobălgarski ezicheski pogrebeniia s moneti" [Bulgar graves with coins], *Prinosi kăm bălgarskata arkheologiia* 5 (2009), 115–21. For the buckles and their value as *terminus a quo*, see Evgeniia Komatarova-Balinova, "'Prabălgarite' pri Balchik i nomadite v poleto na 'prabălgarskata' arkheologiia" ["The Protobulgars" at Balchik and the nomads in the field of the "Protobulgar" archaeology], *Prinosi kăm bălgarskata arkheologiia* 8 (2018), 47–92, here 76.

74 Stefka Angelova, "Traditsii v prabălgarskata keramika na Severoiztochna Bălgariia (VII-IX v.)" [Traditions in the Bulgar ceramics of northeastern Bulgaria, 7th to 9th centuries], *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet "Kliment Ohridski." Istoricheski Fakultet* 74 (1980), 31–67, here pp. 52–53.

75 Doncheva-Petkova, Apostolov and Ruseva, *Prabălgarskiiat nekropol*, pp. 169 and 174.
76 Rasho Rashev, "Za nachaloto na bălgarskata srednovekovna kultura" [About the beginnings of the Bulgarian medieval culture)] *Pliska-Preslav* 9 (2003), 145–67.
77 Komar, "Pereshchepinskii kompleks," p. 154.
78 Komar, "Pereshchepinskii kompleks," p. 139.
79 Mikhail I. Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar* [The history of the Khazars], 2nd edition (St. Petersburg: Filologicheskii fakultet Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2002), pp. 35–65; Komar, "Pereshchepinskii kompleks," pp. 140–57; Kalinina, *Problemy*; Curta, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 130–41. See also the pertinent remarks of Farda Asadov, "Khazar studies locked between scarcity of research sources and contemporary political concerns," *Eurasia Studies Society Journal* 2 (2013), no. 3, 1–11.
80 Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar*, pp. 188–89. See also Igor G. Semenov, "Obrazovanie Khazarskogo kaganata" [The formation of the Khazar kaganate], *Voprosy istorii* (2008), no. 8, 118–27.
81 In Hebrew, "Togarom" is used as an umbrella term for all Turkic peoples. See Svetlana A. Pletneva, *Khazary* [The Khazars], 2nd edition (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), p. 7. See also Boris Zhivkov, *Khazaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 41–47. See also chapter 25 in this book.
82 Pavel K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaia perepiska v X veke* [The Hebrew Khazar correspondence of the 10th c.] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1932), pp. 63–64; Mikhail I. Artamonov, *Ocherki drevneishei istorii Khazar* [Essays on the earliest history of the Khazars] (Leningrad Gosudarstvennyi social'no-ekonomicheskii izdatel'stvo, 1936), p. 6.
83 *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc'). The Long and the Short Recensions*, translated by Robert H. Hewsen (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), pp. 55 and 110 with n. 21; Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar*, p. 190.
84 Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar*, p. 193.
85 Mikhail I. Artamonov, "Sarkel-Belaia Vezha," in *Trudy Volgo-Donskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspedicii*, edited by Mikhail I. Artamonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1958), pp. 7–84, pp. 11–23.
86 Ivan I. Liapushkin, "Pamiatniki saltovo-maiatskoi kul'tury v basseine r. Dona" [Assemblages of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture in the Don basin], in *Trudy Volgo-Donskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspedicii*, edited by Mikhail I. Artamonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1958), pp. 85–150, here pp. 142–46.
87 Liapushkin, "Pamiatniki," p. 143.
88 In an attempt to assess the significance of the variants of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, Svetlana A. Pletneva, *Ocherki khazarskoi arkheologii* [Contributions to the archaeology of the Khazars] (Moscow/Jerusalem: Mosty kul'tury/Gesharim, 1999) polemicized with Svetlana A. Pletneva, *Ot kochevyi k gorodam: saltovo-maiackaia kul'tura* [From camps to towns: the Saltovo-Mayaki culture] (Moscow: Nauka, 1967).
89 Valerii S. Flerov, "Tri problemy v istorii Khazarskogo kaganata" [Three problems in the history of the Khazar khaganate], in *110 rokiv vid pochatku vyvchennia Kharkivshchyni. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats', prysviashchenykh problemam ta perspektyvam saltovoznavstva za materialamy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoi konferentsii "P'iatnadtsiati Slobozhans'ki Chytannia,"* edited by Genadii E. Svistun (Kharkiv: Savchuk, 2011), pp. 97–104, here p. 97. For the state of research in settlement archaeology, see Dmitrii S. Korobov, "Istoriia izucheniia poselenii Saltovo-Maiackoi kul'tury: starye paradigmy i novye nakhodki" [The history of investigations of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture settlements: Old paradigms and new approaches)] *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii AN Rossii* 233 (2014), 121–32.
90 Liapushkin, "Pamiatniki," p. 116; Pletneva, *Ot kochevyi k gorodam*, p. 193.
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4
MEDIEVAL NOMADISM

Aleksander Paroń

A resistant historiographic stereotype is to treat nomads like natural disasters that strike and wreak havoc, only to retreat suddenly and disappear from the sight of civilized Europeans for many centuries.[1] Nomads are even used to "explain" the backwardness of certain regions of the European continent, when no other scapegoat is available.[2] Nomads are blamed for the decline and fall of the western part of the Roman Empire, as well as for the separation of Rus' from the rest of the European continent. Despite the "literary turn" in historiography, such tropes have not disappeared. Instead, they seem to have morphed into new themes. The nomads are currently viewed not only as the trigger of the "Great Migration" or of the *timor Tartarorum* of the High Middle Ages, but also as architects of extensive continental links, responsible for launching "small-scale globalizations" of large parts of Eurasia. Despite a more positive spin, the new stereotypes are also drawing on obsessions with single causes for all phenomena, in this case, the so-called Silk Road.[3] Without denying the importance of that communication artery, one should keep in mind that many of its variants purposefully avoided the lands inhabited by nomads. Moreover, communication within Eurasia developed best at times of political unification, which only happened twice in the time span considered in this book—during the Ashina Turkic Empire of the late 6th and 7th centuries and, again, during the *Pax Mongolica*, ca. 1250 to ca. 1350. Moreover, the obsessive preoccupation with the Silk Road downplays other arteries of communication, especially those connecting the northern to the southern parts of Eurasia, in which nomadic people played a significant role. In fact, such connections had a much greater role in the development of Europe than the Silk Road variants running through the steppes.

In both old and new stereotypes, the inhabitants of the steppe are reserved a second-hand role in history, as intermediaries between the more developed areas of southern Eurasia. The recent fascination with global(ist) history has turned the European steppe lands to the west of the Ural Mountains into a segment of the Eurasian Great Steppes, thus erasing all and any of their specific features. To be sure, treating those lands as part of a great continental block known as Inner Asia or Inner Eurasia effectively places the inhabitants of the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas outside Europe and denies their links to the rest of the continent.[4]

This is predicated upon the idea that the inhabitants of those lands were nomads, because extensive pastoralism was their main mode of subsistence. The economic activity defined in such

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terms was supposed to constitute an adaptation of human communities to an ecosystem completely hostile to farming, and that adaptation was the only chance those communities had to survive. The mobility of herding communities thus leads to the simplistic conclusion, according to which the only form of human life in the steppe lands in the past was that based on pastoralism. Land cultivation was considered impossible in the steppes and seen as auxiliary, restricted to small ecological niches. However, for the western, European part of the Great Steppe, such ideas are demonstrably wrong. From Herodotus in the 5th century BC to ibn Battuta in the 14th century AD, a great number of authors have described the Black Sea and Caspian steppes as areas exceptionally fit for extensive pastoralism.[5] However, those areas, which constitute a belt of very fertile chernozem, were inhabited in Antiquity and the Middle Ages by communities of agriculturists. Herodotus, in fact, mentioned that Scythians in the lands to the west from the Dnieper River subsisted mainly on agriculture.[6] Vast stretches of the steppe and the forest-steppe belts between the Lower Danube and the Middle Dnieper rivers were occupied between the 3rd and the 5th centuries AD by communities of the so-called Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, which relied mainly on farming.[7] Intensive agriculture was practiced in combination with extensive animal husbandry by the population of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture (ca. 750 to ca. 950), which inhabited the lands along the Lower Don and Severskii Donets rivers.[8] In the 16th century, several authors insisted on the exceptional fertility of local soils in Ukraine, with one of them recommending those soils for the cultivation of crops.[9]

Nomads or "nomads"?

Nomadism is a broad and imprecise concept, often used as the opposite of a sedentary lifestyle. Such a binary opposition indicates that nomadism is not defined by what it is, but what it is not. Nonetheless, the nomads, much like their sedentary neighbors, produced a great variety of cultural forms and modes of social organization. Simply defining nomads against the background of sedentary farming communities is misleading. Moreover, polities established by nomadic elites included both nomadic and sedentary groups. Their contacts often led to cultural exchange and change.

All accounts of nomads as the opposite of a sedentary lifestyle were written by authors from sedentary societies, who regarded the nomadic world as alien and therefore employed stereotypes in an effort to "translate" the supposed alterity of the nomads for their audiences. In doing so, they drew on a long literary tradition of depicting nomads as wild.[10] Only a few authors made sincere and real efforts to understand the specificity of the nomads.[11] On the other hand, archaeological data, though valuable, cannot compensate for the shortcomings of narrative sources. The archaeological record derives mainly from burial assemblages, which are not conducive to an understanding of economic choice, or of nomadic lifestyle in general. Some of the associated grave goods could, in principle, be used as evidence for pastoralism, but others indicate a sedentary lifestyle. Archaeologists, therefore, employ ethnographic parallels from the rich corpus of data collected in the 19th and 20th centuries. Such an approach tends to obscure the very important fact that the nomadic groups studied by ethnographer in the modern period existed in the context of modern states and were subject to administrative regulations that influenced their lifestyle, often contributing to fundamental transformations. Moreover, the nomads were involved in economic relations based on modern forms of production and trade, which were fundamentally different from those in place in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, ethnographic parallels can be and are used to reconstruct the most basic, elementary framework that defined the functioning of nomadic societies.

Cultural anthropologists typically exclude from the definition of nomadism types of economic activity that involve a great deal of mobility, such as hunting and gathering. By contrast, they insist on pastoral nomadism as the defining economic trait. Nomads engaged in other forms of economic activity, such as hunting, gathering, primitive farming or trade, but these were auxiliary activities. Their herds were grazing all year round on unenclosed pastures. The population living off extensive herding was therefore forced to move seasonally within a restricted territory. Most pastoralist nomads of the Great Steppe moved in a regular and linear fashion: in winter, they traveled south into the steppes, and migrated north in the summer, into the forest-steppe zone. In other words, in winter, they followed the animals looking for grass not covered by (too much) snow, while in summer, they followed the animals looking for water.[12] The distances they wandered varied significantly, depending upon region and local conditions, between 150 and 1,500 kilometers.[13] Migration involved the entirety of the population. Due to its structural limitations, extensive pastoralism was a subsistence activity only and was not profit-oriented, although nomads certainly had production surpluses, which they often traded.[14]

In pure nomadism, there was no farming of land, or at least that was infrequently used. However, a much more common form was semi-nomadic pastoralism, in which, besides herding, primitive farming was also practiced. Some also distinguish semi-sedentary pastoralism, in which there is a comparatively greater emphasis on agricultural production. Extensive animal husbandry still required seasonal migration, which in such cases was done only by specialized, separate groups within the population. In semi-sedentary pastoralism, migrations tended to be shorter, in terms of time, as well as distance.[15] Those models of analysis derive from ethnographic observations, but, paradoxically, they indicate clearly that there was no clear separation between sedentary lifestyle and nomadism. Unfortunately, such observation cannot be backed by historical sources. For example, Menander the Guardsman and Theophylact Simocatta specifically called the Avars nomads, while pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor made them "tent-dwellers, living on the meat of cattle, fish and wild animals, and by weapons."[16] Jordanes, writing in the mid-6th century, knew that the Acatziri were "ignorant of agriculture" and that they subsisted "on their flocks and by hunting."[17] His only description of pastoralism is in relation to the Altzagiri: "In summer, they range the plains, their broad domains, wherever the pasture for their cattle invites them, and betake themselves in winter beyond the sea of Pontus."[18] Those accounts are a clear evidence of nomadism, but its exact nature cannot be determined. The intention of those authors was to label those peoples as nomads (and therefore inferior), not to explain their lifestyle. Archaeological data offer little more knowledge. The Avars are the only group, for which the material culture can be studied in great detail, but only after their settlement in the Carpathian Basin (no archaeological data about the Avars exist before that). Because the landscape in the Carpathian Basin was very different from that in the steppe lands, scholars believe that during the last quarter of the 7th century, the Avars became increasingly sedentary.[19]

Muslim sources also insist on the mobility of the 9th-century Khazars: they stayed in cities during winter, but set off to the steppes with the arrival of spring, spent the summer there, only to return to their permanent settlements at the end of the year. Two large cities are mentioned, Samandar and Itil.[20] In his mid-10th-century letter to Hasdai ibn Shaprut, the Khazar king Joseph described a similar practice: by late March or early April, the Khazars left the city and went to their fields and orchards. Each great family had a strictly defined, hereditary summer residency area. The khagan himself left the capital city, moved about 100 km away from it, and then spent the summer wandering around his country, before returning to the capital for the Hanukkah celebration in late November or early December.[21]

Judging from this evidence, the nomadic lifestyle of the Khazars seems beyond doubt, but it remains unclear how many members of the population in Khazaria practiced such seasonal migrations, and why. Similar uncertainty accompanied the historical evidence regarding the Magyars. Arab sources mention them living in tents and moving with their herds in search of suitable pastures. However, the same authors also describe them as farming the land.[22] This seems to suggest semi-sedentary pastoralism, but the natural conditions in the Carpathian Basin must have put an even greater pressure on a shift toward sedentary lifestyle, much like with the Avars. By AD 1000, most people in Hungary lived in settlements surrounded by fields, serving as winter pastures for their animals. From spring to fall, some may have practiced semi-sedentary pastoralism, but without moving more than 20 kilometers away from their settlements.[23]

The Pechenegs, the Oghuz and the Cumans, who reached the steppe lands of Eastern Europe before the Mongols, practiced semi-nomadic pastoralism as well. According to unknown author of *The Regions of the World* (*Hudud al-Alam*), during the 10th century, the Pechenegs moved around their territory, living in tents.[24] In the steppe lands of western Kazakhstan, they were apparently moving in search of rain-watered pastures for their large herds.[25] Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus also mentions the seasonal nature of the Pecheneg migration in his *De administrando imperio*.[26] According to John Skylitzes, who wrote in the 11th century, the Pechenegs grazed their herds on the plains between the Dnieper and Pannonia, since as nomads, they valued living in tents above all else.[27] The nomadic life (but associated with wagons) of the Pechenegs is also mentioned by Leo the Deacon in the late 10th century.[28] Arabic sources describe the Oghuz in much the same way.[29] To ibn Fadlan, they were nomads, lived in tents made of wool, and regularly moved from place to place. The wealthy kept herds of as many as 10,000 horses and 100,000 sheep.[30] Undoubtedly, such numbers imply mobility over relatively long distance to find suitable pastures.[31] The Cumans used wagons and tents when moving around with their numerous herds. That, at least, is the picture resulting from multiple accounts, from the Rus' annals to the rabbi Petachiah of Regensburg in the 12th century, and from Robert de Clari to the Franciscans John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck in the 13th century.[32] The only archaeological confirmation of such information comes from the deposition in graves of animal bones, especially horse remains (mostly head and limbs, rarely the entire animal).[33] The disappearance of such funerary practices is therefore interpreted as a sign of sedentization.[34] According to John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, nomadic pastoralism was also practiced by Batu Khan and the Golden Horde elites. The ruler and his most eminent subjects moved along rivers, northward in the summer and southward in the winter. Batu Khan and his horde moved along the Volga River. From January to August, he traveled north and then turned southward toward the delta; he probably never reached the Middle Volga much farther to the north, but the distance covered was still impressive. Other elite members of the Golden Horde moved along the Dnieper, the Don and the Ural rivers.[35] Several other groups practiced semi-nomadic pastoralism, but under different political, social and economic circumstances. For example, Khazar and Mongol nomadism may have been a form of representing elite power, for both King Joseph and Batu Khan travelled across vast stretches of their respective lands to reaffirm their rule over those territories. This may not apply to groups without a centralized political organization. Herd size may have also been a mitigating factor: the larger the herd, the greater the distance at which one needed to move. Herds consisted mainly of horses and sheep, two species that were fundamental for the economic independence of any given nomadic unit. Cattle were only occasionally part of the livestock, for it could not be grazed alongside horses and sheep, and could not survive

the difficult weather conditions in the steppe. Increasing cattle numbers are believed to be a sign of sedentization. Goat and camel remains are secondary in bone assemblages from sites in the medieval steppe lands.[36] Bones of the Baktrian camels have been in fact interpreted as evidence of trade, not of local breeding.[37]

Cereals and vegetables were a relatively important part of the nomadic diet.[38] The grains could be obtained by trade or tribute imposed upon subjugated sedentary populations. The Avars, the Khazars and the Mongols, who controlled numerous farming groups, often used the tribute collection to obtain the agricultural products they needed. Within polities akin to early states, there was a division of labor through which the nomadic elites closest to the ruler were provided for by their subjects. Non-state structures only allowed for rudimentary arrangements of that type. For example, farming settlements on the Severskii Donets River were ruled by Cuman princes and may have paid tribute to them.[39] Some assume similar relations between the Pechenegs and the local communities of the so-called Dridu culture between the Prut and the Dniester rivers.[40]

However, nomads were also able to produce grain on their own. Ethnographic accounts of mid-20th-century Mongol communities along the Selenga River describe the cultivation on small plots of such crops as rye, barley and wheat, after the soil was plowed with ards. Ears were plucked by hand, with no harvesting tools.[41] The lack of special(ized) tools and techniques is not necessarily an indication of primitive practices. Under certain soil conditions (especially in everglades), the fertility of the soil is sufficient to secure an abundant grain supply. This runs against the idea that nomads were in desperate need of food, particularly cereals, which forced them to enter either peaceful or violent relations with the neighboring sedentary societies. In reality, nomads were often self-sufficient.[42] Moreover, they participated in trade to obtain luxury, prestige goods. Both Khazars and Mongols also taxed the trade. Most other nomadic peoples acted as intermediaries. According to Jordanes, the Onogurs participated in the fur trade, and the 10th-century Pechenegs brought furs and wax to Cherson, in the Crimea.[43] According to ibn Fadlan, in order to pass through the land of the Oghuz, a Muslim merchant needed to befriend one of those people, who could then provide him with accommodation and food, horses and camels, and even capital.[44]

Before the Avars

Following the death of Attila in 453, the peoples subjugated by the Huns most likely regained their independence. This was the case of the Acatziri, whom Jordanes described as powerful.[45] A decade later, however, new groups migrated to the East European steppe lands, presumably after being forced out of their homeland by the Sabirs.[46] The Sabirs were themselves pushed by the Avars, who in turn were forced to migrate by unknown peoples living on the shores of the Ocean, who had themselves been attacked by griffins. Priscus's account has often been interpreted as a fantastic reinterpretation of genuine population movements in the eastern parts of the Great Steppe. The Oghurs, for example, are believed to have come all the way from western Kazakhstan. Those population movements supposedly happened for about a century (from mid-5th century to mid-6th century), largely unnoticed by contemporary sources. According to Agathias of Myrina, who wrote in the second half of the 6th century, the Ultizurs and the Burgundians were strong during the reign of Emperor Leo I (457–474), but largely forgotten at the time of his writing.[47] By contrast, the Bulgars who appear in the Black Sea steppes during the second half of the 5th century became allies of Emperor Zeno (474–491).[48]

By the early 6th century, they made room for two other groups, the Cutrigurs and the Utigurs, who lived along the Lower Don and on the shores of the Sea of Azov.[49] Simultaneously, the Sabirs became active in the northern Caucasus and the Lower Volga region. According to John Malalas, they were a very powerful people, and both the Persians and the Byzantines sought their alliance.[50]

The Avars

Shortly after the middle of the 6th century, the situation changed again with the arrival of the Avars.[51] The identity of the newcomers has been the object of much debate, especially since Theophylact Simocatta called them "pseudo-Avars."[52] Whoever they were, their eruption into the steppe lands of Eastern Europe was the result of the western expansion of the Göktürk khaganate.[53] The Byzantines recruited them as allies against other nomads, and the Avars obliged by defeating one after the other the Utigurs, the Zali and the Sabirs. The Cutrigurs and the Antes were soon subjugated as well. The Avars now controlled the entire area of the Black Sea and Caspian steppes.[54] However, fearing the Turks, they crossed the Carpathians and, together with the Lombards, destroyed the kingdom of the Gepids. The Avar rule over the Carpathian Basin became absolute, when their former allies moved to Italy in 568.[55]

After the late 570s, the Turks replaced the Avars as masters of the East European steppe lands. Despite their attack on Bosporus (now Kerch') in 576, the Byzantines hoped to use them against both Persia and the Avars.[56] However, the civil war within the Turkic khaganate dashed such hopes. Bayan, the Avar ruler, took Sirmium on the Sava River in 582, a conquest that made it possible for the Avars to raid and ravage the Balkan provinces of the empire during the subsequent decades. Their goal was to force the Byzantines to pay them tribute, which rose in 622/3 to 200,000 solidi, or more than 900 kilograms of gold.[57] The Avar ruler held an exclusive right to redistribute the tribute to the Avar elites, thus strengthening his authority as the one bestowing prestige, and securing his elevated position of power in a highly hierarchical polity. That polity was centered upon the Carpathian Basin. Judging by the archaeological evidence, the Avar elites lived in the zone between the Tisza and the Middle Danube, which was the closest parallel to the steppe lands in Eastern Europe and may have operated in the past as a "no-man's-land" between Lombards and Gepids. The Avars bred mainly horses and cattle, as the Danube lowlands, especially in the wetlands of the Alföld, were not suitable for raising sheep and goats. The large number of bones of cattle in zooarchaeological assemblages seems to indicate that in their new homeland, the Avars quickly abandoned their typically nomadic mode of life.[58] The Early Avar khaganate, though ruled by a nomadic elite of Asian origin, was a multi-ethnic and multicultural polity. For a long time, the territories controlled by the Avars included enclaves of post-Roman, Germanic and Slavic populations. Except the testimony of Fredegar, there is no evidence that the Avars exploited or persecuted any of those groups.[59]

When Emperor Maurice (582–602) adopted a more aggressive policy toward the Avars, their polity plunged into a temporary, but serious crisis.[60] The situation was aggravated by the failed siege of Constantinople, a (possibly earlier) rebellion of the Slavs led by Samo, the civil war (631 or 632) and the rise of "Great" Bulgaria under Kubrat (ca. 635).[61] By the mid-7th century, the khaganate was restricted to the Carpathian Basin, and relations with Byzantium petered out, although they were not completely interrupted. After ca. 680, the Avars disappear from the radar of the written sources for the next century or so. During this period, called "Late Avar" by archaeologists (ca.680–ca.820), the only sources available

are archaeological, and they indicate a clear cultural shift toward a sedentary lifestyle in a predominantly agrarian economy, all combined with a remarkable uniformity (if not standardization) in terms of material culture.[62] Little is known about the organization of the khaganate, but however modest the evidence, it seems to point to a weaker military position, especially in relation to Bavaria, as demonstrated by the events of 740 in Carantania.[63] By the end of that century, a number of local lords emerged, who exercised power in parallel with, and almost independent from the khagan. This political fragmentation and the civil war of 794, in which the khagan was overthrown, made it easier for the Charlemagne to defeat the Avars. In 795, the Franks took over the seat of power (*hring*) and left with a fabulous loot. Successive invasions in 796–802 eventually led to the demise of the polity. By 805, Krum, the ruler of Danube Bulgaria, attacked the Avar territories as well.[64]

Great political transformations took place in the meantime in the Black Sea steppe lands. Under Kubrat, "Great" Bulgaria emerged in the 630s in the lands between the Kuban River and the Sea of Azov, but his power may have extended much farther to the west.[65] Many believe the extremely rich site at Malo Pereshchepyne, near Poltava in Left-Bank Ukraine, to have been Kubrat's burial place.[66] Others point out that the associated coins indicate a date later than the date at which Kubrat supposedly died, and attribute the assemblage to the Khazar, not Bulgar elite.[67] Whoever was buried at Malo Pereshchepyne, a nomadic polity seems to have been in existence in the 7th century in the Middle Dnieper, as confirmed by hoards of bronze and silver from the region. The hoard from Martynivka near Cherkasy in Ukraine includes a great number of silver artifacts and had been dated to the first half of the 7th century. The bronze mounts in the form of dancing men or of animals, as well as the bow fibulae of the so-called Dnieper style, demonstrate the existence of a local elite maintaining contacts with Byzantium, as well as with the sedentary population of the forest-steppe zone.[68] The reasons for the disintegration of that nomadic polity, whether Great Bulgaria or another, remain unclear. However, the collapse of Great Bulgaria and the occupation of the steppe lands north of the Black Sea by the Khazars marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the region.

Pax Chazarica

During the 1st century of their presence in the East European steppes, the Khazars resembled most other nomadic peoples who had previously inhabited the area. They came from the western parts of the Turkic khaganate, probably from the Middle Volga region. Since Byzantine sources consistently mistake them for Turks, some assume that the Khazar rulers were members of, or related to the Ashina dynasty of Turkic khagans. However, it is equally possible that Khazar elites invented that genealogy in order to justify their claims to the power. However, there can be no doubt about the imperial ambitions of those elites, as evidenced by their ruler's title of khagan.[69] Following their defeat of the Bulgars, Asparukh, the son of Kubrat, migrated with his people to the Lower Danube, in what is now northeastern Bulgaria. There he established the state of early medieval Bulgaria, which was recognized by Byzantium in ca. 680.

Meanwhile, and until the mid-8th century, the Khazars subjugated the Barsils, a Bulgar people from the Middle Volga, and occupied the Taman Peninsula and the eastern part of Crimea, together with Bosporus.[70] The Khazar push into the northern Caucasus region must have been a cause for concern for the Umayyad caliphate. The Khazars have traditionally been seen as a bastion holding the Arabic expansion. In fact, they often provoked conflicts by invading Transcaucasia. The Arab rulers never intended to conquer the steppe lands north of

the Black and Caspian seas, but simply to maintain control over strategically important areas south of the Caucasus Mountains.[71]

Beginning with the mid-8th century, the relations with the Caliphate changed dramatically. Under the Abbasids, the Caliphate became one of the main economic centers of the Old World, with commercial ties to China, India, Africa and Europe. Trade routes also moved into the interior of the territory controlled by the Khazars, and beyond, as testified by the enormous number of Arab dirhems found in Eastern Europe. Hoards of Arab coins are an indication of commerce, and dirhems were used as payment for such commodities as furs, slaves, wax and honey.[72] This flow of silver attracted merchants and warriors from Scandinavia. In Eastern Europe, Vikings were called Varangians or Rus'. To the Khazars, they were a dangerous, equally belligerent and mobile rival.[73] The Rus' benefitted from the political system of security and stability created by the Khazars in the 9th century to which some refer as *Pax Chazarica*. This system included the steppe lands north of the Black and Caspian seas, but extended well into the forest belt, over the local Slavic and Finno-Ugrian tribes from the Middle Dnieper to the Upper Oka rivers, as well as beyond the Middle Volga to the north, into the lands along the Kama River. In those latter parts, the Volga Bulgars soon began to participate in the long-distance trade on their own terms, using such markets as Bolgar, Biliar and Suvar.[74]

The Khazars taxed the trade through their territory, but the Khazar elite got involved in that trade as well.[75] The Khazar elites were also involved in extensive pastoralism, based on longhorn cattle, horses, sheep and goats.[76] However, historians believe that the reason for the relative stability of the khaganate was the remarkably diversified economy, far more than just trade and pastoralism.[77] Agriculturally developed regions emerged inside the khaganate, especially along the Lower Don and the Severskii Donets, as well as in Dagestan. The Khazar-controlled cities of Crimea and Taman produced pottery, especially amphorae, which, together with their precious content (most likely wine), traveled upstream along the Don and deep into the Slavic lands. Metallurgy was also very advanced, as documented archaeologically in various parts of the khaganate. Moreover, there is evidence of an elaborate settlement pattern in the hinterland of forts built along the Don and the Severskii Donets rivers, as well as their tributaries, forming an integrated economic system. A good example is Sarkel on the Lower Don, a fortress built ca. 840 by Byzantine craftsmen. About 100 open settlements have been discovered in its vicinity.[78]

The rapid changes taking place in the Khazar khaganate after ca. 750 are best illustrated by the conversion of some members of the Khazar elite to Judaism. The new religion made its appearance primarily because of Jewish merchants active in Khazar cities and can be already detected by the 830s.[79] Historians have interpreted the conversion to Judaism as a sign of a (separate) group identity affirmed against the neighboring empires—Byzantium and the Abbasid Caliphate. If so, the conversion most likely did not involve the entire population. Coinciding in time with the conversion to Judaism, a number of changes took place in the political structure of the khaganate as well. First, the khagan took a back seat when his military deputy (*beg*, *iša* or *šad*) took over.[80] Moreover, the Khazar army was now largely made up of mercenaries of foreign origin, such as Muslim Khwarazmian horsemen.[81] Not everybody was happy with those changes. A group of malcontents called Kabars broke away from the Khazars and joined the Magyars.[82] When *Pax Chazarica* disintegrated under the attacks of the Rus' and the Oghuz in ca. 965, it probably had little to do with the old khaganate. That polity was created by nomads, who were ultimately responsible for the vast area of communication that connected the steppe and forest-steppe zone with the forest belt of northeastern Europe. It was their mobility and ability to move military troops very quickly that allowed one political center to control such a vast territory, a feature that is largely underestimated

in the modern historiography of the Khazars.[83] Long-distance trade was crucial in the rise of Rus' and Volga Bulg(h)aria, and the Khazars were responsible for the route linking the Middle East to Northern Europe.

Foes and heirs of the khaganate

The 9th-century crisis triggered by the changes taking place within the Khazar khaganate is best illustrated by two important migrations. Around 830, the Magyars moved to the Black Sea steppe lands, possibly under the pressure of the Pechenegs, who had settled between the Volga and the Emba rivers.[84] The new homeland of the Magyars, which they called Etelköz or "the country by the rivers," stretched from the Lower Don and the Severskii Donets to the Lower Danube rivers.[85] Judging by burial assemblages of the so-called Subbotsi type, the center of this territory was in the Middle Dnieper region of Left-Bank Ukraine. Those assemblages are remarkably similar to the material discovered in the region of the Lower Kama and the Bielaia rivers.[86] The Magyars were joined by the Kabar rebels, but there is no evidence of a Magyar-Khazar conflict. In fact, the traditions developed within the native, Magyar environment insist on presenting the Magyars as allies, if not clients of the Khazars.[87] Some have gone as far as linking the supposed dualism of power within the Magyar confederacy—with a *kende/kündü* as sacred ruler and a *gyula/jila* exercising real power over the eight tribes of the Magyars (including the Kabars)—to a Khazar model.[88] Only a few decades after settling in the Etelköz, the Magyars were already raiding the lands to the west of the Carpathian Mountains, reaching as far west as Eastern Francia.[89] Again under the pressure of the Pechenegs, the Magyars left Etelköz and moved to the Carpathian Basin, an event traditionally dated to 896. Within East Central Europe, the Magyars replicated in some way the earlier history of the Avars. They destroyed Great Moravia in 902 before taking over the Carpathian Basin. At the same time, they began raiding both Central and Western Europe and Byzantium, the latter after crossing Bulgaria.[90] The raids stopped in the early 970s, almost as the same time as the rise of monarchic rule and the beginning of Christianization. The baptism of Duke Géza and the changes introduced by his son, Stephen I (997–1038), turned the Árpádian polity into a strong kingdom.[91]

The Pechenegs may have originated in the 8th century in the lands north of Lake Balkhash or in the valley of the Upper Irtysh River, in eastern Kazakhstan. In the 9th century, however, they lived in the steppe lands north of the Caspian Sea, in western Kazakhstan. Muslim authors described them as wealthy and belligerent, prone to attack all their neighbors in order to plunder and to hunt for slaves. Khazaria was probably their most vulnerable neighbor, and many a khagan waged war against the Pechenegs.[92] The latter's migration farther to the west, across Khazaria, may have been prompted by ethnic shifts provoked by Ismail, the Samanid emir of Bukhara, who attacked the Oghuz in 893.[93] The latter, in turn, attacked the Pechenegs, who attempted to cross the Volga into Khazaria. They were initially defeated, but somehow managed to cross not just that river, but the entire territory of the khaganate, from east to west, and to reach the Black Sea steppes.[94] However, there is no indication of widespread destruction caused by the Pecheneg migration. Occupation continued uninterrupted on sites of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture in the Don and Severskii Donets region.

By the time they entered the radar of the Byzantine sources (mid-10th century), the Pechenegs were organized segmentarily in eight tribes, three of which, called *kangar*, occupied a hegemonic position.[95] By that time, the Oghuz had already taken over the old Pechenegs abodes north of the Caspian Sea, crossing the frozen Volga in the winter, to raid Khazaria. Their attacks contributed to the eventual demise of the khaganate just as much as the

expedition of the Rus' prince Sviatoslav. His son, Vladimir (978–1015), took the first measures to protect Kiev against the nomads, primarily the Pechenegs. He built a series of dikes on the Ros' and Sula rivers, known as the Snake Ramparts (*Zmievye Valy*).[96] The permanent state of warfare with the Rus' at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries most certainly drained the nomad forces, but the dramatic changes taking place in the steppe lands during the 11th century were largely the result of yet another migration. Around 1030, the Cumans attacked the Oghuz, causing the disintegration of their confederacy, which split into different parts. One of them, comprising Oghuz who had recently adopted Islam, moved into Central Asia, where they "became" Turkmen, the ancestors of the Seljuk Turks. The remaining pagan Oghuz, known as Uzes to Byzantine and Torks to Rus' authors, reached the Black Sea steppes, thus invading the lands of the Pechenegs. As a consequence, a large group of Pechenegs crossed the Danube into the Balkan provinces of the Byzantine Empire during the winter of 1046/1047. Others found refuge in Hungary, Rus' and Poland.[97]

Less than two decades later, in 1064, the Uzes followed suit. Many of those who crossed the Danube, however, died during an epidemic or starved to death, while others were murdered by the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians. Some survivors returned to the Black Sea steppes. A large group of Uzes migrated to Rus', where, together with the Pechenegs and other nomads, they formed a group known as the Black Hoods (*Chernye Klobuki*). Until the Mongol invasion (1240), this group remained in the service of the Kievan princes, who settled them along the Ros' River, on the southern border of Rus'.[98] However, a large number of Pechenegs and Uzes remained in the steppe lands that by the late 1060s were under Cuman rule.[99]

Cumans and Mongols

The Cumans (also known as Kipchaks and Polovtsy) are believed to have originated in the mid-8th century in Inner Asia, where they lived next to the Kyrgyz. During the 9th and 10th centuries, they were the western branch of the Kimak federation in the region of the Upper Irtysh, Ishim and Tobol rivers in what is now northeastern Kazakhstan. Around 1030, they absorbed a group of easterners known as Qun, a splinter from the Kimak confederacy, and attacked the Oghuz.[100] The Cumans, like the Pechenegs and the Oghuz, were a polycephalic society with a loose political structure. In the written sources, several princes are mentioned along with many noble families.[101] The archaeological correlate of that social prominence is "princely graves," such as that of a Cuman man buried under a barrow on the bank of the Chynhul River, not far from the northern coast of the Sea of Azov. Next to that man's body was an impressive collection of valuables, including silk, Byzantine amphorae, an enameled cup, silver belt sets with damascened ornaments and a bronze cover cup from the Meuse-Rhine region.[102] Unlike other nomads, the Cumans are known for stone statues called *kamennye baby*. Over 1,000 specimens dated to the second half of the 12th century and to the early 13th century are known from the area between the Dnieper and the Donets rivers. Those statues may have operated as steles, perhaps in connection with the cult of the ancestors, and always show a sitting man or a woman holding a vessel. Whatever their interpretation, those statues were centers of local, community cults.[103]

The Cumans developed close relations, often of alliance, with the neighboring polities of Rus', Byzantium and Hungary. Close ties with the latter, and the military skills of the Cumans convinced King Béla IV (1235–1270) to offer asylum to a group of Cumans fleeing the Mongols. Their integration into the Hungary was not without difficulties, yet it was finally completed.[104] The relation with the Rus' was more complicated. After Yaroslav the Wise's death in 1054, each of many principalities sought the cooperation of the nomads

against rivals, with only rare episodes of cooperation against the Cumans, particularly in the early 12th century. Oleg Sviatoslavich, the Prince of Chernigov, was the first to enlist Cumans against other Rus', in 1078.[105] The Cuman military alliance was also sought and cultivated by rulers of Georgia and of Second Bulgarian Empire.[106] Hungarian, Georgian and Rus' rulers also established matrimonial alliances with Cuman chieftains.[107]

The arrival of the Mongols is usually presented as a breakthrough event, which for many centuries negatively shaped the fate of Eastern Europe. To be sure, the Mongol conquest caused destruction, and to overcome resistance, the invaders often resorted to terror, which must have brought massive acts of cruelty, bordering on bestiality. But after the conquest, the Mongol rule took on a much milder form, and in some areas, power was exercised indirectly by the local elite. Moreover, following Sübe'edei's defeat of the Cuman-Rus' coalition on the Kalka River (1223), the Mongols showed no interest in Eastern Europe. It was only at the *quriltai* (assembly) of 1235 that the decision was taken to conquer the so-called *ulus* Jochi, the western lands assigned to the eldest, prematurely deceased son of Chinggis Khan. The first victim of the invasion was the Volga Bulgaria. In the winter 1237–1238, the Mongols took Riazan', Kolomna and Moscow. They then turned against the nomads in the steppe lands. By 1240, they had completed the conquest of Rus', having taken Kiev on December 6 of that year. During the following two years, Hungary was invaded and largely occupied during the spring of 1242, before the Mongols suddenly withdrew upon learning the news of the death of the great Khan Ögödei (1229–1241). They never returned to finish the conquest of Hungary.[108]

The *ulus* of Jochi comprised a large territory between the Irtysh and the Dniester rivers, including the steppe lands, the Crimea, the Caucasus region, Rus' and Volga Bulgharia. The first ruler of this vast territory was the grandson of Chinggis Khan, Batu (1227–1255). Initially part of the Mongol Empire, the *ulus* of Jochi, later called Golden Horde, became an independent state by mid-13th century. The *Pax Mongolica* resembled in many respects the *Pax Chazarica*. Much like in Khazaria, there were numerous other nomads inside the Golden Horde besides Mongols. There were also regions of highly developed agriculture, such as Khwarazm, Crimea, Volga Bulgharia and several Rus' principalities, in addition to areas of extensive pastoralism. Long-distance trade took off under the Mongols using some important market centers such as Bolgar, Urgench (in Khwarazm), Theodosia-Caffa, Sogdaia-Sudak, and Solkhat (in the Crimea), as well as Tana-Azak at the mouth of the Don River. Volga was the main axis of communication inside the Golden Horde, and Batu Khan built his capital at Sarai around 1250, on the lower course of that river.[109] A great number of foreign merchants were active within the Golden Horde—Greeks, Armenians, Rus', Jews and Genoese. The latter established a colony at Caffa in 1270. Trade involved goods from almost all Eurasia and the Mediterranean—grain, wine, salt, fish, hides, furs and wax, but also incense and spices from India and silk produced in China. The slave trade played a significant role, with Egypt as the main market and a great demand for slave warriors (Mamluks), many of whom were of Cuman origin.[110] Inside the Golden Horde, the volume of exchanges made coined money necessary, and the Mongol rulers began to strike their own coins, first at Bolgar on the Volga in the mid-13th century, later in the Crimea and at Sarai.[111]

Areas outside the *ulus* were controlled indirectly, by means of local princes, as in Rus'. Each local ruler received a *yarliq*, a writ recognizing formally his authority over the Rus' principality assigned to him. In the territories conquered by the Mongols, a number of officials, named *baskaki* or *daruga*, were responsible for the collection of taxes, but in Rus', they were soon supplanted by local elites.[112] While some principalities and cities (Kiev) experienced considerable decline, others retained their former power and vitality (Halych-Volhynia and Novgorod). Moreover, the Mongols were tolerant toward their subjects'

religious beliefs. In 1267, the Church in Rus' was granted full exemption from taxes. There was a Roman-Catholic bishopric in Sarai, while Franciscans were involved in missionary work in the urban centers of the Crimea, as well as in the capital of the Golden Horde.[113] Beginning with the mid-13th century, the elites of the Jochid state turned to Islam. The first convert was Berke Khan (1257–1267), but Islam became a state religion only under Uzbek (1312–1344).[114] The conversion coincided with an increasing Cuman influence, as a result of which the Golden Horde turned into a Kipchak Khanate, dominated by Turkic-speaking Muslims, despite the formal continuation of the former Mongol imperial traditions.[115]

Conclusion

Nomadism, as an idea organizing the perception of the inhabitants of the European steppe lands, has retained its validity and analytical value. However, we should remember that nomads, just like farming communities, were able to create various models of culture. Under certain circumstances, nomadism was, in fact, a way to take advantage of neighboring polities. It is noteworthy that in medieval Europe, only the nomads succeeded in creating empires that controlled all ecotones—the steppe, the forest-steppe and the forest belts. Because of that, both Khazars and the Mongols created large communication spaces, within which both goods and people traveled at a frequency and at a speed without precedent. In fact, it was the peculiar combination of control over nomads and settled groups, which secured the long-term success of both Khazars and Mongols, in sharp contrast to the Avars, for instance. The Avar khaganate was a "shadow empire," the existence of which depended entirely upon the Byzantine Empire.[116] The decline of the Byzantine power in the second third of the 7th century spelled the crisis of the Avar Empire. The khaganate survived for another century, but at a high cost—a much weaker structure, torn by centrifugal tendencies.

One of the most interesting conclusions to be drawn from this survey of nomadism in medieval Eastern Europe is that many groups described above had no need of a political organization that one could call, however loosely, a "state." The most puzzling and significant example is that of the Cumans, who, despite lacking a centralized political organization, played a very important role in the history of Eastern Europe. Many Oghur groups, as well as the Pechenegs and the Oghuz, managed without a state. Some of those ethnic groups survived independently for several centuries, sometimes more than neighboring states (including some empires, such as Bulgaria), which raises many questions regarding the role of stateless communities in history. Nomads are typically depicted as passive participants in trade: they can join already existing exchange, but they cannot generate them.[117] Similarly, nomads are believed to be able to disseminate achievements of neighboring civilization, but not to generate a civilization of their own. The Khazars contradict both claims. Were they an exception or was their case simply as good as it gets in world of the nomads? If one opts for the second possibility, one needs to acknowledge that the nomads of medieval Eastern Europe could create a competitive cultural alternative to the lifestyle of their settled neighbors. They cannot therefore be treated as mere barbarians on the outskirts of the civilized world.

Notes

1 To Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (New York: Harper & Row 1981), pp. 92–102, nomads were incapable to develop a civilization alternative to agriculturists. In his *Grammaire des civilisations* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), pp. 202–03, Braudel directly compared nomads to biblical plagues, the only purpose of which was destruction.

2 Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: Verso, 1978), pp. 217–28.
3 For a critique of the new stereotypes, see Anatolii M. Khazanov, "Steppe nomads in the Eurasian trade," *Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena* 51 (2019), no. 1, 85–93. The myth of the Silk Road has captured the imagination of many a contemporary researcher willing to consider almost every artery of Eurasia as its branch, e.g., Roman K. Kovalev, "Commerce and caravan routes along the northern Silk Road (sixth-ninth centuries). Part I: The western sector," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 14 (2005), 55–106. One is led to believe that the entire communication network of Europe was just an extension of the Silk Road, which eliminates the explanatory value of the latter concept.
4 Denis Sinor, "Introduction: The concept of Inner Asia," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Eurasia*, edited by Denis Sinor (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1–18; David Christian, *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia*, vol. 1 (Malden: Blackwell, 1998), pp. xv–xxi. For an alternative perspective, see Aleksander Paroń, "The Baltic Sea and Black Sea *Intermarium*. Some preliminary remarks on the early medieval communication networks," in *Poland, Pomerania and Their Neighbours' Shaping Medieval Civilisation (10th-12th Centuries)*, edited by Stanisław Rosik (Wrocław: Chronicon, 2020), pp. 39–55.
5 Herodotus, *History* IV 46–47, edited by A. D. Godley (London: William Heinemann, 1928), pp. 246–47; ibn Battuta, *The Travels, AD 1325–1354*, translated by Charles Defrémery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), pp. 470–78.
6 Herodotus, *History* IV 17–18, pp. 216–19.
7 Boris V. Magomedov, *Cherniakhovskaia kul'tura. Problema etnosa* [The Chernyakhov culture. The problem of the ethnic attribution] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2001).
8 Volodymyr Koloda and Serhiy Gorbanenko, *Agriculture in the Forest-Steppe Region of Khazaria* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2020).
9 Mykolas Lietuvis, *O nravakh tatar, litovtsev i moskvitian* [On the customs of the Tatars, Lithuanians and Muscovites], translated by V. I. Matuzova (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1994), pp. 96–97.
10 Latin, Byzantine and Rus' authors all place nomads existed outside the civilized world, and thus outside Christianity. Strangers and enemies at the same time, they could be the target of missionary efforts, but baptism implied the abandonment of nomadism. See Leonid S. Chekin, "The godless Ishmaelites: The image of the steppe in eleventh-thirteenth-century Rus'," *Russian History* 19 (1992), nos. 1–4, 9–28; Johannes Gießauf, *Barbaren, Monster, Gottesgeißeln: Steppennomaden im europäischen Spiegel der Spätantike und des Mittelalters* (Graz: Grazer Universitätsverlag Leykam, 2006); Aleksander Paroń, "How to deal with the steppe fauna? Considerations on the Byzantine perception of nomads and on the Byzantine policy towards them (10th–12th centuries)," in *Studia mediaevalia Europaea et orientalia. Miscellanea in honorem professoris emeriti Victor Spinei oblata*, edited by George Bilavschi and Dan Aparaschivei (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2018), pp. 217–38. Even the Muslim tradition, which originated in a community of nomads, treated nomads with hostility. According to ibn Fadlan, the Oghuz "lead wretched lives. They are like roaming asses. They practice no recognizable form of monotheism, they do not base their beliefs on reason, and they worship nothing." See Ahmad ibn Fadlan, "Mission to the Volga," edited and translated by James E. Montgomery, in *Two Arabic Travel Books*, edited by Philip F. Kennedy and Shawkat M. Toorawa (New York: New York University Press, 2014), pp. 200–01; Yehoshua Frenkel, "The Turks of the Eurasian steppes in medieval Arabic writing," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, edited by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2005), pp. 201–41.
11 The only descriptions of value for this period are those of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, the two Franciscans who traveled to the Mongol khan's court in the mid-13th century. Although still tainted by aversion and fear of strangeness, their accounts of the world of the steppe show great insight and understanding of the cultural universe of the nomads. See Johannes Fried, "Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Die Mongolen und die europäische Erfassungswissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 243 (1986), 287–332; A. Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters* (Wiesdbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 187–236.
12 Anatolii M. Khazanov, *The Nomads and the Outside World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), pp. 50–52.

13 Nomads in Inner Mongolia traveled over short distances (less than 150 km), while those in Outer Mongolia (Gobi Desert) covered as many as 600 km. The Kazakhs of the Small and the Middle Horde covered between 1,000 and 1,500 km (Khazanov, *The Nomads*, p. 52).
14 Khazanov, *The Nomads*, p. 16.
15 Klaus Ferdinand, "Nomadism in Afghanistan," in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur. Ethnographische Studien*, edited by László Földes and Béla Gunda (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1969), pp. 127–60, here p. 129; G. N. Simakov, "Opyt tipologizatsii skotovodcheskogo khoziaistva u kirgizov (konets XIX-nachalo XX v.)" [An attempt at a typology of the pastoral economy among the Kyrgyz people (late 19th to early 20th cc.)], *Sovetskaia etnografiia* (1978), no. 6, 14–27, here 24; Khazanov, *The Nomads*, pp. 19–20.
16 Theophylact Simocatta, *History* I 3, edited by Carl de Boor and Peter Wirth (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1972), p. 44; Mary and Michael Whitby *The History of Theophylact Simocatta. An English Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 58; Menander the Guardsman, *History*, frg. 12.6, edited and translated by R. C. Blockley (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1985), pp. 140–41; Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, edited and translated by Geoffrey Greatrex (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), pp. 449–51.
17 Jordanes, *Getica* 36, edited by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1882), p. 63; translated by Charles Christopher Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1915), p. 60.
18 Jordanes, *Getica* 37, p. 63; translation by Mierow, p. 60.
19 Walter Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 344–52. For a critique of the idea of Avar nomadism, see Florin Curta, *The Long Sixth Century in Eastern Europe* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2021), pp. 110–31.
20 Hansgerd Göckenjan and István Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte über die Völker Osteuropas und Zentralsiens im Mittelalter. Die Ǧayhānī-Tradition (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, Al-Bakrī und al-Marwazī)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 53–54, 167, 168, 226, and 251.
21 P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaia perepiska v X veke* (The Jewish-Khazar correspondence of the 10th century) (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1932), pp. 85–87 and 102–03.
22 Göckenjan and Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, pp. 73, 228, and 255; István Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars in the Second Half of the 9th Century. The Magyar Chapter of the Jayhānī Tradition* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 139–60 and 306–08.
23 Miklós Takács, "Die Lebensweise der Ungarn im 10. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der verschiedenen Quellengattungen," in *The Neighbors of Poland in the 10th Century*, edited by Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, 2000), pp. 157–92, here pp. 182–83.
24 Hudud al-Alam. *"The Regions of the World." A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.,* translated by Vladimir V. Minorsky (London: Luzac & Co., 1937), p. 160; Göckenjan and Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, p. 215.
25 Göckenjan and Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, pp. 165, 221–22, and 250.
26 Constantine Poprhyrogenitus, *On the Administration of the Empire* VIII 34–35, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), pp. 56–57.
27 John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, edited by Hans Thurn (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), p. 455; translated by John Wortley, *John Scylitzes, A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 242.
28 Leo the Deacon*, History* IX 12, edited by Charles Benoît Hase (Bonn: E. Weber, 1828), p. 157; translated by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan, *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2005), p. 200. The covered wagons of the nomads are also mentioned in the Rus' chronicles; see *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* [The Laurentian Annals], edited by Evfimii F. Karskii (Leningrad, 1926; reprint Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 1997), col. 279; translated by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1953), p. 202.
29 *Hudud al-Alam*, p. 162.
30 Fadlan, "Mission," pp. 200–01 and 212–13.
31 In Eurasia, grazing on summer pastures is particularly important, as animals gain weight due to the abundance of food. Comparative data from Central Asia show that grazing 1 sheep requires 1 ha of pasture. Grazing a herd of thousands of animals thus requires a long wandering

(Khazanov, *The Nomads*, p. 51). It is difficult to determine the size of herds owned by an average nomad. The authors who described the nomads of the western part of the Great Steppe in the 18th–19th centuries provide different data. A five-person Kalmyk family in the middle of the 18th century, when Kalmyks lived in the steppes on the Lower Volga River, needed eight mares, one stallion, ten cows and one bull to survive. Another author stated that the minimum number of animals belonging to one family was 50–100. In the 18th century, a wealthy Kazakh family would have 30–50 horses, 100 sheep, 15–25 big horned cattle, 20–50 goats and several camels. To survive, a family of five to six people needed five horses, ten rams and six cows (Khazanov, *The Nomads*, p. 30).

32 *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'*, col. 279; Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 202; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* [The Hypatian Annals], edited by Aleksei A. Skakhmatov (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908; reprint Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1962), cols. 532, 538–39, 637, 640 and 644; *Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, translated by A. Benisch (London: Trubner & Co., 1856), pp. 4–5; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, edited by Philippe Lauer (Paris: E. Champion, 1956), p. 64; John of Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum*, edited by Ernesto Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), p. 314; Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1955), pp. 58–59; *Itinera et relations fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, edited by Anastasius van den Wyngaert (Quaracchi: Apud Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), p. 194–95; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, translated by Peter Jackson (London: the Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 105.

33 Andrei G. Atavin, "Pogrebal'nyi obriad i imushchestvenno-sotsial'naia struktura kochevnikov lesostepnoi i stepnoi zony iuga Rossii v kontse IX-pervoi polovine XIII v. (pechenegi, torki, polovtsy)" [Burial rites and the social structure of nomadic communities in the forest-steppe zone of southern Russia, late 9th to the first half of the 13th century (Pechenegs, Oghuz, Cumans)], in *Drevnosti Iuga Rossii. Pamiati A. G. Atavina*, edited by Gennadii E. Afanas'ev (Moscow: TAUS, 2008), pp. 71–105. The killing of horses at funerals is also mentioned by ibn Fadlan (Fadlan, "Mission," pp. 208–09).

34 For the archaeology of Pechenegs, Uzes and Cumans after they left the Black Sea steppe, see now Florin Curta, "The image and archaeology of the Pechenegs," *Banatica* 23 (2013), 143–202.; Uwe Fiedler, "Zur Suche nach dem archäologischen Niederschlag von Petschenegen, Uzen und Kumanen in den Gebieten südlich der unteren Donau," in *The Steppe Lands and the World Beyond Them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, edited by Florin Curta and Bogdan-Petru Maleon (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2013), pp. 249–85.

35 John of Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum*, p. 309; Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, pp. 55–56; *Itinera*, pp. 172–73, 197–98 and 212–13; *The Mission of Friar William*, pp. 72–73, 109 and 131.

36 Khazanov, *The Nomads*, pp. 46–50.

37 Kovalev, "Commerce and caravan routes," pp. 81, 86 (map no. 2), 88–89 and 99. Two-humped camels are mentioned in the written sources as used by the Burtas', the Oghuz', the Cumans, the Mongols and possibly the Pechenegs. See Göckenjan and Zimonyi, *Orientalische Berichte*, pp. 56 and 169; *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'*, cols. 228 and 279; Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 181 and 202; Fadlan, "Mission," pp. 204–05; John of Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum*, p. 235; Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p. 8; Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223–1502*, 2nd edition (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), pp. 253, 361, 410 and 423; Thomas S. Noonan, "Rus', Pechenegs, and Polovtsy: Economic interaction along the steppe frontier in the pre-Mongol era," *Russian History* 19 (1992), 301–26, here 311.

38 The importance of grains and grain-derived products for individual nomadic populations may have varied. According to Ivan Maiskii, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Tuvan and Khalkhan Mongols obtained 55.31 percent of their calories from milk and dairy products, 24.38 percent from food of plant origin and 20.31 percent from meat. Ivan M. Maiskii, *Sovremennaia Mongoliia. Otchet Mongols'koi ekspeditsii, snariazhennoi Irkutskoi kontoroi Vserossiiskago tsentral'nogo soiuza potrebitel'nykh obshchestv "Tsentro-soiuz"* [Contemporary Mongolia. Report of the Mongol expedition, commissioned by the Irkutsk branch of the All-Russian Central Association of consumer societies "Tsentro-soiuz"] (Irkutsk: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, Irkutskoe otdelenie, 1921), p. 156; Sev'ia I. Vainshtain, *Mir kochevnikov Tsentra Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), p. 157. The Kazakhs, on the other hand, apparently consumed small amounts of vegetables and cereals,

which were necessary though auxiliary to their diet. N. Z. Shakhanova, "The system of nourishment among the Eurasian nomads: The Kazakh example," in *Ecology and Empire. Nomads in the Cultural Evolution of the Old World*, edited by Gary Seaman (Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, 1989), pp. 111–17. According to Rabbi Petachiah of Regensburg, the Cumans ate barley and millet cooked in milk (*Travels of Rabbi Petachia*, pp. 2–3).

39 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, cols. 266 and 284. See Svetlana A. Pletneva, "Polovetkaia zemlia" [The Cuman land], in *Drevnerusskie kniazhestva X–XIII vv.*, edited by L. G. Beskrovnyi (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), pp. 260–300, here 270–71. Three Cuman "cities" are mentioned in the Rus' annals—Surgov, Sharukan' and Balin—which were inhabited by Alans. They may well have been enclaves of the population of Khazaria outliving the demise of the khaganate.

40 Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 96–97.

41 András Róna-Tas, "Some data on the agriculture of the Mongols," in *Opuscula ethnologica memoriae Ludovici Biró sacra*, edited by Tibor Bodrogi and Lajos Boglár (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1959), pp. 443–69. Anna Comnena, Alexiad VI 14.1, edited by Diether Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), p. 174, mentions "Scythians" (either Pechenegs or Oghuz) who crossed the Danube in 1085, but knew how to plow and sow millet and wheat between raids. For similar practices in the 15th-century lands under the rule of the Golden Horde, see *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K istorii italo-russkikh sviazei v XV v.* [Barbaro and Contarini on Russia. From the history of Italian-Russian relations in the 15th century], edited and translated by Elena Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971), pp. 125 and 150.

42 Nicola Di Cosmo, "Ancient Inner Asian nomads: Their economic basis and its significance in Chinese history," *Journal of Asian Studies* 53 (1994), 1092–126.

43 Jordanes *Getica* 37, p. 63 (translation by Mierow, p. 60); Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Administration of the Empire*, pp. 52–53 and 286–87.

44 Fadlan, "Mission," pp. 204–07.

45 Jordanes, *Getica* 37, p. 63.

46 Priscus of Panion, frg. 40.1–2, in *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, translation by R. C. Blockely, vol. 2 (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1983), pp. 344–45.

47 Agathias of Myrina, *Histories* V 11.2–4, edited by Rudolf Keydell (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), pp. 176–77.

48 The identity of the Bulgars is much disputed. Some regard them as a mixture of Hunnic groups and Oghur peoples still inhabiting the Black Sea steppe lands. See Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 103–04; Khristo Dimitrov, *Bălgariia i nomadite do nachaloto na XI vek* [Bulgaria and the nomads to the early 11th century] (Plovdiv: Fondatsiia "Bălgarsko istorichesko nasledstvo," 2011), pp. 16–23.

49 Daniel Syrbe, "Reiternomaden des Schwarzmeerraums (Kutriguren und Utiguren) und byzantinische Diplomatie im 6. Jahrhundert," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65 (2012), no. 3, 291–316.

50 John Malalas, *Chronographia*, edited by Hans Thurn (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 332–33, 360 and 394.

51 Menander the Guardsman, *History*, frg. 5.1–2, pp. 48–51.

52 Theophylact Simocatta, *History* VII 7–8, pp. 257–59.

53 Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 33–47; Yu Taishan, *China and the Mediterranean World in Ancient Times* (Bucharest/Brăila: Editura Academiei Române/Istros, 2014), pp. 297–325.

54 Menander the Guardsman, *History*, frg. 5.2–3, p. 50–51; Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 47–50.

55 Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 53–68.

56 Denis Sinor, "The establishment and dissolution of the Türk empire," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 285–316, here pp. 301–05; Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 50–53 and 78–82.

57 According to some estimates, the Avars were able to obtain annually from the Byzantines between 13.7 and 36.3 tons of gold. See Attila Kiss, "Zur Frage der Kontinuität bzw. Diskontinuität des awarischen Khaganats (567–796). Wieviele Khaganate hat es gegeben?" in *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert. Symposium Nitra 6. bis 10. November 1994*, edited by Darina Bialeková and Jozef Zábojník (Bratislava: VEDA,

1996), pp. 83–98, here p. 90; Matthias Hardt, "The nomad's greed for gold: From the fall of the Burgundians to the Avar treasure," in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources, and Artefacts*, edited by Richad Corradini, Max Diesenberger and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 95–107, here pp. 99–100; Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 230–40.

58 József Szentpéteri, "Was die Verbreitungskarten erzählen… Beiträge zum Problemkreis der Datierung der Awarenzeit." *Antaeus* 29 (2008), 325–46, here 331–34; Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 243–50; Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 54–55.

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65 Nikephoros, *Short History*, edited and translated by Cyril Mango (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), pp. 70–71 and 86–89; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, edited by Carl de Boor, vol 1 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1883), pp. 356–57.

66 Joachim Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984); Georgi Atanasov, *Părvostroitelite na bălgarskata dărzhavnost. Organa, Kubrat, Asparukh, Tervel* [The founding fathers of the Bulgarian statehood. Organa, Kubrat, Asparukh and Tervel] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Iztok-Zapad," 2015), pp. 59–81.

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75 Zhivkov, *Khazaria*, pp. 147–70.

76 Vladimir V. Koloda and Sergei A. Gorbanenko, *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo nositelei saltovskoi kul'tury v lesostepnoi zone* [The rural economy of the bearers of the Saltovo culture in the forest-steppe zone] (Kiev: Institut arkheologii NAN Ukrainy, 2010), pp. 108–26; Zhivkov, *Khazaria*, pp. 196–203. According to Thomas S. Noonan, "The Khazar economy," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 9 (1995–1997), 253–314, here 259, by the 10th century, this was no more than "ritualistic pastoral nomadism." See also Zhivkov, *Khazaria*, pp. 211–12.

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85 Aleksander Paroń, *The Pechenegs. Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2021), pp. 104–26.

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89 Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 10–11.
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94 The Pechenegs controlled the entire area between the Lower Don and the Lower Danube. However, their presence next to the latter river cannot be dated before 1000 and was most likely the consequence of the loss of their eastern lands to the Oghuz (Paroń *Pechenegs*, pp. 240–48). Some Pechenegs remained behind under Oghuz rule. Their settlements were located in the bend of the Ural River, near modern Aktobe (northwestern Kazakhstan). See Fadlan, "Mission," pp. 212–15; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Administration of the Empire*, pp. 168–69.
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97 Golden, *An Introduction*, pp. 216–19 and 274–77; Victor Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute/Istros, 2003), pp. 181–96; Paroń, *Pechenegs*, pp. 321–30 and 372–90.
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5

EARLY CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM AND ISLAM

Maddalena Betti

> And then to the Greek Emperor came emissaries from the Khazars, saying: "From the beginning we have known one God who is above all, and worshipped Him facing east. However, we keep other shameful customs. The Jews exhort us to accept their faith and ways, while on the other hand the Saracens, offering us peace and many gifts, press us, saying: "our faith is better than that of all other peoples". Maintaining our former love and friendship, we therefore have come to you. For you are as great people and your empire is from God. And in requesting your counsel, we ask of you a learned man. Should he prevail over the Jews and Saracens, we shall accept your faith.[1]

These words are taken from the Slavonic *Life* of the apostle of the Moravian Slavs, Constantine-Cyril, written shortly after his death in 869, and announce the celebration of a public religious disputation between the champions of the three monotheistic faiths in the presence of the ruler of the Khazars.[2] This episode is typical of narratives concerning the conversion of rulers and peoples, which appear in the Arabic and Hebrew literature, as well as in Greek, Georgian and Latin hagiographic sources.[3] It is therefore a topical episode that allows the definition and celebration of the agent of conversion, that is, the one who emerges victory in the disputation and is therefore responsible for the success of one of the three religions, eventually adopted by an audience presumably still undecided about the faith to be adopted. Moreover, the episode in question operates as the means for the transmission of important catechetical contents addressed to the audience of the text, which is often made up of newly converted people, in need to learn about the doctrinal principles of the adopted faith.

My choice for this particular quote is based on the fact that it seems to be really appropriate for introducing the conversion to one of the three monotheistic religious systems of peoples who lived in the early Middle Ages in Southeastern Europe, from the Carpathian Basin to the Balkans, from the steppes north of the Black Sea to the Caucasus, and from the coasts of the Caspian Sea to southern Russia.[4] The space considered is vast and includes political formations, that were quite different from each other—recently formed or steppe empires that had various relationships with the Byzantine Empire, as well as with the Carolingian Empire and the Umayyad, and later Abbasid Caliphate. The chronological focus is on the 9th and 10th centuries, but I will also refer to developments in the 8th century, as needed.

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Introducing the theme of this chapter by means of the religious dispute at the Khazar court is also appropriate, for the history of the conversion of the peoples considered is, in fact, the result of a complex synthesis between the religious policies pursued by rulers and elites of a still pagan people and the competition between opposing proselytizing activities. The latter may take a variety of forms: official letters; missionaries working on behalf of religious frontier centers; Jewish and Muslim merchants traveling along the Eurasian trade routes and frequenting the markets that had emerged in the new polities; diplomats sent as envoys from neighboring empires; and finally, forced individual or group conversions, obtained by means of serious military threats. The religious organization of neighbors, whether allies or rivals, becomes, in fact, a matter of immediate concern, as soon as the conversion process starts under the aegis of competing powers, which, through missionary activity, can interfere and threaten those territories that are more or less already included within the sphere of political–military and cultural control of some other powers. Therefore, the religious choice of political leaders is often a political choice, with considerable consequences for the power balance in a region. This is true for those who choose between different monotheistic religions (the case of the Khazars is particularly striking in this respect) and for those who turn to one Christian organization as opposed to the other. For example, the Moravians and the Bulgar(ian)s oscillated between the churches in the kingdom of the Eastern Franks, the church of Rome and the Byzantine church.[5] The political scope of the conversion may explain the chain of alleged "missionary awakenings," in grand style and in competition with each other, which are often meant to recuperate the lost cultural influence and are predicated on hopes that the political leader and the elite participating in the decision-making process will "repent" and change their minds and hearts.

I have mentioned the Danubian Bulgar(ian)s and the Moravians together because their cases are strongly correlated. The Christianization of the Bulgars and the organization of the first Bulgarian church was in fact a complicated affair in the general context of the confrontation between the church of Rome and that of Constantinople, which, though still formally united, were opposed on several levels. During the second half of the 9th century, the question of papal primacy (authority claimed by the Roman See over the other patriarchal sees) came to the fore in debates surrounding the jurisdictional boundaries of the Roman church. Moreover, for both the Moravian and the Bulgar conversions, missionaries sent from the kingdom of the Eastern Franks, with strong support from the Carolingian emperors, played an important role that has been somewhat neglected by historians. From Moravia and Bulgaria, I will move to the story of the Khazar conversion to Judaism, which is regarded as exceptional and has therefore been interpreted in many different ways, generating some resistant historiographic myths. Finally, I will discuss the reasons that led the Volga Bulgars to adopt Islam.

In this chapter, the focus is primarily on the conversion of political leaders. To be sure, accepting baptism or requesting a teacher of the faith is no indication of an individual confessional choice, but it is a highly symbolic moment with a strong political value. A ruler's conversion represents the formal and therefore official adherence to the new religion of an entire people, previously pagan and "barbarian." The ruler's conversion formalizes and publicizes the chosen religious–cultural and political orientation and represents the will to endow oneself with a specific, unifying, cultural and religious identity, which serves as an instrument of distinction from others. Finally, the ruler's conversion provides new, generally further legitimizing, reasons for the ideology of power employed by the leader's dynasty or clan. As far as that ruler's subjects are concerned, however, the process of conversion is much more complex and long-lasting.[6] In most cases, that process was already well underway when

the political leader "officially" converted and commonly resulted from the gradual intensification of relations between "pagan barbarians" and the neighboring, monotheistic empires, first from a military and commercial point of view, and then politically. The process, then, is far from being completed in the years immediately following the "official" conversion. Despite the official adoption of a monotheistic religion, rituals and religious behaviors remained tied to paganism for a long time, as shown by the archaeological evidence. The conversion of the leader (and of the elite) is therefore a fundamental but not necessarily definitive stage of a broader process, often nonlinear, which greatly depends on the changing geopolitical circumstances, as well as the peculiar characteristics of the sociopolitical organization of different political formations. Some "official" conversions, for example, are rejected by the elites (as in the case of the nobility of the Danubian Bulgars that rebelled against the converted leader). In other cases, especially those of forced conversion, the decision of the political leader appears to have had no particular impact and was later rejected. In short, one can rightly speak not of a conversion, but of conversions in the context of processes that remained open, with uncertain outcomes.

The reconstruction of the context in which conversions to Christianity, Judaism and Islam took place is possible largely on the basis of written sources. Archeological sources, even if thoroughly investigated and often called into question by scholars, are of limited, if any use in this particular area of research. Remains of churches, mosques and synagogues are very often the subject of debate, mostly because of chronology. The study of mortuary archeology can also produce ambiguous results. To be sure, transformations can be seen clearly in burials postdating the conversion, and with that the implementation of new practices for the commemoration of the dead. However, pagan customs and beliefs were very resistant.[7] The written sources available for the reconstruction of the context of conversions are heterogeneous; in most cases, those are indirect sources, written by outsiders—Franks, Byzantines and Arabs. Some are reports of official conversions, which celebrate the event by enhancing the figure of the missionary or the leader who has initiated the conversion process. Those are hagiographic texts to be used with caution because they resort to widespread literary tropes, such as that of the disputation between champions of the three monotheistic faiths before an undecided political leader. Other sources, of a different kind, provide only scattered information, sometimes too little, and other times contradictory. Such sources, for example, greatly complicate the task of historians who have ventured to date the formal adoption of Judaism by the Khazars. Many problems with those sources refer to the fluidity of the ongoing processes they record. Omissions of news related to conversions are also to be associated with the conscious desire to ignore less (or even hardly)-tolerated religious changes, which undermined the success of one's own missionary projects.

The Christianization of the Danubian Bulgars and of the Moravians

The processes of Christianization in Danubian Bulgaria and in Moravia intersect at many levels. The fundamental stages in both cases took place in the 860s, a period during which the leaders of the two polities—the Bulgar Boris and the Moravian Rastislav and Svatopluk—made clear religious choices in order to pursue political aims that were quite similar. Furthermore, the Christianization of the two peoples involved the same "agents of conversion," opposing them to each other. In both contexts, the story of conversion was also one of the confrontations between envoys from the churches of the East Frankish kingdom, particularly those supported by the Carolingian king Louis the German (840–876); the legations of popes Nicholas I (858–868), Hadrian II (868–872) and John VIII (872–882); and the

Byzantine missionaries and bishops sent by the patriarchs of Constantinople Photius (858–867; 877–886) and Ignatius (847–858; 867–877) with the support of the emperors Michael III (840–867) and Basil I (867–886). In fact, the story of how Bulgars and Moravians became Christian is a by-product of the long-distance clash between a Carolingian empire encroaching into East-Central Europe and a Byzantine empire in full recovery. Furthermore, that story may be regarded as a symptom of the deep conflict emerging at that same time between the church of Rome and the patriarchate of Constantinople.

Given the complicated political background, it is perhaps better to begin with "Great Moravia," despite the fact that developments were almost simultaneous in the two countries.[8] This was the polity of the Moravian Slavs who controlled the eastern borderlands of the East Frankish kingdom, particularly the northern bank of the Danube river in what are now Lower Austria, the eastern part of the Czech Republic and (south)western Slovakia.[9] Missions of the Bavarian church are mentioned in the sources as reaching the lands located south of the river Danube inhabited by Carantanians (Slavic-speaking inhabitants of present-day Carinthia, in southern Austria) and the Slavs in Pannonia, who appear on several occasions as allies of the Carolingians.[10] Comparatively little is known about the beginnings of Christianity among the Moravians, who appear in Frankish sources after ca. 820 as unreliable and as dangerous enemies, against whom war had to be periodically waged. A brief, albeit late note (*Notae de episcopis Pataviensibus*) mentions a mass baptism of Moravians in 831 by Reginhar, Bishop of Passau.[11] That Christianization had already advanced in the first half of the 9th century also results from the archeological excavation of church foundations of brick or stone in several political centers of "Great Moravia."[12] However, the Moravian leaders Mojmir I (until 846) and then Rastislav (until 870) were apparently able to block the incorporation of Moravia, following the conversion, into ecclesiastical structures under the jurisdictions of the neighboring Bavarian dioceses, and thus to avoid the growing political influence of the kingdom of the Eastern Franks. They did that by opposing the formation of a sort of Franco-Bavarian monopoly of missions, thus inviting into their lands' missions of different and, if possible, very prestigious origins. Almost all the information about that may be found in the *Life* of Methodius, the Slavonic *vita* of the brother of Constantine-Cyril, and the first archbishop of the Moravians. The text hints at an initial request for missionaries that the Moravians addressed to Pope Nicholas I, perhaps in 862. After that, Prince Rastislav, together with his nephew Svatopluk, requested an expert teacher from the Byzantine emperor Michael III, on grounds that, though already Christian, the Moravians were "confused" by different teachings from "many Christian teachers, Italians [perhaps from Aquileia], Greeks and Germans."[13]

The Apostolic See seems to have simply ignored the request of the Moravians, probably in order to allow the assimilation policy implemented by Louis the German in the territories adjacent to the eastern borders of the kingdom of the Eastern Franks. However, the request addressed to the Byzantine emperor received a (probably unexpected and) immediate response. With the support of Patriarch Photius, Emperor Michael III dispatched two missionaries of excellence to the far West, on the edge of the Carolingian Empire. One of them was Constantine-Cyril, a remarkable intellectual of the circle of Photius and an experienced diplomat, the other was his brother Methodius, who had been *archon* of a Sklavinia inside the Empire, and then abbot of the Polychron Monastery in Asia Minor.[14] The Byzantine commitment to the mission in Moravia, which began in 863, had clear political motivations, as it represented a unique opportunity to monitor, if not to control Eastern Carolingian politics *in situ*, and a means to interfere in relations between the Carolingian rulers and the Bulgars, behind the latter's back, so to speak.[15] In fact, it was precisely Bulgaria that

caused worries in Constantinople during those years.[16] It was an empire founded by a warrior aristocracy of Turkic origin, a multiethnic and multiconfessional polity, on the northern border of Byzantium. From the perspective of Constantinople, Bulgaria was useful as a bulwark on the (north)western front, which required no "Romanization" and no conversion to Christianity.[17] According to the Byzantine position, the very seminomadic and "barbaric" character of Bulgaria made it suitable to block the access to Byzantium of all "Scythians" who came from the North. As a consequence, there was no need for any mission or policy for the Christianization of Bulgaria, promoted either by Byzantine emperors or by patriarchs.

In the early 9th century, the rulers of the dynasty founded by Krum (803–814) occupied the southern and western Balkans, the southern part of the Carpathian Basin, southern Transylvania, and the area to the north and to the east from the Danube Delta, in the process subduing numerous Slavic and Christian populations. Moreover, they managed to reset relations with Byzantium on a new basis. The new power of the Bulgar khan was represented by means of symbols "borrowed" from the Byzantine and the Carolingian world, while at the same time reinventing "steppe" traditions in order to shape a Bulgar, even anti-Christian identity. This coincided in time with a greater concern for the precise definition of territorial boundaries both in the Balkans and in the Carpathian Basin, often against the Franks. From a Byzantine perspective, the rapprochement between the Bulgar king Boris (852–889) and Louis the German was both unexpected and unwelcome. As a matter of fact, after the Frankish–Bulgar peace agreement in Tulln (864), Boris expressed interests in accepting baptism, perhaps with Louis the German as a sponsor at the baptismal font.[18] To strengthen the alliance, the Bulgars most likely participated in the Frankish military campaign against the Moravians. As a consequence, the Byzantine decision to attack the Bulgars, who were already engaged on other fronts, is no coincidence. Emperor Michael III, perhaps informed by Constantine and Methodius, took the opportunity to invade Thrace and to occupy Mesembria (now Nesebăr, on the Black Sea coast). Boris was quickly forced into submission and constrained to accept baptism, this time with the Byzantine emperor as a sponsor at the baptismal font (which is why Boris's baptismal name was Michael). Byzantine churchmen surrounded Boris in what seems to have been an imperial initiative to promote the Christianization of the Bulgars (865–866). However, Boris faced a much more serious challenge in the form of a revolt of the nobility, to which some sources attribute anti-Christian goals. Probably influenced by those events, Boris now sought to establish a mature Bulgarian church with a certain degree of autonomy. He found no understanding, apparently, with Patriarch Photius. Instead of granting Boris his wish, the patriarch sent a famous letter, in which he expounded the Christian doctrine as defined by the ecumenical councils and drew the ideal portrait of a Christian ruler using complex theological concepts and refined Greek expressions, both of which could have been hardly understood by neophytes, especially those with little knowledge of Greek.[19] The letter had therefore little if any effect on Boris and his court.[20] Photius may have intended to impress upon his Bulgarian audience the depth of the cultural divide separating Bulgarians—Christian, but still barbarians—from the civilized Byzantines.[21] Alternatively, Photius, with his letter, may have addressed above all the Byzantines to announce that the Bulgarians, who were now Christian, would soon become faithful subjects, while at the same time providing a Christian aristocrat who lived in Constantinople with a suitable text of cultural education.[22]

Disappointed by the ambiguous response of the patriarch of Constantinople as well as, probably, the timid commitment of the Byzantine mission to the Christianization of Bulgaria,[23] in 866 Boris-Michael resumed his initial plan and sent envoys to his former ally, Louis the German, asking for bishops and priests. This time, however, he also requested the

same from Pope Nicholas I. The king organized a Frankish mission headed by Ermenrich, his court chaplain who had just been elected as bishop of Passau, the Frankish ecclesiastical bulwark in the East, which had been involved in the Christianization of Moravia for several decades. Before Ermenrich moved to Bulgaria, Pope Nicholas I outflanked him, as he realized the importance of the opportunity offered him by Boris, namely to intervene in the process of establishing the Bulgarian church and, in doing so, to claim the jurisdiction that Rome allegedly had since Late Antiquity over the prefecture of Illyricum, to which (so the pope) Bulgaria belonged. Such a move must be understood against the broader context of the conflict with the church of Constantinople, which grew in intensity precisely between 864 and 867.[24] A lot was at stake, therefore, and Nicholas I sent a large mission of Roman churchmen, with two bishops as leaders of the expedition, Formosus of Porto and Paul of Populonia. Moreover, he sent Boris a letter of response to the Bulgar ruler's inquiries (*Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum*). This text is very different from the letter that Boris received from Photius, for the pope expressed, in very concrete terms, what the Roman norms were in regard to the ecclesiastical and canonical, the religious and ritual, the legal and punitive aspects of the Christian life. He also answered questions concerning the lifestyle and government activity of a Christian prince. In his letter, the pope told Boris that he could not grant his request for a patriarch, but guaranteed that collaboration with Rome would end with the election of an archbishop under Roman jurisdiction (who could thus be autonomous from interference from Constantinople).[25] Boris agreed with the papal proposal: the Byzantine missionaries were expelled, and those who had been baptized by them were now forced to accept being confirmed by Latin bishops. This caused the great irritation and protests of Patriarch Photius, who openly complained about the situation in his encyclical (*Epistula ad sedes Orientales*).[26]

Later in 867, Emperor Michael III was assassinated by his co-emperor, Basil I who immediately after that deposed Photius and reappointed the already deposed patriarch Ignatius. Meanwhile, in Rome, Pope Nicholas I died and Hadrian II was elected. The new pope had a more moderate position than his predecessor. It is most likely at this moment in time that Constantine and Methodius left Moravia after three years of activity. Their success as "apostles" of the Slavs had been guaranteed by Rastislav, as well as by Kocel, a Frankish duke of Slavic origin who ruled in Lower Pannonia. Both rulers had favored the two Byzantine brothers and protected them from attacks of the Bavarian missionaries that were already present in the territory. Moreover, the success of Constantine and Methodius was also the result of an exceptional cultural venture—the invention of the first Slavic alphabet (Glagolitic alphabet), the creation of a Slavic literary language and the translation of the Gospels and of liturgical texts used for pastoral purposes. According to the Slavonic *Lives* of Constantine and Methodius, the two Byzantine brothers left Moravia together with a number of disciples selected to be consecrated by a bishop. The undeclared goal of their trip to Rome was to obtain the papal permission for establishing the first ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Moravian church outside the jurisdiction of the neighboring Bavarian dioceses. Neither one of the authors of the two *vitae* mentions where Constantine, Methodius and their disciples were headed, it is likely that their intention was to go to Constantinople. However, perhaps warned about the radical changes at the Byzantine court and the deposition of their friend and patron, Photius, they changed course. The circumstances proved useful again to the Apostolic See.[27] It is possible that before his death, Nicholas I had caught the word of the two Byzantine missionaries waiting in Venice for a ship to take them to Constantinople, but not quite certain whether they should indeed go there, and decided to invite them to Rome. In his stead, however, it was Pope Hadrian II who first had to handle the Moravian

question. He was determined to exploit the popularity of Constantine and Methodius for the benefit of the Roman cause. He, therefore, welcomed the two brothers and collaborated with Methodius after Constantine's death on February 14, 869. He skillfully took advantage also of the more relaxed relations with Byzantium that had been made possible by Basil I's ascension and his deposition of Photius. In 870, he consecrated Methodius bishop of Pannonia, taking the first step toward the foundation of a new ecclesiastical province of Roman obedience in Central Europe. Nonetheless, Pope Hadrian II acted cautiously and perhaps secretly, in order to avoid losing favor with Louis the German. That much results from the lack of any papal reaction when, upon his return to Moravia as bishop of Lower Pannonia and Moravia, Methodius was immediately imprisoned by the Bavarian bishops, who accused of exercising episcopal functions within the territories that had been under the jurisdiction of the Bavarian archdiocese of Salzburg.

Meanwhile, Pope Hadrian II seems to have been more concerned with what was going on in Bulgaria, where the Bulgarian ruler once again tried a different tack. He had requested that one of the two bishops heading the mission sent to Bulgaria, Formosus of Porto, be appointed archbishop of the country. Both Nicholas I and his successor, Hadrian II, refused, so Boris turned again toward Byzantium. He was now quite open to proposals made by Patriarch Ignatius. At the Eighth Ecumenical Council (869–870), he broke definitively with Rome. One year later (870), he welcomed a Greek archbishop for Bulgaria with his see in Pliska, after securing promises from the patriarch that the future Bulgarian church would be granted a great deal of autonomy. Two years later, Hadrian II died and was succeeded by John VIII (872–882). The new pope tried on several occasions to reopen negotiations with Boris, claiming alleged Roman *iura antiqua* over Bulgaria and denouncing the Greek "errors" of doctrine. Despite all efforts, however, John VIII may have been aware that Bulgaria was now in the opposite camp. Perhaps for that reason, he promoted a much more articulated mission policy, the geographic context of which greatly expanded. The Christianization of the Bulgarians and, above all, the establishment of a Bulgarian church of Roman obedience in spite of Byzantine claims, both priorities on John VIII's agenda, were not the only elements of his very ambitious mission policy. He focused on Christianity in Dalmatia, closely monitoring the ecclesiastical sees on the Adriatic coast, especially those that had meanwhile expressed interest in a possible rapprochement with the Byzantine church. John VIII also established diplomatic relations with the Slavic rulers in the region. He reopened and then followed with interest the delicate question of the Moravian church and did not hesitate to confront the powerful Bavarian churchmen on this matter. At his intervention, Bishop Methodius was released after being imprisoned for three years at the Reichenau Abbey. Restored to his see in Moravia, Methodius began a fruitful collaboration with the new Moravian leader, Svatopluk (870–894), who nonetheless surrounded himself with ambitious Frankish priests. When it became clear that after the ecumenical council of 879–880, Rome had completely lost Bulgaria, John VIII shifted his attention to Moravia. He decided, in spite of Svatopluk's ambiguous attitude, to elevate the see of Moravia to the rank of an archbishopric. The papal bull *Industriae tuae* of June 880 announced the foundation of the *sancta Ecclesia Marabensis*, entrusted to Archbishop Methodius the task of organizing a stable episcopal network within the realm of Svatopluk, and consecrated Wiching, a Frankish priest close to the Moravian ruler, as bishop of Nitra.[28]

The Roman success in Moravia was partial and, above all, ephemeral. The still-nascent Moravian church disappears from sources within a few years, with its territory returning under the jurisdiction of the Bavarian churches. Its survival depended above all on the political fortunes of Moravia, which already at the beginning of the 10th century witnessed a

rapid and irreversible decline. Internal problems were compounded by the Magyar attacks. Responsible, at least in part, for the quick collapse was also the hostility that the Frankish clergy of Latin tradition, which operated in the territory now headed by Viching, showed toward the "Slavic" clergy, which included the Greek and Slavic disciples of Constantine and Methodius. They were accused of introducing Byzantine customs and celebrating the liturgy in the Slavic language. On the death of Archbishop Methodius in 885, his disciples were expelled from the Moravia at the instigation of Viching and with the approval of Svatopluk himself. However, the cultural heritage of the Moravian mission of Constantine and Methodius was not lost but skillfully put to the work of a different goal by the Bulgarian Boris-Michael.[29] According to the *Life* of St. Clement of Ohrid, three disciples, Clement, Naum and Angelarius were greeted by Boris in Pliska. Boris then sent Clement to the newly conquered region of Macedonia to evangelize the new subjects. Clement's success was complete. He established a monastery in Ohrid and devoted himself to intense literary activity, carrying on the tradition of the Byzantine mission in Moravia. He wrote sermons and other works in Old Church Slavonic using the Slavonic alphabet. He was then bishop of the new episcopal see of Dragvitsa until his death in 916.[30] When Boris abdicated, his son Vladimir led an attempt to extirpate Christianity from the country. Numerous Christians were massacred, including the archbishop of Pliska. Boris intervened one more time, overthrew Vladimir and imposed his younger brother, Symeon (893–927) at a general assembly.[31] As the new ruler of Bulgaria, Symeon continued his father's work of conversion, supporting the missionary activity of Clement and Naum. Moreover, the Old Slavonic Church culture, deeply influenced by the tradition of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, flourished during his reign. The latter fact is evidence of the influence that Clement of Ohrid most likely had at that time on the leaders of the Bulgarian state. It is also a testimony of Boris's political acumen, for he understood that the new, distinctive language, as well as the alphabet used to write down its sounds, offered a great opportunity to strengthen the Bulgarian identity in opposition to Byzantium.

Boris's choice of Christianity as the official religion of Danube Bulgaria, a decision that became definitive in 893 (for no pagan rebellions are known after that), was therefore a fundamental step in the process of state formation. That choice provided extraordinary possibilities to reinvent the Bulgarian identity, especially in the context of a continuous political and military confrontation with Byzantium during much of the 10th century. Perhaps more importantly, Christianity offered a common sense of identity to the different inhabitants of the country—local speakers of Greek who may have already been Christian, Slavs and Bulgars. This sense of common identity further enhanced the legitimacy of the ruler's authority in relation to his subjects and guaranteed a long-term collaboration between the state and a church which, even within Orthodox Christianity, maintained its autonomy and was characterized by an exceptional cultural identity.

The case of the Khazars

Many issues concerning the Khazarian conversion to Judaism are still debated. This is a subject that attracted the attention of scholars, not least because it is regarded as the root of many current myths, such as the origins of the Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern Europe.[32] The Khazar conversion to Judaism is considered and often presented as a "unique case," although such claims have been recently refuted. There is, after all the conversion to Judaism of the king of the Himyara Masruq Dhu Nuwas (515–525) in Yemen,[33] as well as the deacon of the court of Emperor Louis the Pious, Bodo, who in the early 9th century converted to Judaism, adopted

the name of Eleazar and fled to Spain to proselytize among Christians.[34] Why the Khazar elite opted for Judaism instead of Christianity or Islam is also a matter of dispute, to this day. Several questions have remained without a definitive answer: the extent of conversion—only the top of society or deeper into its fabric; the date of the formal adoption of Judaism, on which Arab, Jewish, Latin and Slavic, but not Byzantine sources, are rather vague; the consequences of the choice of Judaism for the process of state formation in Khazaria; and the (geo) political context of the century-long alliance with the Christian Byzantines.

The Khazars, of Turkic origin, appear in Byzantine and Arab sources in the 7th century as yet another group of steppe nomads, who, unlike others, were allies of the Byzantines and in conflict with the Arabs, particularly in Transcaucasia.[35] In the late 7th and 8th centuries, the center(s) of Khazar power was in the northeastern region of the Black Sea, around the Sea of Azov and along the lower course of the Don River. This, however, has mainly been established on the basis of archeological research, particularly of the so-called Saltovo-Mayaki culture. Between 750 and 950, the Khazar khaganate covered a vast territory, from the Crimea (disputed with the Byzantines) to the region of the Upper Seim and Oskol rivers, on a south–north direction, and from the Middle Dnieper to the Middle Volga, on an east–west axis. This was a multiethnic and multiconfessional polity, in which the Turkic cult of Tengri seems to have been widespread, but Christian communities were thriving in coastal Dagestan, in the Black Sea towns and in the Crimea, while Islam was also present, particularly within the large mercenary forces recruited from among Khwarazmians. In the 9th century, the ruler (khagan) took a more nominal form of power, with a military leader named beg holding true royal power. Between the mid-8th century, when, at the time of the Abbasid takeover inside the Caliphate, the conflict with the Arabs was interrupted, and ca. 880, Khazaria was at the crossing of major long-distance trade routes that connected the Near East to Northern Europe. A great source of revenue (through taxes on goods), the routes encouraged Christians, Muslims, Jews and pagans to trade and live in the khaganate.

There are various reconstructions of how the official conversion of the Khazar leaders to Judaism came about. Each proposes a distinct chronology and highlights a context out of line with the conversion. In the absence of any archeological sources pertaining to the conversion, all reconstructions rely exclusively on written sources, all written by outsiders, lacking in clarity and usually in contradiction with each other. In addition, there are two exceptional Hebrew sources, both controversial. One of them is the famous *Response* of King Joseph, a letter addressed to Hasdai ibn Shaprut (915–c. 975), the Jewish minister of the Umayyad Caliph of Córdoba, who first inquired about the existence of a Jewish kingdom in Khazaria.[36] The letter tells the story of how, a long time ago, Bulan, the king of the Khazars, was visited in a dream by an angel who urged him to recognize the true God. For that reason, Bulan organized a disputation between Christians, Muslims and Jews, in which the champion of the Jews was the winner. Bulan, therefore, converted to Judaism together with his people, invited Jewish masters and built synagogues. The second source survived on two loose sheets, perhaps from an 11th-century manuscript from Southern France, that were found in the Genizah of Cairo.[37] This is an anonymous report of the conversion (known as the *Cambridge Document*), probably written for Hasdai as well, in which the leaders of the Khazar society are described as ancient descendants of Jews assimilated to the local population. The anonymous author tells the story of how Serah, the Jewish wife of Sabriel, a military leader, convinced her husband to return to his Jewish roots. After a disputation between Christians, Muslims and Jews, which was won by the Jews, who miraculously found the Jewish books, the Khazar leadership "returned" to Judaism and the Jews from the Christian and Muslim lands migrated to Khazaria. Any attempt to reconstruct the history of

the Khazar conversion on the basis of those two sources is marred with difficulties, not the least of which are serious doubts raised about their authenticity.[38] On the other hand, it is perhaps more useful to reflect on the ways in which the Khazar conversion is represented in those two texts and the narrative goals of their authors.

Primarily on the basis of the anonymous report in the Cairo Genizah, Constantin Zuckerman (b. 1957), a French historian of Russian origin, has advanced the idea that the official conversion of the Khazar leaders to Judaism took place in 861.[39] Three independent sources support his hypothesis. In the early 10th century, the Persian historian and historian Ibn al-Faqih knew that all the Khazars were Jews, who had recently converted to Judaism.[40] In the West, Christian (d. 880), a monk in the Abbey of Stavelot, near Liège (in eastern Belgium), knew about the Khazars that they had just converted to Judaism, while Bulgarians, who were supposedly of the same lineage, had been baptized as Christians.[41] Finally, the Slavonic *Life* of Constantine-Cyril describes the mission of its hero to the Khazars, an episode that took place before the mission to Moravia. The Khazar ruler was undecided in matters of faith and therefore interested in evaluating the merits of the three monotheistic religions.[42] The British historian Jonathan Shepard also believes that the formal adoption of Judaism by the Khazar leaders took place in 861, but does not rule out the possibility of several Khazar noblemen practicing Judaism even before that date.[43] According to him, the Byzantines must have received the news of the official conversion of the Khazars with a mixture of surprise and worry. There is clear evidence that the Byzantines intended to establish an ecclesiastical province north of the Black Sea, the boundaries of which coincided with the Khazar realm. In one of the *Notitiae* listing the ecclesiastical provinces under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, which has been dated to the 8th or 9th centuries, a metropolis of Doros appears with seven suffragan bishops, one of whom was based in Atil/Itil, the main Khazar center, and apparently controlled the entire territory of the Khazaria.[44] This appears to be an ecclesiastical project, not a functioning ecclesiastical network. The initiative may be dated to the 830s or 840s, at the time when the turbulence caused by the Magyars in the steppe lands called for a stronger Khazar-Byzantine alliance, which resulted, on one hand, in the building of a fortress at Sarkel, along the lower course of the Don River, and on the other hand, in the establishment of the Byzantine *theme* of Klimata (later *theme* of Cherson) in the Crimea.[45] According to Shepard, the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism was in stark contrast to that context and could not be accepted. Ignored by the Byzantine sources, it reactivated the Byzantine mission effort toward the Khazars. From a political point of view, however, the conversion had no relevant consequences. When needed, the Khazars continued to be valuable allies against Arabs or Bulgarians. As Shepard points out, the news of the Rus' prince Svyatoslav eliminating the power of the Khazars in the mid-10th century must have caused some satisfaction in Byzantium.[46]

Through an extensive review of all sources pertaining to the conversion of the Jewish Khazars up to the 12th century, but taking into consideration hypotheses developed by the British orientalist Douglas Morton Dunlop (1909–1987), the Ukrainian–American historian Omeljan Pritsak (1919–2002) and the Russian archeologist Mikhail Artamonov (1898–1972), the American historian Peter Golden (b. 1941) offered a more complex reconstruction, in which the conversion of the Khazars is a long, multistage process.[47] According to Golden, the conversion involved more than just the Khazar elite, for Judaism spread among subjects and allies. Because it was a frontier area, a crossroads of great trade routes through Eurasia and a melting pot of cultures and religions, Khazaria represented the ideal region "in which Judaism, unfettered by Christian or Muslim overlords who prohibited Jewish proselytizing, could freely compete."[48] Golden redated the *Notitia* showing the plan to establish an

ecclesiastical province that would incorporate the khaganate. According to him, the *Notitia* was produced not in the 830s or 840s, but in the 780s, during the consolidation of the Christian–Byzantine position in Khazaria. Among the reasons leading to the plans reflected in the *Notitia*, Golden cites the Khazar occupation of western Georgia (780) and the anti-Khazar revolt in Crimea.[49] This is exactly the moment in time when, according to Golden, there was growing Jewish influence on the leaders of the Khazars, and the decision was taken officially to turn to Judaism. This turn, among other things, could have also been favored by the context of the recurring Khazar–Arab wars and a desire to curb a growing infiltration of Islam in the lands north of the Caucasus Mountains. After all, the Umayyad general Marwan was able to enter the Khazar realm in 737, to capture the khagan and to force him to convert to Islam. Even if the forced conversion of the khagan had no long-term consequences, it is certain that there were Muslims in the top echelon of the Khazar society.

Golden highlights two other, probably central stages in the history of the Khazar conversion to Judaism. The first took place during the reign of the fifth Abbasid caliph, Harun al-Rashid (786–809). According to the Arab geographer al-Masudi (ca. 896–956), who wrote about it, Muslims, Christians, Jews and pagans lived together and side by side in Atil/Itil. The king of the Khazars, his entourage and his people were Jews, and the king had converted at the time of Harun al-Rashid. A second stage, dated to the 830s, is illustrated by the so-called "Moses coins," a particular example of dirham imitations struck in Khazaria. Those coins, minted in 837/8 in "Ard al-Khazar" (the land of the Khazars), bore the inscription "Moses is the apostle (or messenger) of God," instead of the *shahadah* (Muslim profession of faith)—"Muhammad is the servant and messenger of Allah." The "Moses coins" are a very important source of information. They confirm that by 837 or 838, the ruling elite of Khazaria had been Judaized, probably for a few decades at that time, as suggested by al-Masudi. The Khazar elite felt that it was necessary to publicize and advertise its new religious identity, perhaps in an attempt to reconsider its relationship with Byzantium in the context of the new Magyar threat.[50]

Islam in Volga Bulgharia

North of the territories under direct Khazar control, along the middle course of the Volga and in the region of its confluence with the Kama River, a new polity emerged in the first half of the 10th century. Volga Bulgharia was a vast and very rich empire, largely because of its strategic position. The rise of that polity is in fact the result of the establishment of a major trade route that linked Northern Europe to Central Asia. Unlike the Khazars, who got rich because of taxes on trade reaching the Lower Volga region, the Volga Bulgars seem to have played a much more active role in the trade. In particular, the Bulgar merchants monopolized the trade in furs, which were considered a luxury item in the Islamic world at that time. The commercial vocation of the Bulgar empire is well documented archeologically. Coin finds show a massive flow of Samanid dirhams to Volga Bulgharia. In addition, entire neighborhoods meant for the accommodation of merchants have been found next to the main fortified centers of the Volga Bulgaria—Bolgar, Biliar and Kazan.[51]

The official conversion to Islam of the Volga Bulgars took place at the beginning of the 10th century and it was an important step in the spread of Islam in Eastern Europe, a process that had started under the late Umayyad dynasty in the 8th century, but without much success.[52] The Islamization of Eastern Europe grew in strength during the 10th century, primarily as a result of the aggressive religious policy of the Samanids, who replaced the Abbasid caliphs in the region.[53] The history of the conversion of the Volga Bulgars to Islam would be very difficult to reconstruct without one crucial source, the travelog of Ibn Fadlan.

He was an envoy of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir (908–932) to the Bulgar ruler Almysh. The caliph's embassy to Almysh was in response to the latter's request of 920 that

> someone be sent who would instruct him in religion and make him acquainted with the laws of Islam, [and] who would build for him a mosque and erect for him a pulpit mentioning his name, from which might be carried out the mission of converting his people in his whole country, and in all the district of his kingdom. And he prayed the Caliph to build a fortress wherein he might defend himself against hostile kings.[54]

On the basis of Ibn Fadlan's report, one can presume that Almysh adopted Islam as the official religion for personal reasons, but also to become a protégé of the caliph in Baghdad. In other words, Almysh used Islam and his special relationship with Baghdad to impose himself upon other tribal leaders of the region, such as the Suwar and the Askar mentioned by Ibn Fadlan.[55] Some have argued that the choice of Islam was a Volga Bulgar response to the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism. This interpretation is also based on the account of Ibn Fadlan, according to which Almysh has asked the caliph for help for the construction of a fortress against "hostile kings," presumably the khagans of the Khazars.[56]

However, the role of the Khazars in relation to the Bulgars and their adoption of Islam as an official religion appears now to be insignificant.[57] In the early 10th century, the Khazar khaganate was in decline, a crisis compounded by Pecheneg raids and Rus' attacks, all of which compromised the trade routes controlled by the Khazars, who could not derive any more the revenue from taxes. As a result, an alternative route came into being, which instead of the Lower Volga (Khazaria), now targeted the region of the Middle Volga where Bulgharia was located. The new trade route linked that region to Samanid Central Asia via the Kazakh steppe.[58] While there is no doubt that, perhaps as early as the mid-9th century, the Bulgars were under Khazar rule, and paid tribute to the khagan, the Khazars were not particularly interested in Bulgar affairs and had no reason to pressure the Bulgar elite to convert to Judaism. Moreover, during the 10th century, the Muslim community grew considerably in Khazaria. The religious choice of the Bulgars and their formal alignment with Baghdad did not compromise the Khazar–Bulgar relations. The first sign of Bulgar independence cannot be dated before the middle of the 10th century, several decades after the conversion when the first dirhams were struck bearing the name of the Volga Bulgar ruler. The idea that Almysh adopted Islam as an official religion in order to assert the political independence of Bulgaria on the Volga, presumably against the Khazars, is therefore contradicted by the sources.

Instead, it seems more likely that Almysh wanted to strengthen the commercial ties to the Samanids and to Khwarazm. There already was in Volga Bulgaria a strong cultural and religious influence exercised by merchants coming from Khwarazm.[59] The Bulgar elite adopted Sunni Islam according to the Hanafi school, which was practiced in Khwarazm and supported by the Samanid emirs. In other words, Almysh did not choose the Shafi'i school, which was preferred in Baghdad. In fact, it is quite possible that prior to the "official" conversion the teachings of Islam had already partially taken root, thanks to proselytizing by merchants. In fact, ibn Fadlan knew that there were already Muslims in Bulgaria on the Volga. Some of them were Bulgars and knew no Arabic, which is why they were not familiar with basic Muslim tenets and rites. The Bulgar muezzins of the Baranjar clan were also quite ignorant, according to ibn Fadlan. Through the "official" conversion, the Bulgar ruler and his elite thus strengthened diplomatic, but above all commercial relations with two political formations of the same religion—Khwarazm and the Samanid emirate. There can be no doubt that the choice of Islam as the official religion was extremely favorable to the Bulgars in terms of their participation in international trade, for they became the main suppliers of fur for all of Central Asia.

Notes

1 *Vita Constantini* 8, translated by Marvin Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures), pp. 40–43.
2 The theological disputation in Itil, the capital city of the Khazars, appears in chapters 9 and 10 of the *Life* of Constantine (Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives*, pp. 44–63).
3 See Michel van Esbroeck, "Le substrat hagiographique de la mission khazare de Constantin-Cyrille," *Analecta Bollandiana* 148 (1986), no. 1, 337–48; Adriana Mitescu, "The pattern of the religious disputes. Judaism, Christianity and Islam from Spain to Caucasus," *Teresianum* 48 (1997), no. 1, 313–72.
4 This is quite a large topic, with an abundant literature, from which I will just mention two titles. For the Christianization of the Slavs, see A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). For the connection between the adoption of one of the world religions and the process of the state formation, see Anatoly M. Khazanov, "The spread of world religions in medieval nomadic societies of the Eurasian steppes," in *Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic*, edited by M. Gervers and W. Schlepp (Toronto: Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia, 1994), pp. 11–34.
5 Ever since Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930), scholars writing in English distinguish between Bulgars before, and Bulgarians after the conversion to Christianity.
6 About the process of large-scale conversions, see Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 8–10. For the process through which a large part of Europe accepted the Christian faith, from the 4th to the 14th century, as well as for its cultural consequences, see Richard Alexander Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion from Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
7 On the limits of mortuary archaeology for the reconstruction of the process of conversion, see Erwin Gáll, "Krisztianizació és régészet. A Erdélyi-medencei 11–13. századi templomkörüli temetök kutatásának stádiuma" [Christianization and archaeology. The research on 11th- to 13th-century church graveyards in the Transylvanian Basin], in *Hadak útján XX. Népvándorláskor Fiatal Kutatóinak XX. Összejövetelének konferenciakötete, Budapest-Szigethalom, 2010. október 28–30*, edited by Zsolt Petkes (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2012), pp. 287–313; Ioan Marian Ţiplic and Maria Emilia Crîngaci Ţiplic, "The Christianization of the funeral rite in the early Middle Ages," in *Potere e immaginario politico in Europa. Radici storiche, modelli antropologici, rappresentazioni letterarie*, edited by Sorin Şipoş, Dan Octavian Cepraga and Giulia Ambrosi (Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2015), pp. 264–78; David Kalhous, "Graves, churches, culture and texts: The processes of Christianisation in the early Middle Ages and their social and cultural context," in *The Fall of Great Moravia. Who Was Buried in Grave H153 at Pohansko near Břeclav?*, edited by Jiří Macháček and Martin Wihoda (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 110–29.
8 "Great Moravia" is the English translation of *megale Moravia*, a phrase employed in the description of the "nations that are neighbors to the Turks" (i.e., Magyars), for which see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), p. 64. For the name of the country, and the meaning of the adjective "great," see Ružena Dostalová, "Megale Moravia, " *Byzantinoslavica* 27 (1966), 344–49; Eduard Mühle, "Altmähren oder Moravia? Neue Beiträge zur geographischen Lage einer frühmittelalterlichen Herrschaftsbildung im östlichen Europa, " *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 46 (1997), 205–23; Martin Eggers, Martin. "'Moravia' oder 'Großmähren'?" *Bohemia* 39 (1998), 351–70.
9 The issue of where exactly was "Great Moravia" has been the object of some debate in the late 20th century. See Imre Boba, *Moravia's History Reconsidered. A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971); Charles R. Bowlus, "Imre Boba's reconsiderations of Moravia's early history and Arnulf of Carinthia's *Ostpolitik* (887–892)," *Speculum* 62 (1987), no. 3, 552–74; Martin Eggers, *Das "Großmährische Reich": Realität oder Fiktion? Eine Neuinterpretation der Quellen zur Geschichte des mittleren Donauraumes im 9. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1995). However, the nationalist underpinnings of Boba's theory have been exposed by Florin Curta, "The history and archaeology of Great Moravia: an introduction," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 238–47. Scholars now agree that Moravia was north of the middle course of the Danube, and not along the river Morava in present-day Serbia. See Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006),

pp. 124–34; Jiří Macháček, "Disputes over Great Moravia: Chiefdom or state? The Morava or the Tisza river?" *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 268–85.

10 Herwig Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich: die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit* (Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); Herwig Wolfram, "The Bavarian mission to Pannonia in the 9th century," in *The Cyril and Methodius Mission and Europe. 1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia*, edited by Zdenka Kosarová and Jana Gryc (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2014), pp. 28–33. For the Carantanians, see Stefan Eichert, "Karantanische Slawen – slawische Karantanen. Überlegungen zu ethnischen und sozialen Strukturen im Ostalpenraum des frühen Mittelalters," in *Der Wandel um 1000. Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 18. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumsforschung in Greifswald, 23. bis 27. März 2009*, edited by Felix Biermann, Thomas Kersting and Anne Klammt (Langenweissbach: Beier & Beran, 2011), pp. 433–40; Peter Štih, "Die Entstehung der Karantanen, ihre Integration in das Frankenreich und die damit verbundene Akkulturationsprozesse, " *Symposium zur Geschichte von Millstatt und Kärnten* (2018), 1–13. For Slavs in Pannonia, see Ágnes Cs. Sós, *Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1973).

11 Egon Boshof, "Das ostfränkische Reich und die Slawenmission im 9. Jahrhundert: die Rolle Passaus," in *Mönchtum, Kirche, Herrschaft, 750–1000*, edited by Dieter Bauer, Rudolf Hiestand, Brigitte Kasten and Sönke Lorenz (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbeke, 1998), pp. 51–76, here p. 54.

12 See Vladimír Vavřínek, "Předcyrilovské misie na Velké Moravě (K výkladu V. kapitoly staroslovenského života Metodějova)" [Pre-Cyrillic missions to Great Moravia (on the interpretation of chapter 5 in *Vita Methodii*)] *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 32 (1963), 465–80. For Great Moravian churches, see now Lumír Poláček, "Great Moravian sacral architecture - new research, new questions," in *The Cyril and Methodius Mission and Europe. 1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia*, edited by Zdenka Kosarová and Jana Gryc (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015), pp. 66–73; Drahomíra Frolíková-Kaliszová, "Churches and crosses as evidence for the Christianisation process of Great Moravia," in *Religion und Gesellschaft im nördlichen westslawischen Raum. Beiträge der Sektion zur slawischen Frühgeschichte der 22. Jahrestagung des Mittel- und Ostdeutschen Verbandes für Altertumforschung in Chemnitz, 29.-31. März 2016*, edited by Felix Biermann, Thomas Kersting and Anne Klammt (Langenweissbach: Beier & Beran, 2017), pp. 61–71.

13 *Vita Methodii* 5 and 8, translated by Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives*, pp. 110–11 and 114–15.

14 The literature on Constantine/Cyril and Methodius is enormous, and in many languages. For a quick orientation, see Francis Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague: Orbis, 1933); Antonios-Emilios N. Tachiaos, *Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica. The Acculturation of the Slavs* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001); Vladimír Vavřínek, *Cyril a Metoděj mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem* [Cyril and Methodius between Constantinople and Rome] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2013). For a very detailed bibliography, see Svetlina Nikolova and Grigorii A. Il'inskii, *Kirilo-metodievska bibliografiia 1516–1934* [The bibliography of the Cyrillo-Methodian studies, 1516–1934] (Sofia: Kirilo-metodievski nauchen centăr, 2003). For a more in-depth survey of topics, see Petăr Dinekov and Liliana Grasheva, *Kirilo-metodievska entsiklopediia* [The encyclopedia of Cyrillo-Methodian studies] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov", 2003). In light of that enormous literature, the thesis advanced by Thomas Lienhard, "The Life of Constantine, the Life of Methodius and the history of the Slavs in the ninth century: a reassessment," *Early Medieval Europe* 28 (2020), no. 1, 57–78 is hardly convincing.

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Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of the Others (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010). See also Panos Sophoulis, "Containing the Bulgar threat: Byzantium's search for an ally in the former Avar territories in the early Middle Ages," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011), 399–407.

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19 Photius, *Epistulae et amphilochia*, edited by Vasileios Laourdas and Leendert Gerit Westerink, vol. I (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1983), pp. 1–39. See also Paolo Odorico, "La lettre de Photius à Boris de Bulgarie," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), no. 1, 83–88.

20 Liliana Simeonova, *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross. Photios, Bulgaria, and the Papacy, 860s-880s* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1998), pp. 152–56.

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22 Paolo Odorico, "Les miroirs des princes à Byzance. Une lecture horizontale," in *L'éducation au gouvernement et à la vie. La tradition des Règles de vie de l'Antiquité au Moyen-Âge*, edited by Paolo Odorico (Paris: De Boccard), pp. 223–46, here pp. 233–39.

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25 Nicholas I, *Letters*, ep. 99, pp. 568–600. See Ivan Duichev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1965), pp. 125–48.

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52 Iskander L. Izmailov, "Islam v Volzhskoi Bolgarii" [Islam in Volga Bulgharia] *Vostok (Oriens)* (2009), no. 2, 5–12. Initially, the Umayyads attempted to conquer the lands of the Khazars. However, the forced conversion of their khagan in 737, although meant to be the first step towards that goal, was short lived, for he adopted Judaism afterwards.

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55 See István Zimonyi, "Volga Bulghars and Islam," in *Bamberger Zentralasienstudien. Konferenzakten ESCAS IV, Bamberg 8.-12. Oktober 1991*, edited by Ingeborg Baldauf and Michael Friederich (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1994), pp. 235–40, here pp. 236–37.

56 For instance, Peter B. Golden, "The peoples of the Russian forest belt," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by Denis Sinor (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 229–55, here p. 237. However, as Curta, *Eastern Europe*, p. 150 notes, the "hostile kings" are more likely those of the Rus', who raided several times the lands of the Volga Bulghars.

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6

CONVERSION AND CHRISTIANIZATION

Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Rus' (9th to 12th centuries)

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During the reign of Charlemagne, East Central and Eastern Europe were populated by dozens of small-scale, "pagan" societies organized on the basis of fragile tribal or clan bonds. Two centuries later, around 1000, the picture changed completely. Now, the region was divided among several kingdoms with Christian rulers and with their own dioceses and rudiments of ecclesiastical organization. Throughout the region, political centralization went hand in hand with Christianization, with one process accelerating the other. However, both processes were predicated upon intensive and varied interactions that have taken place during the 9th and 10th centuries between local elites, on the one hand, and the Frankish or Byzantine Empire, on the other hand. While Bohemia, Poland and Hungary entered the Frankish geopolitical sphere and through the decision of their respective rulers subsequently became part of Latin Christianity, Rus' adopted Christianity from Byzantium and transformed its liturgy and culture. All those polities, however, maintained at least some contact with both Western and Eastern Christianity.

Apart from obvious religious consequences, Christianization had also a political, social and economic impact. Adoption of Christianity was not forced from the outside, either by pressure or by violence, onto any of the studied polities. The turning point, in all those cases, was instead the conversion of local elites. Accepting baptism, they became respected political partners who could enter into matrimonial alliances and participate in imperial rituals of power, which increased their prestige at a local level at home. The spread of Christian ideology simplified the assertion of sovereign power and social hierarchy. In all cases considered in this chapter, one can clearly observe a top-down model of Christianization. Moreover, in both social and spatial terms, Christianity spread from the center to the periphery. Although Christian authors often depicted the conversion of rulers as the triumph of the new faith, the reality was much more complex. Christianization of everyday life took centuries, with many non-Christian elements surviving in rural communities until the beginning of the modern era.

Christianization had a fundamental impact on almost all aspects of social life. Through the ecclesiastical organization, new Christian societies became part of social networks that crisscrossed political and ethnic boundaries. By such means, the transformed legacy of late Roman culture reached East Central and Eastern Europe in the form of architecture, arts and

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literacy, but unlike the Mediterranean and Western Europe, that legacy was foreign to the region, with no tradition. The adoption of a Christian view of the world gradually created medieval Europe which, despite numerous particulars, included both Byzantium and Kievan Rus'. However, this was nowhere a mere copy of the model of Christianity at the center of its spread. Depending on local conditions and the specific geopolitical constellation, each of the polities adapted and subsequently made complete a somewhat different model of Christianity, which is then handed over further.[1]

Forgotten pagan worlds

Very little is known about the traditional, pre-Christian religion. Generally speaking, it differed from Christianity not only in terms of many gods, but also in offering a completely different worldview that did not separate the profane and the sacred, but included people and nature within one, single cosmic order. Besides worship of gods and natural phenomena, the pagan *sacrum* incorporated also law, collective decision making, prophecies, warfare and even agricultural cycles. The faith in many gods and the "animated nature" was transmitted orally. The traditionalism of pre-Christian societies stemmed from the fear of violating the "ancient customs of our fathers" that might have brought about poor harvest and misfortune.[2] Almost all information that has survived about illiterate, pre-Christian societies comes from educated churchmen. There is therefore no authentic, emic perspective, the very distant echoes of which could supposedly be detected in modern folklore. Ecclesiastical authorities treated all non-Christian cultural practices as pagan. Their demolishing efforts were naturally directed against the public cult of local gods, which was first to be removed and forgotten.

Medieval literates used several time-tested strategies for that purpose. One of them was the conversion of specific religious notions and practices into biblical, patristic or classical clichés.[3] An apposite example may be found in the *Chronicle of the Czechs* written by an educated canon from Prague named Cosmas (d. 1125). Although it is likely that Cosmas knew the names of the local, "pagan" gods, he nonetheless claims that in the mythic times before conversion, Czechs worshipped Jupiter, Venus and Mars. In that respect, Cosmas's strategy was not different from that of the author of *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, who in the 8th century castigated people in the lands to the east from the river Rhine for their worship of Mercury and Jupiter.[4] Unlike Scandinavia, the literates of Central and Eastern Europe were successful in thoroughly forcing pagan gods out of the collective memory.

Detailed information is available about the gentile polities conventionally called Polabian Slavs, which were located in the region between the Elbe and the Oder rivers (on the territory of present-day Germany, outside East Central Europe). They opposed the adoption of Christianity for almost two centuries, after the great 983 pagan rebellion against the Saxons. Names of several local gods, the description of their shrines and specific cultural practices appear in 11th- and 12th-century sources such as Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen and Helmold of Bosau.[5] It is important to keep in mind, however, that those societies have long been under pressure from, and in competition with Christian "colonial" culture, which resulted in changes both to the social structure and to the institutionalization of paganism.

Almost nothing is known about the traditional religion(s) in East Central and Eastern Europe prior to the conversion to Christianity during the 9th and 10th centuries. No information exists about that either in contemporary Frankish and Byzantine or in later, post-conversion sources. An older generation of historians influenced by Panslavism believed in the common roots of Slavic culture. They have therefore imagined a single organized

Slavic pantheon, which they reconstructed much like a jigsaw puzzle, from disparate bits of information scattered in different sources.[6] However, it is unlikely that any unified system existed at a regional level, much less within the whole Slavic-speaking area. Helmold of Bosau aptly described the situation:

> Besides the groves and the household gods, in which the country and towns abound, the first and foremost deities are Prove, the god of the land of Oldenburg land; Siva, the goddess of the Polabi; and Radigast, the god of the land of the Abodrites.[7]

Unlike Christianity with its universal message, paganism was closely tied to gentile identity. From that perspective, Christ may thus have been perceived as the god of the Franks or the Byzantines. The affiliation to traditional (as well as Christian) religion, therefore, did not constitute any *a priori* political solidarity. There were many long conflicts between the pagan polities between the Elbe and the Oder, while in 1003, Emperor Henry II had no qualms allying himself with the pagan Lutizi against the Christian ruler of Poland, Bolesław Chrobry.[8] The seminomadic Magyars apparently brought with them a markedly different ideological system when moving to Pannonia in the late 9th century. That their religious practices included shamanism and animistic beliefs, supposedly under Turkic and Khazar influence, is, however, only an unwarranted assumption not backed by evidence.[9]

Moreover, most remains of pagan sanctuaries and sculptures have been found through archaeological excavations in the same region between the Elbe and the Oder, on the territory of Germany.[10] Elsewhere, the interpretation of most archaeological features related to paganism is fraught with serious methodological problems. Recently, doubts have been raised even for the best known features, such as the circular ditch in Peryn near Novgorod linked to the cult of Perun or the famous Zbruch Idol from Ukraine, which is most often regarded as a depiction of the god Svantovit.[11] Unlike the situation in Viking-age Scandinavia, very few artifacts are known with an unambiguously mythological iconography, perhaps because they were all made of wood.

The Přemyslid, Piast, Árpádian and Rurikid dynasties all began with dukes that were pagan. Political myths of the *origo gentis* type or ceremonies dating back to pagan times survived in some regions even after the official conversion. Such is the famous enthronement stone of the Carinthian dukes.[12] Similar stones stood on the Zizi Hill at Prague Castle until the end of the 12th century, and possibly also at the castle in Poznań.[13]

The subsequent course of Christianization was no doubt determined by how the pagan cult had been organized in the previous period and by whom. The only relevant information in that respect concerns the Rus' under the (still pagan) Prince of Kiev, Vladimir. After seizing Kiev, ca. 978, he reportedly established a cult place with statues of Perun and five other gods in the immediate vicinity of his own residence. An idol of Perun was also erected in Novgorod by his uncle, who had been placed there by Vladimir.[14] It is therefore unlikely that any group or class of "specialized" priests existed in the region under discussion, prior to Christianization.[15] To be sure, in Rus', at least, the prince had also the chief sacral authority, making use of the public cult for the legitimation of his power and for political centralization. It is also important to note that the Czech and Polish words for priest (*kněz, ksiądz*) both derive from the Common Slavic term for ruler (*kъnęzь*, itself derived from the Germanic word *kuniga*z). One can therefore assume that prior to the adoption of Christianity, rulers in the Slavic-speaking world had some form of sacral authority, which therefore made it possible for them to assume the chief role also in the promotion of the new religion.

Conversions and the establishment of ecclesiastical structures

Although the Christianization of East Central and Eastern Europe must be understood as a long-term process, several key milestones may be identified. Elites in the region had been in multiple interactions with dominant Christian polities for some time before the official conversion. Acculturation might have led to questioning the traditional worldview and social order and possibly to a syncretic adaptation of some elements of Christianity. How long such a preliminary phase was varied from place to place, but it always concluded with the official conversion of the rulers—the main agents of change and the guarantors of the first ecclesiastical institutions. If their position was sufficiently firm, their baptism set off the implementation of Christianity among the lower echelons of the local elite. The building of the first churches (i.e., the materialization of the new faith) followed at the center of each polity, usually served by clergy of foreign origin. Christianization also enabled sovereigns to enter political and marital alliances with more or less distant powers, while gaining their own episcopal sees (sometimes, even an archbishopric) as a mark of prestige ensuring the country's independence and respect. At the same time, the establishment of the main ecclesiastical structures was a necessary precondition for the reproduction and consolidation of ecclesiastical institutions, which soon involved also members of local noble families. Most people, however, remained only formally Christians, at best. In some places, any short-term weakening of the central power made room for rebellions against the "tyranny" of Christian ruler. After such structural crises were overcome, Christianity became the only framework of social existence, largely due to the integration of other groups of population. In the eastern part of Central Europe, this process culminated in the 12th and especially the 13th century in the elimination of differences across the Catholic world.

Bohemia

Unlike most polities discussed in this chapter, in which the beginnings of Christianity are dated only to the 10th century, because of its geopolitical position, in Bohemia Christianization started already in the late Carolingian period. In 805, Bohemia was the target of a military campaign led by Charlemagne's son that resulted in the imposition of a tribute and the inclusion of local leaders in the orbit of East Frankish politics. At the same time, the first Slavic polity of East Central Europe, to which historians refer as "Great" Moravia, emerged on the eastern borders of Bohemia, and in direct contact with the East Frankish milieu. In the 830s, its sovereign and elites adopted Christianity from Bavaria. In the 880s, Moravia, under the leadership of the Byzantine missionary Methodius, gained its own archdiocese, which was under the direct authority of the pope. Besides the Latin rite, a Slavic liturgy and literature developed in Moravia (see Chapter 5). As early as the mid-9th century, Bohemia was thus surrounded on three sides by political formations that were at least formally Christian.

The first laconic information about the conversion of Bohemians appears in the Annals of Fulda under the year 845. On that date, "fourteen Bohemian dukes" reportedly arrived in Regensburg, requesting baptism from Louis the German.[16] This and other reports strongly suggest that until the early 10th century, there were many regional leaders in Bohemia, each with his own fortified center. However, details are available only about the Přemyslids, who controlled the territory around Prague from the 870s at the latest. They apparently had a privileged position among elites in Bohemia by that time. The baptism of 845, which is not mentioned in any later source, has therefore been interpreted as a simple act of "preventive"

political capitulation, with no immediate or long-term consequences.[17] By the same token, however, one may assume that the Bohemian *duces* still lacked the necessary competence for radical social changes and that Christianity therefore remained a private affair.[18] There is no mention of any mission to Bohemia in and of the available sources. Nonetheless, a change of the cultural code in the second half of the 9th century is indicated also by mortuary practices—traditional cremation was gradually replaced by inhumation, and luxury items of Frankish and Moravian style appear in elite graves next to many fortified centers.[19]

In any case, the Přemyslids played the chief role in the implementation of Christianization, even though that is visible only through the lens of 10th-century hagiographical works promoting the ruling dynasty. The most important is the somewhat controversial *Legenda Christiani*.[20] According to that source, the first Christian was Duke Bořivoj, baptized by Archbishop Methodius in Moravia at some point before 885. After returning to Bohemia, he is said to have founded the church of St Clement in the stronghold of Levý Hradec. A subsequent "pagan" uprising forced him to flee to Moravia. After suppressing the rebellion, he built another church dedicated to the Virgin Mary inside the Prague Castle, which became the main seat of the dynasty. The foundations of the church of the Virgin Mary have been revealed by archaeological excavation.[21] The Moravian influence on Christianity in Bohemia was relatively short-lived. One can surmise the arrival of Moravian priests to Bohemia during the crisis and the collapse of "Great" Moravia in the early 10th century. From an ecclesiastical viewpoint, Bohemia was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Regensburg since 895, and it remained associated with the imperial church without interruption.[22]

In the following period, the Christianization of Bohemia went hand in hand with the consolidation of power of the Přemyslid dynasty. Some members of the first generations struck poses of zealous Christians and subsequently became the first native saints. Both Duchess Ludmila (d. 921) and her pious grandson, Wenceslas (Václav, d. 935) died as martyrs. Wenceslas had even acquired basic literacy in his youth and built the rotunda of St Vitus, which became the most important sacral building in the land.[23]

Until the 970s, Bohemia was little more than a missionary area of the see of Regensburg. The country had an archpriest appointed by the bishop of Regensburg, which must have considerably complicated the ecclesiastical life in Bohemia. The extraordinarily capable Duke Boleslav I (935–972), who unified the country, gained control of northern Moravia and expanded as far as the Cracow region in southern Poland, took the initiative of creating a local bishopric, or even archbishopric. Unfortunately, there are few, if any sources about the details of his efforts. It is nonetheless clear that through the diplomatic skills of his educated daughter, Mlada-Mary, Boleslav obtained the consent of Pope John XIII in ca. 968, but met the opposition of the bishop of Regensburg. Therefore, the formal foundation of the bishopric of Prague was delayed until 973, under Duke Boleslav II. Thietmar, a monk from the Abbey of Corvey in Saxony, was appointed bishop only in 976.[24] Because of an internal crisis, unlike Poland and Hungary, Bohemia had no territorial church of its own at the turn of the millennium. In fact, it still did not have one in 1039. The bishopric of Prague and the Moravian bishopric of Olomouc, restored in 1063, remained under the jurisdiction of the distant archbishop of Mainz. The archbishopric of Prague was established only in 1344, under Charles IV.

The fast rise of "New Europe" within Latin Christianity is embodied by the exceptional personality of Vojtěch-Adalbert of the house of Slavník. He was the second bishop of Prague. He acquired an excellent education at the imperial center in Magdeburg, where he became a supporter of the Gorze reform. After assuming the office of bishop in 983, he became involved in missionary activity in various places, including Hungary. His exalted idealism

soon clashed with the coarse domestic reality. He twice left his diocese but remained in permanent contact with the Pope. In Rome, he entered the monastery on the Aventine, traveled to several other European centers and became a friend with, and advisor of Emperor Otto III and of the duke of Poland, Bolesław Chrobry.[25] He died as a martyr at the hands of the pagan Prussians in 997, and was buried at Gniezno, in Poland. Two years later, upon Otto III's initiative, he was canonized. He soon became the patron of all three monarchies in East Central Europe.[26]

Monasticism was introduced in Bohemia soon after the foundation of the bishopric, in the late 10th century. The first convent was established near the ducal residence by the basilica of St George, many of its abbesses being members of the ruling dynasty. In 993, according to a later tradition, Vojtěch-Adalbert brought a group of monks from the Aventine to Břevnov on the outskirts of Prague. The first phase of the abbey, which is still unclear, concluded with the arrival of monks from Niederaltaich in Bavaria in the 1040s. By 1100, there were several other Benedictine abbeys: Ostrov (999), Sázava (1032), Rajhrad (the 1040s), Olomouc-Hradisko (1078) and Opatovice (the 1070s–1080s). Archaeological excavations have proved that the buildings of the earliest phases of those abbeys were made of wood.[27] New reform orders started to operate in the Czech lands soon after their establishment. The oldest Cistercian abbey in Sedlec (the 1040s) was also the first magnate foundation.

The church architecture of the 10th to the 12th centuries is mainly based on Western models, with the popular rotundas possibly following the traditions of Great Moravia.[28] The only still standing structure from the earliest period is the rotunda at the Budeč stronghold. The greatest concentration of churches was in Prague, where the Přemyslids were also buried. The first important structures in that respect were the basilica of St George and the rotunda of St Vitus.[29] Many questions are opened by the foundations of a gigantic triconch church at Prague/Vyšehrad, which was never finished.[30] More monumental buildings appear during the reign of Vratislav II, the first Přemyslid to obtain the royal title in 1078.

Poland

The territory of central Poland, where the monarchy of the first Piasts came into being during the second half of the 10th century, was far from all contemporary European centers, and outside the geopolitical interests of both the (Eastern) Franks and the Byzantines. Whether or not the formation of the early Polish state was caused by internal and external factors has therefore long been the subject of lively debate.[31] Archaeology documents that most massive strongholds in Greater Poland, which subsequently became the main centers of governance and of Christianization, were built between the 920s and the 950s. As in Bohemia, the local elites (later called Piasts) built first a rather small, central, domain, from which they gradually expanded throughout the remaining part of the 10th century to other regions of Poland.[32] The new collective identity of the *Poloni* apparently also came into existence only around 1000. Many hypotheses have been expressed concerning a brief mention in *Life of Methodius* (d. 885) about the forced baptism of a "powerful duke residing on the Vistula" (apparently somewhere in the Cracow region).[33] However, most historians and archaeologists now believe that this episode had no real effect and that the spread of Christianity in southern Poland came later and was linked to the expansion of the Piasts.[34]

The beginnings of the new faith are connected with the first historically documented duke, Mieszko I (before 963–992). According to tradition, he was moved to conversion by his pious wife Doubrava, the daughter of the duke of Bohemia, Boleslav I. An alliance with the Bohemian duke fits well into the contemporary political constellation on the

eastern border of the Ottonian Empire, where Mieszko soon became a very skillful player.[35] Numerous finds of Baltic amber in Bohemia suggest mutual contacts that preceded those events. However, besides the initial impulse and possibly the adoption in Polish of some Czech terms pertaining to ecclesiastical matters, Bohemia could not have possibly offered any institutional support to Mieszko. The beginnings of the ecclesiastical organization in Poland are still unclear. As early as 968, a missionary bishop from the Empire, named Jordan, came to Mieszko's court. Like Unger, his successor, he was apparently directly responsible to the pope. Nevertheless, the claims that the bishop of Magdeburg later made in relation to Poland are subject of discussion. In the early 990s, Mieszko issued a charter known as *Dagome iudex*, through which he handed over his territory, which he called "*Civitas Schinesghe*" (apparently Gniezno and its environs), to the Pope. It was probably under Unger that a bishopric came into existence in Poznań, covering the whole territory of the new polity.[36]

A principal event of early Polish history is the so-called Gniezno Summit, which took place in March 1000, when Emperor Otto III and the leading imperial clergy met Mieszko's extraordinarily ambitious son Bolesław I Chrobry (992–1025). For the first time in the history of diplomacy, the emperor came to the territory of a foreign ruler. The event was made possible by the emperor's desire to pay homage to the grave of St Vojtěch-Adalbert in Gniezno. One of its consequences was the creation of an archbishopric, an initiative evidently based on Otto III and Pope Sylvester II's new concept of *renovatio Imperii Romanorum*. Following in St Adalbert-Vojtěch's footsteps, his half-brother Radim-Gaudentius was appointed archbishop at the same time as bishops were consecrated for the newly established dioceses in Wrocław, Cracow and Kołobrzeg. All three bishoprics, however, were short-lived.[37]

The first buildings of stone were erected in Poland because of the adoption of Christianity and the new forms of social representation. Scholars, however, disagree on the exact dates and reconstruction of those buildings. The remnants of a three-aisled, double-choir basilica of Ottonian type, which have been found underneath the cathedral in Poznań, have been linked to the activity of Bishop Unger. Two stone tombs in the middle of the nave may be the burials of Mieszko and Bolesław I. The first church in Gniezno was also a three-aisled building. During the subsequent period, an extraordinary cluster of churches of various architectural types came into existence in Cracow, which, shortly after 1000, became the most important ecclesiastical center of the country. Another kind of stone building that appeared at this time in Poland is the *palatium*—a longitudinal hall ending with a central chapel. The foundations of such *palatia*, which imitate Frankish (e.g., Werla) or even possibly the Mediterranean models, have been uncovered inside three different strongholds.[38] Neither the extraordinary achievements of Bolesław Chrobry, nor his political triumphs could compensate for the fact that Christianity was relatively new in Poland, as it had been adopted for only a few decades. Moreover, the administrative and church structures of the large polity were still unstable and not quite developed. Churches had been built only in the most important centers. The limited reach of Christianity is also well documented in funerary practices. Until the early 11th century, cremation continued as the dominant burial rite, even in the central region. By contrast, inhumation was reserved for the top elite and the military groups associated with it.[39] In the south-eastern part of present-day Poland, developments were rather different, as that region was conquered by Vladimir of Kiev in the early 11th century and remained part of Rus' well into the 14th century.[40]

A serious structural crisis broke out in Poland in the 1030s, accelerated in 1038/1039 by a devastating campaign of Duke of Bohemia Břetislav I, who took away the remains of St Vojtěch-Adalbert to Prague. Written sources mention the burning of churches and the killing of priests. However, it is difficult to judge to what extent the breakdown was

motivated by a return to paganism. The only archaeological feature that would suggest that is a wooden structure built during the crisis inside the Wrocław stronghold and interpreted as pagan temple.[41] The crisis ended the period of the so-called first Piasts.

In spite of the gradual restoration of the monarchy during the 1040s and 1050s under Casimir I the Restorer, it took a long time for the reconstruction of ecclesiastical structures, which had been seriously damaged during the crisis, with the possible exception of Cracow. The bishopric of Wrocław was back to life in 1050, but the archbishopric in Gniezno and the bishopric in Poznań were restored only after 1075. Around that time, Władyslaw Herman established another bishopric in Płock, where he resided.[42] It is only at that point that Christianity began to penetrate deeper into the regions to the east from the river Vistula. However, the Christianization of peripheral regions on the Masovian-Rus' frontier remained very weak well into the 13th century.[43] The bishoprics in Kruszwica and Włocławek were established in the early 12th century. The diocesan structure, which was complete before the mid-12th century, survived into the late 18th century with only small changes.[44]

The development of monasticism in Poland took place after the crisis, beginning with the 1040s. The only foundation earlier than that is Międzyrzecz, where hermits from the circle of St. Romuald reportedly settled right before 1000. However, soon after that, they were murdered during a robbery and subsequently venerated as the Five Martyred Brothers. After the restoration of the Polish church, Benedictine monasteries were established in Tyniec (1044) and Mogilno (the 1050s), at Casimir's initiative. The first magnate foundations are Sieciechow (1122), Wrocław (1139) and Łekno (1153), the latter being also the oldest Cistercian abbey in Poland.

Hungary

On the first day of 1000, the Pope granted a hereditary royal title to the duke of Hungary, Vajk-Stephen, having the support of Emperor Otto III (997–1038) for that initiative, as part of the same program of *renovatio Imperii* mentioned above. The next year, an archbishopric was established in Esztergom. Following a long and complicated journey, the Kingdom of Hungary thus became a Christian monarchy with its own territorial church. The seminomadic Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin in the late 9th century. For half a century, their plundering raids wreaked havoc in Christian Europe, until they were utterly defeated by Otto I's army in the battle of Lech (955). The defeat led to the establishment of stable power structures in the Carpathian Basin.

The arrival of the Magyars interrupted a Christianization process that had started in the 9th century in some parts of the future Kingdom of Hungary. The region of Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) was part of "Great" Moravia in the 9th century and had its own diocese in Nitra (see Chapter 5).[45] The other focal point was western Pannonia with a center in Mosaburc, where beginning with the 840s, under the patronage of the archbishop of Salzburg, Christianity developed in the lands of the East Frankish dukes Pribina and his son Kocel.[46] The Magyars apparently destroyed the existing ecclesiastical structures upon their arrival, but given the Slavic influence on the Christian terminology in Hungarian, as well as the continued use of several churches in the center of the Hungarian kingdom,[47] at least some Christian communities survived.

During the 10th century, different Magyar chieftains controlling independent territories established contact with both the Byzantine and the Latin Christianity. However, a reconstruction of the missionary attempts is based mostly on later and sometimes contradictory information.[48] In the mid-10th century, Bulcsú and Gyula, two chieftains from the eastern

regions, were reportedly baptized at the court of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Gyula allegedly brought with him a bishop named Hierotheos, the founder of the metropolis of Tourkia. The mysterious bishopric was subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and existed throughout the 11th century.[49] The Byzantine orientation might have been politically motivated, much like Ajton's, one of Stephen I's rivals in eastern Hungary, who converted to Byzantine Christianity. Archaeological evidence of contacts with Byzantium in the 10th to 12th centuries comes mainly from the area to the east from the river Tisza, where finds of Byzantine coins and pectoral crosses (*encolpia*) cluster.[50]

Hungary's incorporation into the structures of Latin Christianity was successful largely because of the political and military achievements of chieftains in the western part of Hungary, primarily Géza and his son Vajk, who married the Bavarian duchess Gisela.[51] According to German sources, there were Magyar envoys in attendance at the imperial diet that took place in Quedlinburg in 973. This is often interpreted in connection with the decision of duke Géza (d. 977) to accept baptism together with his son Vajk (who thus took a new name, Stephen). At the time, several missions from the empire operated inside Hungary, with different degrees of success. However, the later tradition only celebrated the mission of St Vojtěch-Adalbert and his pupils, which took place sometime in the 980s or 990s. Their true accomplishments are difficult to judge, however.[52] The first ecclesiastical institutions already came into existence during Géza's last years. The Pannonhalma Abbey and a bishopric established in Veszprém, probably under the archbishop of Salzburg, were both founded in 996.

However, a real turn only came with the reign of Stephen I (997–1038), during which the foundations of an ecclesiastical organization were quickly laid in the territories under his control. Much like in Bohemia and Poland, the ecclesiastical organization was tied to main strongholds under direct royal control, the centers of counties. By the end of Stephen's reign, several bishops were established in Veszprém, Győr, Transylvania, Pécs, Eger, Csanád as suffragans of the archbishop of Esztergom, in addition to the titular archbishopric of Kalocsa. Vác and Bihar, as well as Zagreb (around 1080) and Nitra (around 1100), were added to the structure under Stephen's successors. The density of ecclesiastical institutions shows that in the first phase, the presence of both state and church authority was much more prominent in western than in eastern Hungary.[53] The entrance of Stephen's *regnum* into the Christian world results symbolically from the opening of a pilgrimage route to Jerusalem across his country. It is more difficult to detect religious identities in Hungary on the basis of burial practices. Cremation was rarely, if ever, practiced in the Carpathian Basin during the early Middle Ages. Nonetheless, some changes in the burial customs are clearly visible in the early 11th century, when both burial mounds and the deposition of horse skulls near the legs of the deceased disappear from the archaeological record.[54]

Structural problems of the young polity arose soon after the death of Stephen I, who had chosen his nephew Peter Orseolo, the son of the doge of Venice, as heir. Domestic opposition made use of the succession struggle to set off a pagan uprising in 1041, which involved the killing of priests and monks, and the burning of churches. The resistance came particularly from the still weakly integrated eastern regions along the river Tisza, with a surviving pagan elite. Some sources suggest an alliance between the rebels and Bulgarian Bogomils. The crisis ended only with the ascension in 1047 of Andrew I, who soon adopted Stephen's legacy, and banned pagan customs under pain of death. The last recorded uprising against Christianity is known to have happened as late as 1061.[55] Although the Hungarian ecclesiastical structure was much more stable than that in Poland, a definitive assertion of Christianity throughout the kingdom was a long-term process lasting for several generations and concluded only at the end of the reign of Ladislas I (1077–1095), the country's second royal saint, after Stephen.

Despite the origins of Pannonhalma, the most prominent Benedictine monastery, going back to Duke Géza, the real beginning of monasticism falls within the reign of Stephen, who established monasteries in Pécsvárad, Bakonybél, Somlóvásárhely, Zalavár and Zobor (present-day Slovakia). Besides Benedictine communities, Stephen also supported the Eastern-rite community of monks in Veszprémvölgy. Greek-language monasteries also came into existence under his successors, and Orthodox monks did not leave Hungary before the 13th century. Members of the most important noble families started to found monasteries as early as the 11th century. As in Bohemia and Poland, Cistercians and Premonstratensians came to Hungary before the mid-12th century, with the Knights Hospitaller following suit at the end of that century.[56]

In Hungary, the remains of the earliest church architecture are only known from archaeological excavations. The first phase of the cathedral in Kalocsa and the three-aisled abbey church with a western apse in Pannonhalma are now dated to the reign of Stephen I. Both structures copy West European architectural models. The key building of Stephen's era was the monumental three-aisled royal basilica with a western narthex in Székesfehérvár, which imitated imperial or Italian models. The church served as a royal chapel and mausoleum, as Stephen I was the first to be buried there, followed by other kings of Hungary. The crown jewels were kept in that church, and coronations took place there as well. The abbey churches with central composition from Szekszárd and Feldebrő were perhaps inspired by Italian models. However, the Upper Rhine region, Lorraine and Byzantium also influenced the Hungarian architecture of the second half of the 11th century. The variety of forms reflects intensive contacts that the Hungarian church maintained with Europe's most important Christian centers from the very beginning.[57]

Rus'

In 839, Byzantine envoys came at the court of Louis I the Pious, accompanied by representatives of the people of *Rhos*, previously unknown to the Franks. The curious emperor found out that they were ruled by a king called *khagan* and that they were Swedes.[58] This first bit of information about the new identity encapsulates well the complexity of the historical phenomenon. Archaeologists and historians alike maintain that organized groups of Scandinavian armed traders otherwise known as Varangians played a key role in the centralization process taking place within the territory of the later Kievan state. In the early 9th century, they started to take advantage of the trade routes between the Baltic, the Caspian and the Black Seas, using the river system of Eastern Europe, in order to establish contact with the Abbasid Caliphate, Byzantium and the Khazars. It is from the latter that they apparently took over the title of *khagan*. The Varangians settled among poorly stratified, local societies. Some of them spoke a Slavic language, which the elites gradually took over. Proto-urban centers emerged as strongholds along the long-distance trade routes within a multiethnic environment, and much like in East Central Europe, they subsequently became the backbone of the emerging polity. Dukes from the Rurikid dynasty assumed the lead, with the support of a warrior retinue. However, the reconstruction of the political history of the early Kievan state and the beginnings of Christianity is almost entirely based on a later source, the *Tale of Bygone Years*, compiled from earlier records in the early 12th century.[59]

Diplomatic and military contacts with Byzantium became more intense in the early 10th century when the center of the emerging polity moved from the Novgorod to Kiev, on the Middle Dnieper River. From that time at the latest, mercenaries from Rus' served in the imperial army. In 945, Igor, the duke of the Rus', entered a trade agreement with Byzantium

which, besides pagans, also mentions Rus' Christians. It is not clear, however, whether those Christians lived in Kiev or in Constantinople. Nevertheless, returning mercenaries were surely bearers of acculturation and apparently also of Christianity.[60] Duchess Olga was the first member of the ruling family to accept baptism in ca. 950 in Constantinople, with Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his wife Helena as sponsors at her baptismal font. As she was not accompanied back by any bishop or priest, this was most likely a private affair only. A subsequent mission led by Adalbert of Trier and sent by Otto I, apparently at Olga's request, as well as other missions from Byzantium were unsuccessful.[61] The relative number of Christians and the form of their religious practice in Rus' (probably mainly in Kiev) prior to Vladimir's conversion have been the subject of long discussions. The existence of churches cannot be reliably confirmed, either.

The archaeological picture is similarly ambiguous. Part of the elite started to practice inhumation as early as the beginning of the 10th century. However, cremation was not abandoned, even in the main centers, until the early 11th century.[62] Some female residents of the proto-urban centers were buried with cross pendants, which is why women are sometimes ascribed important religious initiatives. However, it is not possible to decide whether the pendants served primarily as a religious or as a social marker.[63]

Around 978, Vladimir (978–1015), the son of Sviatoslav and of his noble concubine, returned from exile in Scandinavia and seized power in Kiev. A widespread hypothesis is that it was precisely the lack of local support that led him to seek new sources of legitimation. After an initial experiment with a collection of local, pagan gods, he reportedly subjected to examine various monotheistic religions. His option of Eastern Christianity turned Kievan Rus' into a significant part of the "Commonwealth of Byzantium," with crucial consequences for further development. In 988, Vladimir struck an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, to whom he promised military aid, in exchange for the hand of the emperor's sister, Anna. Around that same time, he also conquered Cherson in the Crimea, where, according to the *Tale of Bygone Years*, he was also baptized. After returning to Kiev, he reportedly unleashed a systematic destruction of pagan idols and the construction of Christian churches in their place. The text describes the ruler's principal role in the spread of Christianity, which was accompanied by violence.[64] Already under the rule of Vladimir, Rus' elites identified themselves with the new ideology and accepted a social hierarchy headed by the duke. There are no reports of pagan uprisings in the true meaning of that word. The *Tale of Bygone Years* only mentions wizards (*volkhvy*) who were active during famines.

A specific form of Christianity formed quickly in Rus'.[65] In 1039 at the latest, Kiev was the seat of a metropolitan (archbishop) under the patriarch of Constantinople. He had suffragans in the most important towns. The metropolitans were appointed from Byzantium and were not Rus', with only a few exceptions. The best known was the educated monk and literate Ilarion, who was appointed in 1051 without Constantinopolitan consent by Yaroslav I the Wise. The earliest bishoprics were founded during Vladimir's reign around Kiev and, shortly afterward, in the north (Novgorod and Polotsk). During the 12th century, new dioceses were established also in peripheral regions, a development associated with the concomitant expansion of Rus' and its political disintegration into individual independent duchies.[66] Much like in the monarchies of East Central Europe, the Rus' dukes maintained exclusive control of the church, which was entirely dependent upon them in material terms. Apparently following a Byzantine model, the Rus' clergy was not extensively employed in ducal administration or diplomacy.[67] The first generation of priests coming from Byzantium used Greek, but soon Old Church Slavonic became the liturgical language, primarily because of the inflow of manuscripts from Bulgaria, where the church followed the tradition of Cyril and Methodius.[68]

Monks represented a new social group. Monasteries reliably functioned in and near Kiev as early as the mid-11th century, but their beginnings are not clear. A massive expansion of monasticism followed during the subsequent period. Monasteries, founded by members of the ducal family as well as by noble members of their retinues (*boyars*), became key spiritual, intellectual, art and craft centers of Kievan Rus'. In contrast to Latin Europe, however, monasticism long remained an "urban phenomenon" in Rus'. Many monasteries came into existence in Kiev and its immediate vicinity during the second half of the 11th century (e.g., the monasteries of St Demetrios, St Symeon, St Andrew, St Michael at Vydubychi and the Monastery of the Caves). Small monastic communities operated in this period also in Chernigov, Pereiaslavl and Tmutarakan, but the spread of monasticism across Rus' came only in the 12th century.[69]

Monumental, church architecture was also an entirely new phenomenon in Rus'. Soon after Vladimir's conversion, Byzantine craftsmen arrived, who had been sent by the emperor. The main building of this period was the Tithe (*Desiatinnaia*) Church in Kiev, a massive three-aisled brick basilica decorated with mosaics in the interior. An extraordinary building and cultural boom took place under Vladimir's son Yaroslav I the Wise (1016–1018, 1019–1054). He is the initiator of the visual concept of Kiev as the second Constantinople, an allusion to New Jerusalem. The city was entered through beautiful gates decorated with gold and besides numerous churches, the largest church of Kievan Rus' stood there—the five-aisled basilica of St Sophia. Its imposing composition, which has no direct analogies in Byzantium, documents early invention by local architects. The monumentality of those structures, with no parallel in East Central Europe, testifies to the economic capabilities of the first rulers of Rus'. St Sophia became the model for many other cathedrals, for instance in Novgorod or in Polotsk. However, timber long remained the main building material for churches outside the main centers. The development of local art and architecture on Byzantine basis continued until the Mongol invasion in the 1220s–1240s.[70]

"Micro-Christendoms"

This influential notion put forward by Peter Brown emphasizes that despite the universal character of Christianity, its spread within each region of Europe led to the creation of specific *micro-Christendoms*, each with its own sacral centers, specific liturgy and popular cults of saints. A new unification in the Latin sphere came only in the early 12th century in connection with the re-assertion of papal authority.[71]

Rus' chose a separate path when Vladimir decided to put himself under the authority of the patriarch in Constantinople. All efforts aiming at ecclesiastical and political independence turned Kiev, from the get-go, into the metropolis of the country. The Russian church defended its own language and saints, celebrating the holidays of some saints according to Roman, and others according to the Byzantine calendar.[72] The adaptation of the Slavic language for liturgical purposes was a double-edged sword: on the one hand, it made the Word of God accessible to wide strata of the population; on the other, it isolated Kievan Rus' against intellectual stimuli from both the Latin West and Byzantium.

Significant differences in liturgy and written culture also existed among monarchies in East Central Europe, despite all of them being part of the Latin West from the beginning. Slavic liturgy and literature survived—despite the papal ban—in Bohemia thanks to the arrival of part of the clergy from vanishing "Great" Moravia in the early 10th century. Opinions differ concerning their spread and impact. An important, albeit isolated, center of the

Slavic rite in Bohemia during the 11th century was the Sázava monastery, which maintained contacts with Kievan Rus', among other places. Slavic monks were driven out of the monastery in 1096, and the tradition vanished.[73] Even less is known about early liturgy in Poland. The influence of Eastern Christianity was limited to the easternmost regions. Despite the Slavic origin of several religious terms, most likely brought to Poland by the first priests of Bohemian origin, the main influences upon the Polish church came from Saxony, Bavaria, Rhineland and, in the 12th century, northern France. This results not only from the origin of the incoming clergy, but also from preserved imported manuscripts and from architectural models. In view of its geopolitical position, Hungary was the most exposed to Orthodox influence. Besides the bishopric in Tourkia subordinated to Constantinople, several Greek monasteries are mentioned, along with the veneration of several Eastern saints. Only one document written in Greek has survived from the period under study, which suggests that the influence of Greek in Hungary was rather marginal. Liturgical handbooks containing specific local elements (such as the liturgy of St Stephen) were coming into existence in main ecclesiastical centers in the late 11th century at the latest.[74]

The new "Christendoms" added saints of local origin to the Christian pantheon. In some cases, their cult spread outside the region. One important aspect in that respect was the dynastic cult of holy rulers.[75] Its earliest representative is Wenceslas, the duke of Bohemia killed by his brother and his retinue in 935. The first legends about him, written in both Latin and Old Church Slavonic, may be dated shortly after the middle of the 10th century. Wenceslas became the patron of the Bohemian church, a protector of the Přemyslid dynasty and of the political order. In the late 11th century, his cult gradually led to the idea that the incumbent, ruling duke was a temporary representative of the eternal Wenceslas.[76] Around 1000, coins with his image were also struck in Poland, and the cathedral in Cracow was dedicated to him.[77] King Stephen of Hungary, his son and three other local saints were canonized in 1083. Stephen became the first of medieval holy rulers who did not die a martyr's death. King Ladislas received the same honor in 1192.[78] The cult of Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir I whom their half-brother reportedly had killed during the power struggle of 1015, started to develop in Kievan Rus' during the 11th century. Nestor wrote the earliest legend about them in 1080. The cult of the innocent ducal brothers, which was meant to strengthen the dynastic legitimacy, gradually penetrated all strata of Rus' society. The promotion of female dynastic saints was a more complicated matter. Despite previous efforts, the murdered grandmother of St. Wenceslas, Ludmila (d. 921) was not canonized before the mid-12th century.[79] Duchess Olga and, last of all, Vladimir I, the "apostle of Rus'," entered the local Russian pantheon in the 12th and 13th centuries, respectively.[80] Surprisingly, no dynastic cult developed in Poland. Instead, the "holy bishop," St Adalbert-Vojtěch, retained a very strong position there (as in Bohemia and Hungary), gradually to be replaced by St Stanislaus in the course of the 13th century.

Local specifics may also be found in other facets of social life influenced by Christianity. Literacy entered all polities considered here along with the conversion to Christianity. In all known cases, the first texts were of a religious character. The oldest administrative documents in East Central Europe appeared in the 11th century, at the initiative of monasteries and chapters. However, the spread of literacy outside a narrow circle of clergymen did not take place until the 13th and 14th centuries. By contrast, in Rus', important sections of the urban population could read and write in the 12th century at the latest. The expansion of written culture was based mainly on the spread of the Cyrillic alphabet adapted to the local Slavic language and of cheap writing implements such as wax tablets and birch bark.[81]

Christianization of rural communities

The rulers of all four polities were the main guarantors of the early ecclesiastical organization and retained a fundamental influence on appointments to important offices, including bishoprics, for a long time. In that respect, it is no accident that the Czech and Polish terms for "church" (*kostel*, *kościół*) derive from Latin word for "castle" (*castellum*). In all polities discussed in this chapter, churches were first built only in and around fortified, ducal centers, a situation that changed only slowly. To be a Christian in East Central and Eastern Europe during the 11th century therefore meant rather different things for various social groups. What demands did the church actually place on local rural communities?

Early attempts at enforcing Christian norms among wider strata of the population are documented in the earliest legislation. No laws are preserved from Poland, apart from draconian punishments ascribed to Bolesław Chrobry by Thietmar of Merseburg.[82] According to the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, in 1039 Duke Břetislav I set punishments for the violation of the elementary norms of Christian life. Countryfolk were to be supervised by the archpriest residing in the castle of the respective administrative division of the realm. To Cosmas, villagers involved in the events of 1092 were still half-pagan. At that time, Duke Břetislav II reportedly banned wizardry and sacrifices near-natural springs, as well as burial in forests and fields.[83] Almost the same formulations may be found in the early Hungarian legislation, from Stephen's law code adopted at the synod of Szabolcs (1092) to the early 12th-century synod of Esztergom. Targeted in that legislation was contact with witches (*strigae*), sacrifice next to wells or giving offerings to trees, as well as burial in any other place than the church graveyard.[84] It is worth noting, however, that bans on such "pagan" customs may be found in several medieval penitentials in Europe, e.g., in that of Bishop Burchard of Worms (1000–1025). As Aron Gurevich aptly put it, this gives one the impression that those were "no hangovers of pre-Christian notions and manners of conduct, but rather an inseparable part of the everyday practice of people from a traditional agrarian society." Such a conclusion is largely based on the examination of magical thinking and living, well into the modern period.[85]

From an archaeological perspective, the situation in the countryside is definitely not as drastic. Villagers' inhabitants continued to bury their dead in the fields, instead of church, even though most of the dead were now entombed in a west-east direction in accordance with the Christian custom, only rarely in the company of simple personal jewels and, quite exceptionally, coins. In sharp contrast to that, there is a large quantity of Christian devotional objects and other grave goods, as well as less or even non-uniform orientation of bodies in cemeteries of Rus' and its peripheries. Burial mounds were common even in the vicinity of the main centers until well into the 13th (and in some cases even the 16th) century. This has been interpreted as reflecting a much more tolerant attitude of the Orthodox Church, which is responsible for the absorption of traditional beliefs and folk rituals.[86]

However, deeper Christianization and a regular pastoral care for rural communities were possible only with a sufficiently dense network of parishes. The concept of *small parish* has its roots in Carolingian Europe, but even there its implementation took a long time. Stephen I's law code already requires that "ten villages shall build a church and endow it […] The king shall provide vestments and altar cloths, and the bishop the priests and books."[87] However, given the repeated bans of burial in the fields and, above all, the archaeological data, a systematic effort to build local churches cannot be dated before 1100 in Hungary and Bohemia, or even the mid-12th century in Poland.[88] Early lordship, having taken over the ethos of the spread of Christianity and new forms of self-presentation, played a crucial role in

the building of local churches, at least in Bohemia.[89] Nevertheless, the establishment of fully fledged parish systems in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland is a 13th-century phenomenon, coinciding with the synchronization of developments in East Central and Western Europe, respectively. In Eastern Europe, parish principles were gradually adopted under the pressure from the West only after 1300, and, in many cases, not until the modern period.[90] Only the establishment of small parishes then created the preconditions for the so-called second Christianization, focused on the everyday life of ordinary people.

Notes

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7

STATE FORMATION IN THE 10TH CENTURY

David Kalhous

While this chapter will take into consideration the state formation in Croatia, Bohemia, Poland, Rus' and Hungary, it appears at a first glimpse that there are few things that those polities have in common. Croatia was situated near the Byzantine coastal cities in the mountainous areas of the western Balkans, with access to the Adriatic Sea. By contrast, Piast Poland had no Roman legacy whatsoever and, stretched over the large plains, had to struggle in order to obtain access to the Baltic Sea. Bohemia may have been well protected behind mountains, but the same high elevation also cut the country off from important trade routes. The emerging principality of Rus' was built upon Viking-Age trade, and most, if not all, of its central places were connected primarily by waterways (rivers) to territories farther south. While Hungary was initially ruled by nomadic Magyars, who spoke a Finno-Ugrian language, but shared the kingdom with a large Slavic-speaking population, in Rus', the majority of Slavic speakers met with an active minority of Scandinavians. By contrast, in both Bohemia and Poland, the populations spoke primarily Slavic languages and the impact of the Vikings and other ethnic groups was limited, although it should not be underestimated.[1] Differences may also be detected in terms of religion, with Rus' receiving Christianity from Byzantium, and the other polities from Rome.

The written and archaeological sources

Much of what is known about the beginnings of statehood in all the areas considered in this chapter derives from outside sources, either Frankish or Byzantine. Both empires regarded the peripheral regions in East Central and Eastern Europe as of potential interest, while authors writing from the outside used the same regions as a mirror for understanding (or obscuring) internal conflicts within their own respective polities. From both perspectives, the less-developed neighbors were foreign culturally, true barbarians. The authors of most outside sources took it as a given that those regions were subordinated to the imperial neighbor(s), albeit lacking a true imperial administration.

The earliest "native" sources appear during the second half of the 9th century—the Old Church Slavic *vitae* of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius for Moravia[2] and the charter of Prince Trpimir (845–864) in Croatia. None of those texts survive in the original, but are preserved in much later copies and, in the case of the *vitae*, outside their original context.

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In Bohemia, the multiple *vitae* of St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila are complemented with the first annals dated to the last decades of the 10th century. The first monastic *scriptorium* opened after the mid-11th century in the Benedictine abbey of Břevnov near Prague. Cosmas did not finish his *Chronicle of the Czechs* before the 1120s. A similar pattern and timeline may be observed in other East Central and Eastern European polities. Chronicles with regional geographical scope appear relatively late—the so-called Gallus Anonymus in Poland (ca. 1110), the Russian Primary Chronicle in Rus´ (ca. 1116),[3] and the now lost Hungarian royal Deeds (ca. 1100).[4] Most such texts were written several decades after the establishment of princely power, and their purpose was to advise contemporaries about the good or bad behavior of a prince, a nobleman or a cleric, and to legitimize the dynasty and the polity that they represented. Despite such chronicles being quite influential to the modern day, it is nonetheless a methodological mistake to take their coverage of the early, 10th-century history at face value, especially since that coverage consists primarily of anecdotes. To overcome that handicap, scholars have more recently turned to cultural anthropology and archaeology.[5]

The extent of pragmatic literacy was also very limited. No princely chanceries existed in East Central or Eastern Europe prior to the last quarter of the 11th century,[6] but a continuous flow of princely charters started in Bohemia, Poland, and Rus' only after the mid-12th century.[7] The position of the kingdom of Hungary was exceptional, as Stephen I hired as his chancellor a member of the Italian division in the imperial chancery of Otto III (983–1002), who is known as Heribert C and who was also able to issue charters not only in Latin, but in Greek as well.[8] Yet even in Hungary, the continuous line of royal privileges starts in the late 11th century and the royal chancery had to be re-established during the 12th century. Although the list of charters issued by Croatian princes starts with Trpimir in 852, the evidence is problematic, as this charter only exists in an early modern copy. The continuous line of the documents starts much later. As the area of the Croatian principality was a former Roman province under the influence of Mediterranean culture, there are many informative inscriptions, which are often the only sources of information about people and their representation and deeds.[9] In Rus', the preserved charters are even later: only two original documents are known from the 12th century, in addition to another ten preserved in trustworthy copies.[10]

A good number of lawbooks are known from Hungary, which offer an excellent glimpse into the administrative structure of the kingdom, albeit in an ideal form.[11] They drew inspiration from the Carolingian capitularies, which explain the emphasis placed on the exercise of the Christian religion.[12] Equally inspired by Carolingian capitularies, but much more concise is the lawbook allegedly issued 1039 by Břetislav I, although the only source for that is the early 12th century *Chronicle of Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague.[13] By contrast, the earliest lawbooks of Rus' are collections of customary law, *Russkaia Pravda* (ca. 1100) and the Statute of Vladimir.[14] Although these lawbooks and charters are late, they help to reconstruct the situation after the establishment of princely power by the end of the 10th century—either in the form of a model (law-books) or as an insight into the realities of those polities.

Nothing short of a paradigm shift in the historiography of the 10th century took place in East Central Europe during the second half of the 20th century as a direct result of large-scale archaeological excavations. In addition to a correction of the commonly accepted theories about state formation, the results of those excavations shed light on changes in trade, diet or craftsmanship, all aspects rarely associated with discussions of state formation. However, the archaeological evidence is not without its own problems. The systematic, large-scale character of the excavations was largely driven by national pride and the existing historiographic narratives based on the written evidence. Those large, long-term projects represent

only a minor share of all excavations, and most of them are just rescue excavations, with a rather limited character. Moreover, despite the massive nature of archaeological research generously funded by the Communist regimes, the results were not always published in time, if at all. The full potential of the archaeological evidence has also been marred by problems of interpretation.[15] Last but not least, the chronologically and regionally unevenly dispersed data are also product of changing behaviors of medieval people on one side and improving archeological methods on the other side (e.g., changing burial customs in Bohemia ca. 800 and the impact of new metal detectors on the interpretation of social structure of Bohemia in the 7th and 8th centuries).[16]

Historiography

Aware of the limited and patchy nature of the written evidence pertaining to the 10th century in East Central and Eastern Europe, most historians have turned to a comparative perspective. This has typically taken one of two forms: either a comparison predicated upon the assumption of common Slavic identity and customs, or the parallels with the "barbarian kingdoms" of western Europe. The fervently nationalist overtones of the historiographic traditions in the region have further complicated the use of the comparative approach. For example, according to the so-called (East) Central European model of state formation, three conditions needed to be met in order for the early medieval state to emerge in East Central Europe.[17] First, strongholds needed to operate as central places and centers of power. Princely power consisted of control over all of those centers, in each one of which the prince would name his deputies as local governors with authority comparable to that of the Frankish counts—oversight over local tax or tribute collection, distribution of justice, and management of public services.[18] Second, groups of people primarily peasants specialized in some activity (crafts, wine production, hunting) fulfilled specific duties and delivered specific services to the prince. Such groups lived in special, so-called "service settlements," the only evidence of which consists of place names. Finally, princes had large estates managed by a separate administrative structure independent from local deputies (*castellani*). How could two Slavic countries (Poland and Bohemia) have the same model of state formation as a non-Slavic country (Hungary)? The answer to that question depends upon what theory one prefers in terms of the origin of the "Central European model"—(Great) Moravia, the Carolingian empire, or even Rome. At any rate, the driving force behind the rise of the state, according to the Central European model, is violence and the power of the princely retinue. Meanwhile, however, other Hungarian historians argued about the number and quality of the nomadic elements in the earliest Magyar polity, in contrast with the remnants of the Slavic institutions and the Carolingian administration which survived the Magyar conquest.[19]

In Croatia, historians until recently have emphasized the links of the early Croatian principality with the Byzantine culture, largely because of the account of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959).[20] Ever since the early 1990s, however, the situation has changed dramatically, with all premises of the traditional approach being questioned. By now, the idea of a later, 9th-century migration of the Croats to Dalmatia has gained more ground,[21] while others advocate a local origin for the Croatian elites and a process of political transformation in a region abandoned by the Byzantine imperial power.[22] The elites responsible for the rise of the early medieval state were not newcomers, but local leaders who turned to new ways of power representation, taking advantage of the Frankish encroachment after 778.[23] The emphasis on the Byzantine influence has now been replaced with an obsessive

preoccupation with the Carolingian impact on the region.[24] A similarly dramatic shift took place in the Russian historiography, where the so-called Normanist controversy refuses to die. The idea that Scandinavians ("Normans") had a key role in the organization of the trade network responsible for the rise of the Rus' state regained ground in the Soviet Union since the 1980s after decades of anti-Normanist attitudes. However, in recent years, such attitudes have returned and are growing stronger in Russia, but not in Ukraine.[25]

Focal points

Between the 9th and the 11th century, four important phenomena took place, the combined effects of which are responsible for the rise of the early medieval state in East Central Europe: the appearance of princely dynasties, the concentration of resources, the rise of central places and bishoprics, and the establishment of founding narratives. Those phenomena may be regarded as focal points of the state formation process.

One of the most persistent stereotypes about the early medieval history of East Central Europe is that the early states created in the region came to be dominated only later by local dynasties that managed to subject the "tribes." In reality, the establishment of princely power and the construction of common identities went hand-in-hand. *Bohemi*, *Poloni*, or Croats and Hungarians appeared as communities after certain territories inhabited by different groups came under the control and rule of dynasties. In the former case, the name of the community is an exonym derived from the ancient name of the territory. Little to nothing is known about how the inhabitants called themselves, and to what extent they perceived themselves as a group by the 9th century.[26] The "Czechs" are first mentioned in the *First Old Church Slavonic Legend about St. Wenceslas*, but that text is preserved in late medieval manuscripts copied in Rus' and Croatia.[27] By contrast, *Poloni*, a name that probably replaced Lędziane or Lechici, designated several different groups. The word is a cognate of the Slavic word for "field" (in the sense of a cultivated piece of land)—"Poloni" thus means metaphorically the "people of culture."[28] The Magyars, a mixture of different groups, merged with other native, mostly Slavic populations and turned into Hungarians. The Rus', originally the name for Vikings settled in Eastern Europe, became the name for all subjects of the Rurikids (as well as for the territory over which they ruled).[29]

Most local dynasties were well established by the 10th century, with only the Árpádians still struggling at that time for the leading position in Hungary.[30] In fact, all three dynasties of East Central Europe—the Přemyslids, Árpádians and the Piasts—survived the crises of power in the late 10th century, the 1030s and the 1050s, respectively. The "natural" character of the rights to power that some of those dynasties claimed results from several stories recorded by outsiders. This is true, for example, even for the 9th-century Mojmirid dynasty in Moravia. The author of the Annals of Fulda insists that after the incarceration of prince Rastislav (845?–870) and following Frankish takeover of Moravia, the Moravians rebelled and decided to install Sclagamar as their ruler. Although he had been consecrated priest, he was regarded as eligible, simply because of being a Mojmirid. There is no evidence that those who challenged local dynasties had any intention to replace them with others. To Cosmas of Prague, who wrote in the early 12th century, Bohemia had been inhabited by *Bohemi* since times immemorial.[31] Cosmas, however, knew that under the Přemyslids, the *Bohemi* struggled with *Lučane* to gain control of their own country.[32] In other words, Cosmas understood *Bohemi* more in relation to the dynasty than to the territory.[33] Moreover, according to Cosmas, the mythical character Přemysl the Plowman was the ancestor of the Přemyslid princes of his own lifetime.[34] Gallus Anonymus, in Poland, hints at a local dynasty before the

Piasts, but attributes the rise of the latter to supernatural circumstances.[35] Although neither chronicler mentions any direct competitors of either Přemyslids or the Piasts, other sources suggest otherwise. In *Legenda Christiani* written in the 990s, Duke Wenceslas enters a battle with an unnamed prince of Kouřim, an event that must have taken place 70 years earlier.[36] Similarly, the distinct character of Cracow within medieval Poland may go back to a local dynasty or at least elites that were different from the Piasts.[37]

A very different strategy is employed by Hungarian chroniclers in relation to the Árpádians and to the Magyar "taking of the land." Instead of a peaceful arrival into the empty landscape (as with Cosmas), the emphasis is on the cunningness of Magyar leaders and on their military prowess.[38] Some of them make the Magyars heirs of the Huns, who had already conquered Pannonia, long before the late 9th century.[39] In those stories, the central character is Árpád, son of Álmos, Magyar leader and heir of Attila.[40] As one generation later there were no other Árpádians or other Magyar leaders during the reign of Géza (d. 997), Hungarian historians are convinced that they were all killed.[41] However, at a closer look, the (much later) sources seem to be remarkably favorable to Géza (to the detriment of any other chieftains), most likely in order to enhance the image of his son, King Stephen. In other words, by the time those sources were written, there already was a paramount concern with glorifying the local dynasty. Similarly, the *Tale of Bygone Years* tells the story of the Rurikids.[42] However, there are insurmountable problems of chronology that make it difficult to accept the idea that Rurik (if he ever existed), Igor, Oleg and Sviatoslav were all members of the same family.[43] By the end of the 10th century, (Kievan) Rus' was a confederacy of competing principalities, some of them ruled by non-Rurikids, such as Rogvold in Polotsk.[44] In other words, with the beauty of the hindsight, later concerns with glorifying the dynasty prompted the Rus' annalist(s) to create a list of princes and present it as a dynastic line.[45] For a variety of reasons, Croatia must be regarded as a separate, special case. First, there is clear evidence of two competing dynasties, that of Trpimir (845–1091) and that of Domagoj (864–892). Second, the legitimizing narrative is a relatively late (13th-century) text, written from the perspective of (one of) the coastal cities, and not from that of the royal territory.[46] Nor can the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja be viewed as a legitimizing narrative, especially because of its disputed authenticity and dating.[47]

In several cases, the consolidation of those dynasties during the last decades of the 10th century greatly benefited from the burgeoning cults of saints recruited from among those same families.[48] To be sure, those promoting the cults were themselves members of the dynasty. For example, the cult of St. Wenceslas in Bohemia was promoted by his brother (and murderer), Boleslav I (935–972).[49] In fact, several legends were written already in the 10th century.[50] Moreover, St. Wenceslas was venerated in Croatia and in Rus'.[51] In Hungary, King Stephen was canonized in 1083 by his successor Ladislas I (1077–1095), who would himself be canonized later. One generation after Stephen's death in 1038, there were already hagiographic texts about him.

Another key factor contributing to the consolidation of local dynasties was matrimonial alliances.[52] Queen Emma, the (second?) wife of Boleslav II of Bohemia (972–999), may have been the stepsister of Emperor Otto II.[53] The first Piast known to history, Duke Mieszko I married Doubrava, a Přemyslid princess, and, after her death, Oda of Haldensleben, a Saxon princess and the daughter of Margrave Dietrich of the Northern March.[54] His son Bolesław I (992–1025) married the daughter of Margrave Rigdag of Meißen, then the daughter of the Hungarian prince Géza, Judith. His third wife was Emnilde, the daughter of the Sorbian prince Dobromir, and his fourth Oda, the daughter of Margrave Ekkehard of Meißen. The most successful move was the matrimonial alliance for his son and heir Mieszko II, who

married Richeza, the niece of Emperor Otto II.[55] Prince Géza (ca. 940–997) made a similarly successful move when securing for his son, the future King Stephen I (997–1038) the hand of Gisela, the sister of the future emperor Henry II.[56] However, the greatest matrimonial alliance in the history of 10th-century Eastern Europe was the marriage of Prince Vladimir of Kiev (978/980–1015) with the sister of Emperor Basil II (976–1025). The advantage for the emperor has been much discussed, especially among historians of Byzantium, who emphasized the considerable military assistance that Basil obtained as well as the significance of Vladimir accepting baptism as a precondition for marriage.[57] The Byzantine princess Anna brought enormous prestige to the ruler of Rus', much more than any of the women whom he allegedly held as wives or concubines before marrying her.[58]

Irrespective of the prestige of their matrimonial alliances, all 10th-century rulers of East Central and Eastern Europe relied on central places, often in the form of strongholds.[59] Fortified settlements were built during the 9th century to fulfill a number of functions, one of which was to concentrate resources for communal use. Control over such settlements therefore provided local rulers the opportunity to tap into community resources, by levying taxes or imposing tribute. Moreover, the establishment and maintenance of new strongholds required a large concentration of building materials (turf, stone, timber) and the mobilization and organization of a large labor force.[60] Furthermore, the primary function of each central place determined how exactly it could benefit the princely power. In Bohemia and in Poland, a network of strongholds was built by and for local dynasties, primarily to protect and control access to the main seat of dynastic power. In Bohemia, that seat was in Prague, around which the "satellite" central places were established during the first two decades of the 10th century, under Spytihněv I. In Poland, the seat of power was in Poznań and the Piasts built their system of strongholds around that during the 940s and 950s, at the beginning of Mieszko's reign.[61] While the evidence for Bohemia consists primarily of written sources (e.g., the 10th-century legends of St. Wenceslas and the early 12th-century chronicle of Cosmas of Prague),[62] in Poland, the conclusions are grounded on massive archaeological excavations. Later sources claim that in both Bohemia and Poland, the princely strongholds were administered by castellans, a position equivalent to that of the Carolingian counts.[63]

The primary function of a central place was military, and for most such places, it is the best documented function. However, in the case of Prague, both the archaeological evidence and the written evidence highlight the economic importance of the site. Ibrahim ibn Yakub, a Jewish merchant from al-Andalus, visited the place in 965 or 966 and mentioned the local market.[64] Archaeologists, on the other hand, have discovered clear evidence of extensive iron- and silver-working.[65] Prague was also a ceremonial center, the traditional assembly place for elites, where dukes were seated on the stone throne that is now probably part of St. Vitus Cathedral. The Přemyslids also established their firm control over the important East-West trade route crossing southern Poland in the 940s or the 950s, but only temporarily. After two generations, these regions were lost to the Piasts.[66] While it is clear that in Poland the expanding Piasts secured their territorial gains by building of new fortresses or rebuilding old ones, there is no sufficient information in that respect about what the Přemyslid strategy was in the mid-10th century. Establishing new centers or reusing existing central places was also important for the Árpádians. Székesfehérvár (founded in 972 by Géza) and Veszprém were the earliest seats of kings and bishops, respectively. The division of the kingdom into 40 or 45 counties under King Stephen is believed to have led to the multiplication of central places, each under the control of a count.[67] In Croatia, early dukes (re-)used former Roman cities and fortresses as centers of power.[68] Such was the case for Klis, which

was rebuilt by prince Mislav (830–845), and Sisak, which shortly before 800 was the center of the Frankish dukedom of Lower Pannonia.[69] Croatian princes cemented their position in power centers by establishing monasteries or episcopal sees. For example, prince Trpimir established the Bendictine abbey of St. Bartholomew in Knin.[70] The nearby royal village of Biskupija sported the Church of the Virgin Mary, which would become the seat of the first "bishop of the Croats," attached to the royal court.[71] Some of those centers became seats of provincial deputies called *župans*, of which there were 14 by AD 900.[72]

In Rus', central places were established as commercial and manufacturing centers as a result of the transformation of the Viking trade, which in the 840s began to use waterways across Eastern Europe to reach the Muslim markets by the Caspian Sea or, later, Byzantium.[73] At the same time, the Viking Rus' start to be mentioned in Frankish and Arabic sources. The latter also indicate that in the early 10th century, the Vikings enslaved the Slavs and sold them to the Khazars and Volga Bulgars. As a consequence, the central place near Lake Ladoga in what is now northern Russia was established as a base for Vikings traveling farther to south. Similar bases were also built southward, e.g., near Gnezdovo in the region of Smolensk,[74] in the Volga-Oka region, and along the Desna River.[75] The settlement pattern changed dramatically after 900, with serious implications for the rise of the princely power. First, a new fortified center was established at the so-called "Rurik's Stronghold," only a couple of kilometers to the south from Staraya Ladoga. It became a trade post and an industrial center. Second, by 925, the older settlement was fortified as well. Eventually, "Rurik's Stronghold" was abandoned and yet another center was built on the opposite side of the river, on the site of the later town of Novgorod.[76] In Kiev, the first fortifications were erected ca. 900, the approximate date of the earliest traces of a Scandinavian presence. Both the organization of the settlement and the building techniques employed bespeak the political significance of the site.[77] Moreover, some central places seem to have been destroyed and then rebuilt. For example, Polotsk (now Polatsk, in Belarus) was besieged, ravaged and then rebuilt by Vladimir, ca. 1000.[78] This seems to be related to the process of establishing Kievan Rus' as the main political force within the region.

The main tasks of the ruler's deputies (called *župans* in Croatia, *ispáns* in Hungary, and *castellani* in sources pertaining to early medieval Poland or the Czech lands) appointed to various central places were to guarantee peace in the district, to preside over provincial courts, to collect taxes and to recruit soldiers, all features common to other early medieval polities in Europe. Although rulers had full authority to appoint or remove those deputies, they relied on local elites. In other words, much like elsewhere in Europe at that same time or later, instead of an administrative layer, this represented a matter of complex negotiations between the prince and regional elites, in an effort to create a social hierarchy that the ruler could control.

While it is by now clear how those dynasties strengthen their charisma and defended their claim for throne, little is known about the "materiality" of power. There is a clear trend toward the uniformization of material culture and burial customs in Bohemia, Poland, Croatia and Rus'.[79] Some have interpreted that in ethnic terms,[80] others as the material correlate of the imposition of princely power.[81] However, those interpretations are not necessarily and mutually exclusive. In Bohemia and Croatia, the presence of a new material culture (primarily weapons and luxuries) largely borrowed or derived from the Frankish empire contributed to the consolidation of power structures, as the gifts received by a few selected leaders were redistributed to their retainers and clients.[82]

One of the best, "native" accounts of how princely power was established (or imagined as such) is contained in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, specifically the legend of the invitation of the

Varangians.[83] Moreover, the Rus' annalist mentions that when Igor demanded tribute twice annually from the Derevlians, they revolted, and he was killed. His widow, Olga, avenged him and in the ensuing bloodshed deprived the Derevlians of their leaders.[84] She established *pogosty* as places for the collection of tribute and the distribution of justice.[85] She also took over control over some forests in the land of the Derevlians to be used as hunting grounds for the princes. Elsewhere, however, she was satisfied only with *poludie*, i.e., imposing the obligation for local communities to pay tribute and provide provisions and accommodation for her and her men.[86] The *tributum pacis* (peace tax) is mentioned in Bohemia only in later (11th- to 12th-century) sources as levied on all freemen and paid in silver deniers.[87] It is possible that this had begun as a tribute collected for the Frankish emperor since 805 (?), with the local leader(s) keeping his (their) share, a process possibly similar to that of transformation of the Anglo-Saxon *gafol* in the 11th century. Later, the tribute was reinterpreted as a demonstration of loyalty to the duke and as a payment guaranteeing the prosperity of the realm.[88] Apart from that, the duke of Bohemia extracted tolls, as indicated by donations to the church.[89] Although several historians seem convinced that the duke of Bohemia was a decision factor in, and exercised control over the slave trade, there is no evidence for that.[90] Nonetheless, the duke most certainly could extract labor from freemen for the building of strongholds and roads.[91] There are parallels in Piast Poland to all those means of mobilizing resources.[92] The size and organization of the princely estates, however, remain unclear.[93]

Minting was another source of revenue for the ruler, and simultaneously a form of power representation. The first silver coins (deniers) in Bohemia were struck in the name of Boleslav I in the late 960s. They were of the same weight as the imperial deniers upon which they were modeled. Later, however, the source of inspiration for the local coinage became pennies struck for Aethelred in England. By AD 1000, as a rule, both the image and the name of St. Wenceslas appeared on the Bohemian coinage.[94] Recent studies have demonstrated that by the 10th century coins moved outside central places and were in use by many people from all social strata.[95] The coins were struck in at least two mints, one in Prague and the other in Vyšehrad.[96] Before the closing of the 10th century, deniers were also struck in Hungary for Géza I and in Poland for Bolesław I Chrobry.[97] In Rus', coins were struck in the name of Vladimir of Kiev, both in silver and in gold.[98] No local coinage is known from 10th-century Croatia.

Conversion to Christianity and the setup of the ecclesiastical organization offered great possibilities for the consolidation of the rising, early medieval states, for they greatly contributed to territorial cohesion, with better defined boundaries, as well as to the integration into Christendom, with the associated political legitimacy. In Croatia, the issue was one of continuity with the ecclesiastical structures of Late Antiquity. Church administration survived in the coastal cities (archbishopric in Split, bishoprics in Zadar, and Rab), but in the Croatian principality, it had to be founded anew.[99] In the early 10th century, Tomislav (910–ca. 928) united Byzantine Dalmatia with the original duchy of Croatia, and in doing so created one, single ecclesiastical province.[100] Meanwhile, perhaps under Frankish influence, Croatian elites represented their status by means of building churches, with several *župans* known as founders and patrons.[101] While in 845, 14 chieftains from Bohemia leaders requested baptism from King Louis the German, the beginnings of Christianity are associated in the local historical memory with the baptism of Duke Bořivoj by Methodius, ca. 878.[102] The bishopric of Prague was established almost a century later in cooperation with Emperors Otto I and Otto II.[103]

At the same time as the bishopric of Prague came into being, a missionary bishop named Jordan was also sent to Poland, only a few years after the baptism of Mieszko I (ca. 960–992). In 1000, the archbishop was appointed in Gniezno with four suffragan bishops in Cracow, Kołobrzeg, Wrocław and Poznań. The newly created dioceses strengthened substantially the

cohesion of the principality.[104] Similarly and about the same time, with the support of Emperor Henry II (1002–1024) and of Pope Sylvester II (999–1002), an ecclesiastical province was established in Hungary with its see in Esztergom (c. 1003), and Veszprém (997?), Győr (b. 1001), Transylvania (1003?), Pécs (1009) and Eger as suffragan bishoprics.[105] The conversion of Rus' under Vladimir was a complicated affair linked to an alliance with Byzantium. Before Vladimir, his grandmother Olga had been baptized in Constantinople.[106] "Vladimir and whole land of Rus'" were converted in 989.[107] However, the beginnings of the metropolitan see in Kiev are unclear. According to Thietmar of Merseburg, in 1018, when entering Kiev, the army of Polish Prince Bolesław I Chrobry were met by an unnamed archbishop.[108]

Conclusion: violence or (pre)dominance of ideas?

When dealing with the rise of the early medieval states in East Central Europe, scholars emphasize the role of princely retinues supposedly consisting of well-trained armored horsemen and of the strongholds besieged and re-established by the emerging princely power. Many point to the importance of violence, making that armed group responsible for the suppression of the former elites and for the rise of the state.[109] To be sure, archeology confirms that many strongholds were destroyed and others built at the exact moment when the early medieval states emerged. Moreover, weapons clearly defined the social status of men all over Europe, ever since the 5th century. However, violence, while present, was not the only or even the first option that European medieval rulers had, including those of Eastern and East Central Europe.[110] Much more promising is the idea that the rise of the early medieval state was ultimately the result of a process of acculturation, where the adapted models helped establish and cement new social hierarchies. The ability to find common grounds among the elites, to define shared goals and to forge collective identities (often under external threat) was of greater importance than brutal force. This can explain better how it was possible for the East Central and East European dynasties to survive for several centuries, even though they would have been long replaced and eliminated by merciless enemies, if violence was the only ingredient of power.

Notes

1 Two members of the Přemyslid princely retinue were named Tuna and Gomon, for whom see Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Tunna und Gomon: Wikinger aus der Prager Fürstengefolgschaft," *Folia diplomatica* 1 (1971), 171–88. I am grateful to Florin Curta and Jan Hasil for their critical remarks on this matter. For Vikings in Poland, see Władysław Duczko, "With Vikings or without? Scandinavians in early medieval Poland. Approaching an old problem," in *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*, edited by Sławomir Moździoch, Błażej Stanisławski and Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2013), pp. 19–31; Leszek Gardeła, "Vikings in Poland. A critical overview," in *Viking Worlds. Things, Spaces and Movement*, edited by Marianne Hem Eriksen, Unn Pedersen, Bernt Rundberget, Irmelin Axelsen and Heidi Lund Berg (Oxford/Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 213–34; and Dariusz Adam Sikorski, "Obecność Skandynawów w Polsce w okresie wczesnopiastowskim w świetle źródeł pisanych" (The presence of Scandinavians in Poland in the early Piast period according to the written sources), in *Wikingowie w Polsce? Zabytki skandynawskie z ziem polskich*, edited by Michał Bogacki, Andrzej Janowski and Łukasz Kaczmarek (Gniezno/Szczecin: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego w Gnieźnie/Triglav, 2019), pp. 99–112.

2 For more details, see Chapter 26 in this book. The attempt of Thomas Lienhard, "The Life of Constantine, the Life of Methodius and the history of the Slavs in the ninth century: A reassessment," *Early Medieval Europe* 28 (2020), no. 1, 57–78, to reject the 9th-century date for the two *vitae* completely disregards the linguistic and philological arguments. Lienhard also ignores the

obvious fact that those texts link Cyril and Methodius only with Moravia, and no other region, while later narratives attach them either to Bohemia or to Bulgaria, as well as Rus'. For more details, see David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Meanwhile, Mirela Ivanova, "Re-thinking the *Life of Constantine–Cyril the Philosopher*," *Slavonic and East European Review* 98 (2020), 434–63, here 461 convincingly argues that the *Life of Constantine* "is best located between two poles of discourse about education in Byzantine intellectual culture *in the ninth century*" (emphasis added).

3 Oleksiy Tolochko, "On 'Nestor the Chronicler'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 29 (2007), nos. 1–4, pp. 1–31 has convincingly argued that the author was a hegumen (abbot) of Vydubychi Monastery in Kiev named Silvestr, who compiled the chronicle in 1116.

4 However, no evidence exists of a similar narrative (chronicle) in Croatia. On the other hand, Dániel Bagi, "Problematik der ältesten Schichten der ungarischen Chronikkomposition des 14. Jahrhunderts im Lichte der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung der letzten Jahren – einige ausgewählte Problemstellen," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 12 (2007), pp. 105–27 shows how futile are all attempts to reconstruct the supposed 11th- and 12th-century versions of the surviving 14th-century chronicle, of which the earliest witness is the Pictured Chronicle of ca. 1358.

5 Evgenii N. Nosov, "U nachala russkoi istorii. Mezhdu Ladogoi i Novgorodom" [At the beginning of Russian history. Between Ladoga and Novgorod], in *Staraia Ladoga. Pervaia mezhdunarodnaia arkheologicheskaia ekspediciia–shkola. Uchenye i pisateli o kul'ture, istorii, arkheologii, iskusstve, iazyke, literature i politike*, edited by Anatolii N. Kirpichnikov and M. N. Tolstoi (St. Petersburg: GP IPK "Vesti", 2004), pp. 70–83; Michał Tymowski, "State and tribe in the history of medieval Europe and Black Africa – a comparative approach," *Social Evolution and History* 7 (2008), no. 1, pp. 171–97; György Szabados, "The origins and the transformation of the early Hungarian state," in *Reform and Renewal in Medieval East and Central Europe: Politics, Law and Society*, edited by Suzana Miljan, Éva B. Halász and Alexandru Simon (Cluj–Napoca/Zagreb/London: Center for Transylvanian Studies/Croatian Academy of Sciences and Art/School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 2019), pp. 9–30; Michał Kara, "Historiografia i archeologia polska o mechanizmach formowanie się władztwa Piastów. Próba zestawieniaważniejszych poglądów" [The Polish historiography and archaeology on the mechanisms of state formation under the Piasts. An attempt at collating the most important points of view], in *Instytucja "wczesnego państwa" w perspektywie wielości i różnorodności kultur*, edited by Jacek Banaszkiewicz, Michał Kara and Henryk Mamze (Poznań: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2013), pp. 303–15; and Ivo Štefan, "Great Moravia, the beginnings of Přemyslid Bohemia and the problem of cultural change," in *The Fall of Great Moravia. Who Was Buried in Grave H153 at Pohansko near Břeclav?*, edited by Jiří Macháček and Martin Wihoda (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 151–86.

6 However, the oldest known deed issued by a Přemyslid ruler is a 992 document in favor of the second bishop of Prague, St. Adalbert (Vojtěch, 983–997), which was recorded by a member of Prague cathedral chapter in the first half of the 11th century. See Dalibor Havel and David Kalhous, "Heiligenkreuz 217 und die Anfänge der Schriftkultur in Böhmen um 1000: die Prager Kirche im Zeitalter Bischofs Thiddag," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica* 1 (2019), 159–67. In Poland, the earliest deed is a donation for the Bamberg cathedral from Władysław I Herman (1079–1102); see *Dyplomatyka staropolska* [Old Polish Diplomatics], edited by Tomasz Jurek (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015), pp. 64–65.

7 Simon Franklin, "Literacy and documentation in early medieval Russia," *Speculum* 60 (1985), no. 1, 1–38; Irena Sułkowska–Kuraś, "La typologie des actes royaux polonais avant 1200," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium de Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.–3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 249–55; Jan Bistřický, "Übersicht über das Urkundenwesen der böhmischen Herrscher bis zum Jahre 1197," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium de Comission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.–3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 227–40; László Solymosi, "Die Entwicklung der Schriftlichkeit im Königreich Ungarn vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," in *Schriftkultur zwischen Donau und Adria bis zum 13. Jahrhundert. Akten der Akademie Friesach "Stadt und Kultur im Mittelalter", Friesach (Kärnten), 11.–15. September 2002*, edited by Reinhard Härtel, Günther Hödl, Cesare Scalon and Peter Štih (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2008), pp. 483–526; Mirjana Matijević–Sokol, *Studia diplomatica. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske diplomatike* [Studia diplomatica. Discussions and contributions to Croatian diplomatics] (Zagreb: FF Press, 2014); and Anna Adamska, "Die frühpiastischen Kanzlei im 'Netzwerk' der

mittelalterlichen pragmatischen Schriftlichkeit," in *Fernhändler, Dynasten, Kleriker. Die Piastische Herrschaft in kontinentalen Beziehungsflächen vom 10. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by Dariusz Adamczyk and Norbert Kersken (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2015), pp. 193–216.

8 Boris Stojkovski, "The Greek charter of the Hungarian king Stephen I," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 53 (2016), 127–40. See also György Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden bis 1200," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium der Comission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.–3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 259–70, here 260–61: 192 charters issues between 1000 and 1200, of which 48 are forgeries; 73 royal privileges issued between 1000 and 1131, of which 23 are forgeries; György Györffy, "Die Kanzleien der Arpaden–Dukate," in *Landesherrliche Kanzleien im Spätmittelalter. Referate zum VI. Internationalen Kongreß für Diplomatik, München 1983*, vol. 1 (Munich: Arbeo–Gesellschaft, 1984), pp. 325–36, here p. 327.

9 Vedrana Delonga, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Mediaeval Croatia* (Split: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, 1996) and *Inscriptions des souverains croates du IXe au XIe siècle* (Split: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, 1997); Neven Budak, "O novopronađenom natpisu s imenom kraljice Domaslave iz crkve sv. Vida na Klisu" [A newly discovered inscription with the name of Queen Domaslava from the church of St. Vitus on Klis], *Historijski zbornik* 64 (2011), no. 2, 317–20.

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8

STRONGHOLDS AND EARLY MEDIEVAL STATES

Hajnalka Herold

This chapter offers a review of early medieval strongholds built between the 5th and the 11th centuries in selected regions of East Central and Eastern Europe and considers their role in the formation of polities of the area. There are two distinct phases of strongholds within this period: late antique strongholds (5th to 6th century) and strongholds built between the late 8th and the 11th century. Late antique strongholds have a more limited occurrence both in number and geographical distribution than strongholds of the later period. In addition, these two groups of strongholds have different political articulations, as the late antique strongholds generally played no role in the emergence of longer-term political units. Conversely, there is much variation in the political articulation of the later strongholds, depending upon region and chronology. Given the sheer number of sites, it would be impossible to review all 5th- to 11th-century strongholds of East Central and Eastern Europe. In what follows, I will, therefore, concentrate on selected regions and case studies, in order to demonstrate various possible connections between strongholds and polity formation.

Before embarking on a review of the archeological evidence, three issues need to be considered: the connection between the physical geography of regions and the emergence of strongholds, the nature of polities to which strongholds were connected, and the dating of the sites. Strongholds are not evenly distributed in the landscape; they are more frequent in certain types of physical landscapes than others. For the purpose of this chapter, strongholds are defined as sites fortified or refortified either with timber-and-earth ramparts, sometimes reinforced with stone facing, or with stone walls. Former Roman towns or cities with an early medieval occupation as well as Byzantine towns or cities established anew during the early Middle Ages are excluded from the scope of this chapter. There is a clearly larger number of strongholds in the highlands—hilly or mountainous regions—than in the lowlands, with some flat landscapes such as the Great Hungarian Plain almost completely devoid of strongholds of the 5th to 11th centuries. However, there are large-scale strongholds from this period in the floodplains of south-eastern Moravia and of the south-western part of present-day Hungary. Most strongholds on hilltops tend to be more limited in size than strongholds in flat landscapes, likely because of the often limited size of the available habitable areas in hilltop locations. Such geographical factors need to be taken into account when considering the strength or power of any polity on the basis of the number or the size of strongholds in any given area.

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It is also important to consider the kind of polities that existed in the region under consideration throughout the early Middle Ages. According to Chris Wickham, there are three major types of early medieval polities: strong states based on taxation and a paid army (the Roman Empire and its Byzantine and Arab successors), weak states with a landed army but a strong sense of public power (e.g., Frankish Gaul, Lombard Italy, and Visigothic Spain), and prestate systems (kingdoms of England, Wales, Ireland, and Denmark).[1] Taking this tripartite division as a starting point, we can see most polities in the region and the period of interest for this chapter as belonging either to the first or the third category, with the first category comprising areas that were part of the Byzantine Empire and the third category including most other political units of East Central and Eastern Europe in the 5th to 11th centuries, e.g., the Gepid and Lombard kingdoms, the Avar Khaganate, Great Moravia, as well as the early phases of the Přemyslid, Piast, and Árpádian realms, as well as of Rus'. The later phases of the latter four polities make the transition to a "weak state" in the 10th to 12th centuries, respectively, while the others dissolved (or moved to other territories, in the case of the Lombards).

Many of the above polities comprised strongholds. Interestingly, there are no strongholds known from the Avar Khaganate (c. 568–822). The Avar *hring*, supposedly the center or one of the main centers of the late 8th-century Khaganate, is mentioned in written sources.[2] However, nothing is known about its structure—a stronghold with built ramparts or a completely different formation of a more temporary nature (e.g., made up of tents and/or carts) that would leave few, if any archeological traces.[3] The lack of strongholds from the Avar Khaganate may well reflect a social organization different from that of other 5th- to 11th-century polities of the region, potentially related to the initial setup of the Khaganate by nomadic groups.

It is important to keep in mind that the early medieval history and archeology in East Central and Eastern Europe (similarly to many other parts of the Old World) are largely based on national narratives, with each present-day country concentrating more on those periods that are crucial for the story of its own region and polity/ies. This has serious implications for the analysis and interpretation of strongholds. On the one hand, the result of such a selective attitude is the existence of chronological gaps in the historiography of broader regions, with such gaps being often tied to different periods on either side of a present-day political border. On the other hand, national narratives influence the dating of the excavated sites, which invites great caution when assessing site chronologies.[4] The increasing use of scientific dating has already challenged some of these narratives and will bring about further new insights in a midterm perspective.[5]

Late antique strongholds

A great number of late antique strongholds are located in the southern part of the area of interest for this chapter, in the Balkan Peninsula. This area was either part of the (early) Byzantine Empire or lies next to its northern border: present-day Bulgaria,[6] Serbia,[7] Bosnia–Herzegovina,[8] Macedonia,[9] north-western Greece,[10] and Albania.[11] Several early Byzantine strongholds are also known from the Crimea.[12] The area of present-day Slovenia also comprises major fortifications of this period, which are part of a larger group of strongholds in the Alpine region extending to northern Italy and southern Austria.[13] In addition, there are late antique strongholds in some regions situated outside of former Roman territories, including present-day Slovakia.[14] Relatively less known are 5th- to 7th-century strongholds from the northern parts of Eastern Europe, in Belarus and Russia,[15] as well as those from the Middle Volga region and Bashkiria.[16]

None of these strongholds is in the focus of this chapter, but they will play a comparative role in the discussion below about the role of strongholds in the formation of polities and in the economic setup of particular regions, including long-distance connections. Late antique strongholds in the regions mentioned above are thought to have played many different roles, from residential (for both elite and nonelite inhabitants) to military (including refuges for the population from the hinterland), and religious, in addition to often being nodes for production and trade/exchange networks. Furthermore, the size, modes of construction, and exact chronology vary greatly, even within one and the same region. This strongly suggests that different strongholds are the result of different socioeconomic dynamics. In other words, there are multiple factors behind their emergence, continued existence, and decline.

Early medieval strongholds

Some of the largest strongholds in East Central Europe have been found in south-eastern Moravia (Czech Republic) and western Slovakia, an area associated with the early medieval polity of Great Moravia.[17] Neither the chronology nor the geographical extent of this polity is entirely clear, but based on written sources, it was in existence between 833 and 907.[18] It is not at all clear what was before and what came after this period in various regions and how Great Moravia came into being and declined. Since its borders most likely fluctuated, it is difficult to establish exactly which regions belonged to Great Moravia and at what time. In addition to major sites in the core region of present-day south-eastern Moravia and western Slovakia,[19] similar sites are known farther afield, e.g., in south-western Hungary (at and around Zalavár) and in north-eastern Austria.[20] It remains unclear if these regions belonged to the same polity, and if so, for what period. It is quite possible that they witnessed similar, but separate developments. At any rate, Great Moravia did not survive politically, much like any other polity that might have existed in the area of present-day south-western Hungary during the same period.

It may be worth reviewing some of the main sites belonging to these 9th-century polities (Great Moravia and the possibly independent, contemporaneous polity in south-western Hungary) using the theoretical framework developed by Adam T. Smith for early complex polities.[21] The purpose of such an exercise is to consider why these polities were ultimately unsuccessful and why they disintegrated. The answers to both questions are based only on archeology, and strongholds are a prominent feature of the archeological record for this region in this period. Using Timur Lenk's 14th-century city of Samarkand as an example, Smith distinguishes three ways in which (remains of) the built environment may provide answers to the question such as formulated above.[22] A 14th-century inscription from Samarkand perfectly captures the association between power and buildings: "If you doubt our might, look at our buildings."[23] One can do this using a comparative perspective, by means of a "translation" of building volume, energetics, and size into a "figure" or "index," which one can then compare with other places, thereby producing a "ranking." Doing so, however, would eliminate all specific features relating to any given case study. One could also describe the architecture, for example, in Samarkand, as a *memorial* to the conqueror (Timur) and his martial glory. However, there is a clear contrast between the city of Samarkand that encourages reflection, mysticism, and contemplation and Timur's aggressive military politics. Finally, one could approach both the built environment of Samarkand and the king's inscribed representation as *constitutive elements of imperial politics* that continuously impacted on each other. According to Smith, the third option is the most beneficial for achieving a comprehensive view of the ruler and the city.[24] I will follow this approach when considering sites of Great

Moravia and the surrounding areas. Smith points to four main spheres of landscape study: geopolitics (the landscapes of geopolitics established in relations between polities); polities (the territorial landscape of the polity forged in ties between regimes and subjects); regimes (the settlement-centered landscapes of regimes forged within intraelite ties and links to grassroots coalitions); and institutions (the architectural landscape of institutions).[25]

The geopolitics of the 9th century is well known. Its main actors were the Frankish Kingdom (and after the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the East Frankish Kingdom), the Byzantine Empire, and the Abbasid Caliphate. Great Moravia and its surroundings were situated in the Danube Basin, in the area where the extended spheres of influence of the (East) Frankish Kingdom and the Byzantine Empire met.[26] A major issue in the study of political landscapes at the level of geopolitics is the differences in the historical and archeological legacy. Historical sources refer to polities as areas, while very often only mentioning points in time, for example, a specific year, as part of a recorded event history. On the contrary, archeology largely yields data on points in space, based on the research of sites and their immediate surroundings, but this data can usually only be connected to longer time periods. These two sets of data are not easily connected, especially when considering changes over time, i.e., when trying to study *the temporality of political landscapes*.[27] For example, while archeologists have been able to distinguish elements of Frankish and Byzantine influences in Moravia, it is not possible to reconstruct the changing connections of Great Moravia to the main political powers over time based on these finds.[28]

There are various ways to articulate authority in the landscape of a polity, for example, through experiential landscapes of material and bodily flows, perceptual landscapes that built commitments to place and destroyed rival senses of place, and imagined landscapes summoned through the triumphal charisma of the ruler/lord.[29] These establish physical, expressive, and imagined political relationships and result in a multidimensional political landscape based on imagination, perception, and experience. It is important to note that the formal demarcation of territorial boundaries alone does not make a polity; it also needs configurations of political practice established through the experience, perception, and imagination of landscapes that regularize demands of regimes on subjects and legitimate these demands in reference to both senses of place and descriptions of the "proper world order."[30] The ultimate purpose of all of this is to establish and to reproduce sovereign authority within relationships between subjects and regimes.[31] How did this work in the broader region and period where Great Moravia was situated? One can identify "layers of authority" in the landscape in this territory in two main ways. First, a "layer" of fortified settlements was added to a landscape of open, unfortified settlements dating back to 7th and 8th centuries. One can see this as a "civilizing mission" of the ruling elite, attacking preexisting senses of a place that might have provided an alternative vision of the political landscape. Second, in the neighboring areas to the south and southeast from Great Moravia, a number of lowland Roman sites were reoccupied in the early medieval period, which one can see as a similar mission, although most likely by a different ruling elite, possibly related to the (East) Frankish Kingdom.[32]

When considering political landscapes at the level of regimes, based on ties within elites as well as grassroots connections, it is important to locate the primary political sources of spatial production, i.e., who decides what is built, where and when.[33] In Great Moravia, this decision may have been made by a lord or ruler, by local communities, the church (i.e., Frankish, Byzantine, or Aquileian institutions, or local initiatives), or "colonizing" forces (Frankish or Byzantine). It is also important to establish whether private property of land was a concept in place in this region and period, and if so, which groups or individuals "owned" land here.[34]

If we consider the landscapes of institutions, the largest scale institution present in the region of Great Moravia was undoubtedly the church, represented by clerics from various

centers—Aquileia, Salzburg, and Byzantium—as well as from emerging local groups.[35] The authority of the church was articulated in the landscape by means of church buildings and possibly monasteries. Secular power, on the other hand, was exercised by colonizing forces, Frankish and possibly Byzantine, and, more importantly, by local elites. The direct expression of secular power in the landscape was the construction of "palace" buildings and fortification ramparts. The arrival in Moravia of the mission of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius (863) is a key moment for the church in East Central Europe. However, the mission does not appear to have been at all important for Byzantium, and some have even rejected the idea that it was a true mission, given that the area had already been Christianized by Frankish clerics.[36] Remains of about 20 churches are known from the core area of Great Moravia,[37] and at least, five more have been found in the possibly independent, contemporary polity in south-western Hungary.[38] Both groups of churches include large basilical buildings that are between 30 and 50 m in length, which would have been impressive even within the core areas of the main political players of the time, the (East) Frankish Kingdom and the Byzantine Empire. The existence of two monasteries is presumed, one in Uherské Hradiště and the other in Zalavár.[39] The remains of three "palace buildings" have been found, two in Moravia (Mikulčice and Staré Město) and the other in Hungary (Zalavár).[40] They all have about the same dimensions, c. 17–20 × 8–10 m, and stone foundations; however, the material of the walls (stone, wood, or wattle and daub) is unknown. Based on the finds of ceramic roof tiles, the building in Staré Město is believed to have had stone walls, for neither a timber nor a wattle-and-daub structure could support a tiled roof.[41] The building in Zalavár is thought to have had an upper floor, an assumption based on the ground plan of the building.[42]

It is worth noting that the remains of secular architecture are not as impressive as the churches found in Moravia and south-western Hungary. In other words, the expression of secular power and authority was less obviously articulated than church power and authority. Could this be the cause for the failure of those short-lived polities of the 9th century? Or was this simply the illustration of dynamics in which secular elites had no time to develop more articulated forms of power and express those in the landscape? If so, what would have been necessary for longer-term and more successful development? I shall return to these questions when considering strongholds of the Přemyslids, Piasts, and Árpádians, all of which became part of longer-term developments and saw the transformation of the polities ruled by these dynasties into early states. What was the role or the function of strongholds in Great Moravia and in its surrounding areas? Some have suggested a strong correlation of these sites with the slave trade.[43] The main driving force behind slave trade in Europe during this period was no doubt the high demand on markets in the Islamic world. While the connections of the Moravian strongholds to the Frankish and Byzantine territories have been studied in some detail, less attention has so far been paid to connections to the Islamic world. My recent research project on Middle Eastern glass beads from archeological assemblages in the Danube Basin suggests that connections with the Islamic world might have been more direct and more intense than previously thought.[44] These glass beads may well have been one of the products that travelled as an "add on" alongside the slave trade routes between Central Europe and the Middle East. It is interesting to note, however, that sites of Great Moravia and its surroundings yielded dirhams only in exceptional cases.[45] While it is likely that the strongholds of Great Moravia and its surroundings were connected to slave trade, and, indeed, slave trade might have even constituted an important part of their economy, it is nonetheless unlikely that the only or even main function of these sites was to serve as nodes in this trade. On the one hand, slaves are likely to have been only one of the commodities transported along trade routes in the region, along with such things as furs or other goods

that left no archeological traces (wax, honey). Moreover, there can be no doubt that the strongholds of Great Moravia and the surrounding regions were centers of power, both for secular lords and various actors of the church, residential complexes for elites and commoners alike, as well as centers of craft production, and organizers of agricultural production in their surroundings, as shown by the archeological finds and features excavated at these sites.[46] In that respect, the Moravian strongholds are not very different from late antique fortifications briefly discussed above. Like them, they were multipurpose and multifunctional strongholds. Judging from the archeological evidence, it is unlikely that strongholds of the post-Roman period anywhere in Europe had only one function.

Less explored is another aspect of the economy of Great Moravia and the surrounding regions. Were strongholds primarily consumer or production sites? How much of the production at these sites was for their own needs and how much to supply other, more distant areas? Did strongholds operate as redistribution centers for wider regions and, if so, for what products? Comparisons with emporia in the North and Baltic Sea area have already revealed different proportions of production activities and consumption, as well as different residential and religious functions.[47]

The early Přemyslid, Piast, and Árpádian strongholds stand in sharp contrast to earlier strongholds in Moravia and the surrounding regions. The common feature of these strongholds excavated in Bohemia, Poland, as well as Hungary and its surroundings is that they belonged to polities that were successful in a longer-term perspective. Most of them represented the earliest occupation phases on fortified sites that continued to be in use and even grew over the subsequent centuries. It is interesting to consider how they were different from strongholds of Great Moravia and its surroundings, which were part of an ultimately unsuccessful development. Even if some of the Great Moravian sites retained habitation after the polity disintegrated, it was comparatively modest compared with the 9th century, and the sites largely lost their political and religious significance.

The earliest of this group of strongholds in "successful" polities are those of the Přemyslid realm, in what is now the western part of the Czech Republic.[48] Their development starts in the late 9th century. These strongholds, however, were typically smaller than those of Great Moravia, and most of them have no unfortified suburbs. Moreover, the cemeteries excavated nearby have a few hundred graves, not over 1,000 graves, as at some sites in Moravia and the surrounding region.[49] While more than one church is known from most major strongholds of Great Moravia, such buildings are rarer on the late 9th- and 10th-century phases of occupation in Přemyslid strongholds.[50] While many aspects of the early Přemyslid strongholds have been thoroughly studied, there are still many unanswered questions, such as those concerning the functions of areas within the strongholds as well as the residential buildings. Overall, these strongholds give the impression of a slower, low-key, and more sustainable development than the strongholds of Great Moravia and the surrounding regions, which were extremely large-scale building projects, imposed upon a previously unfortified landscape.

Many of the earliest Piast strongholds appear to have been built *ex novo* in the region of Greater Poland between 920/30 and 940/50, which strongly suggest the actions of a well-organized central power.[51] Later developments included the building of a tripartite defensive system and a stone palace building in Poznań in the 950s or 960s.[52] The original area of the Piast realm was then extended in later phases, including the building of new strongholds in the late 10th century both to the north and to the south from the original core area.[53] Despite the baptism of members of the ruling dynasty, not all of these strongholds received churches. Such buildings became common on Piast fortified sites only after AD 1000.[54] This makes an interesting parallel to the way in which churches appeared in the Přemyslid realm a little

earlier.[55] In fact, just like the Přemyslid strongholds, those of the early Piast polity are much smaller, usually under 5 hectares, than strongholds of Great Moravia and the surrounding regions, which could reach over 20 ha.[56]

Perhaps, the least studied of all strongholds of "successful" polities are those built in the early Árpádian realm. The main reason for this is heavy building activity during the later occupation phases on many of the early Árpádian sites, which led to destruction and complicated stratigraphy. Moreover, many of these sites were excavated when detailed excavation and documentation methods were less widespread than they are today. Major early Árpádian sites known both from written sources as well as archeological excavations include Esztergom, Visegrád, and Székesfehérvár.[57] Several strongholds of the early county organization of the Árpádian realm have been archeologically studied, but the exact dating of features is often based on historical considerations;[58] only the more widespread application of scientific dating and the analysis of archeological remains associated with the scientific dates will bring progress here. A comparatively well-preserved stronghold, albeit not one of the major sites of the Árpádian polity, is Borsod, near Edelény (north-eastern Hungary). The results of the excavations of this site have been published monographically and give unique insight into regional centers of early Árpádian Hungary.[59]

If we compare the strongholds of the Přemyslid, Piast, and Árpádian polities and contrast them with the earlier strongholds of Great Moravia and the neighboring regions, the most striking differences are in the overall size of the sites as well as in the number and size of churches. It appears that the strongholds of the later polities were parts of a slower and more sustainable development and were possibly more focused on local issues than on long-distance exchange networks. It is a matter of debate how far Great Moravia and its surroundings were oriented toward the (East) Frankish Kingdom and how far toward Byzantium. All the three other polities were certainly heavily oriented toward the Frankish world politically, and especially, the Árpádians had Byzantine connections too. It is possible that these differences in political alliances were among the factors shaping both the scale and the sustainability of development in these areas. Of course, the latter three polities also took shape in a somewhat later chronological phase, and it is possible that this later period was more conducive to the foundation of long-term developments than the 9th century had been when Great Moravia and contemporary polities in Central Europe emerged.

Dendrochronological work carried out mainly in the 1990s on strongholds of Lower Lusatia (in present-day eastern Germany and western Poland) has been crucial for revising the chronological frameworks that had solely been based on typological considerations.[60] This work was carried on in other adjacent areas and has provided valuable information about power dynamics of the region.[61] Strongholds in this area are mostly associated with prestate and pre-Christian Slavic formations. There are larger fortifications (between 4 and 10 ha) in the northern part of the region during the 8th and 9th centuries and smaller ringforts (between 1 and 2.5 ha), both in the north and the south, during the later 9th and the 10th century.[62] The earlier, larger strongholds are believed to have been involved in the transregional slave trade.[63] The East Frankish expansion in the south is manifested in the building of Frankish strongholds beginning with the mid-10th century, but the north remained independent well into the 12th century.[64]

Along and beyond the northern Adriatic coast, we can see various patterns for the post–7th-century occupation of strongholds. In the former Roman province of Epirus Vetus (present-day southern Albania and northwest Greece), the 8th- to 9th-century population appears to have been low in numbers and preferred the lowlands, while strongholds occupied in this period are known from northern Albania.[65] A very different trajectory of development

may be observed further to the northwest, in Istria, where a series of strongholds appear, which are associated with the Carolingian takeover of the late 8th and 9th centuries.[66] While fortification walls and ramparts as well as buildings inside these strongholds are reasonably well known,[67] more chronological precision, ideally supported by scientific methods, is needed for the dating of the sites as a whole as well as of separate occupation phases. The same is true for 8th- to 10th-century Byzantine and Bulgarian stone fortresses on the western coast of the Black Sea, as well as for Bulgarian earthworks.[68] This area can be divided into two main zones, with the northern one controlled by the Bulgarians largely through inland sites and the southern zone (south of Cape Emine) controlled by the Byzantines with an emphasis on the coast.[69] The northern zone initially included Bulgarian earthworks (both camps and dikes), which after the 9th century were complemented with stone fortresses, while former Byzantine sites in the region appear to have fallen into disrepair.[70] The southern zone utilized Byzantine stone fortresses as well as some fortified towns.[71] While the overall character of these sites and their geographical distribution appears relatively clear, not much is known about the internal setup, buildings, and structure.[72]

Conclusion

When considering 5th- to 11th-century strongholds in selected regions of East Central and Eastern Europe, different dynamic relations become apparent between the emergence, development, and decline of fortified sites, and the formation of polities. The most impressive examples of strongholds, at least in terms of size, are associated with polities that ultimately failed and made room for others—Great Moravia and the contemporary polity in southwestern Hungary (around the site of Zalavár), as well as the West Slavic chiefdoms in what is now eastern Germany. Strongholds of polities in the region that became medieval states—Přemyslid Bohemia, Piast Poland, and Árpádian Hungary—were much smaller, but continued to be occupied for a much longer period, and some of them turned into towns. In some other cases, such as the Istrian fortified sites or the Bulgarian and Byzantine fortresses along the Black Sea coast, the trajectory is not as clear-cut, for some sites grew and developed, while others were abandoned. Finally, in 8th- to 11th-century Epirus, a very thin population moved into lowlands, with no interest in hilltop locations, despite the existence of several such sites in northern Albania, which appear to have been occupied since Late Antiquity. However, no evidence exists that they were still in use by AD 1000.

Despite the lack of the intrasite detail, the region of the Black Sea coast is one of the very few in East Central and Eastern Europe where the political control of different areas by different powers, and powers of a very different nature (the "strong state" of Byzantium and the prestate formation of Bulgaria), appears to correlate with types of archeological sites. A fruitful area of future research will be to compare the dynamics of this frontier zone with that of the Slavic-East Frankish borderland in present-day eastern Germany, as well as the Frankish-Byzantine contact zone in Croatia and the surrounding territories.

Notes

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28 Čeněk Staňa, "Einige Fremdelemente in der materiellen Kultur der Brünner Gegend im 9. Jahrhundert," in *Interaktionen der mitteleuropäischen Slawen und anderer Ethnika im 6.-10. Jahrhundert. Symposium Nové Vozokany 3.-7. Oktober 1983*, edited by Peter Šalkovský (Nitra: Archäologisches Institut der slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 217–23; Tatiana Štefanovičová, "Great Moravia and Byzantium," in *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia* (Thessaloniki: SS. Cyril and Methodios Center for Cultural Studies, 1999), pp. 273–84; Hana Chorvátová, "Horizonty byzantsko-orientálneho šperku na tzv. veľkomoravských pohrebiskách" [Horizonte des byzantinisch-orientalischen Schmucks auf den sogenannten großmährischen Gräberfeldern], in *Byzantská kultúra a Slovensko. Zborník štúdií*, edited by Vladimír Turčan (Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum/Archeologické Múzeum, 2007), pp. 83–101. For the Frankish cultural influence, see Jiří Macháček, "Großmähren, das Ostfränkische Reich und der Beginn des Staatsbildungsprozesses in Ostmitteleuropa - archäologische Perspektiven," *Mitteilungen aus dem niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv* 13 (2008), 249–82; Šimon Ungerman, "Die Wadenriemengarnituren im frühmittelalterlichen Mähren," in *Bewaffnung und Reiterausrüstung des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Mitteleuropa. Waffenform und Waffenbeigaben bei den mährischen Slawen und in den Nachbarländern*, edited by Lumír Poláček and Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2019), pp. 307–42. For a rare attempt to bridge the gap between archaeological and historical sources, see Jiří Macháček, "The Byzantine mission and evidence of its activities in Pohansko u Břeclavi," in *The Cyril and Methodius Mission and Europe. 1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia*, edited by Zdenka Kosarová and Jana Gryc (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015), pp. 92–101.

29 Smith, *The Political Landscape*, pp. 180–81.

30 Smith, *The Political Landscape*, pp. 181–82.

31 Smith, *The Political Landscape*, p. 182.

32 In present-day Austria: Barbara Wewerka, *Tullner Stadtarchäologie 11* (Tulln: Heimatkundlicher Arbeitskreis, 1997); Christa Farka, Martin Krenn and Jasmine Wagner, "Tulln im 10. Jahrhundert nach archäologischen Befunden," in *Schicksalsjahr 907: Die Schlacht von Pressburg und das*

frühmittelalterliche Niederösterreich, edited by Roman Zehetmayer (St Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, 2007), pp. 117–19; Helga Sedlmayer, "Transformationen von Zentrum und Peripherie: Vom römischen Favianis zur frühmittelalterlichen civitas Mutarensis (Mautern an der Donau/Österreich)," in *Zentrale Orte und zentrale Räume des Frühmittelalters in Süddeutschland, Tagung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums und der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena vom 07. - 09.10.2012 in Bad Neustadt an der Saale,* edited by Peter Ettel and Lukas Werther (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2013), pp. 193–216. In present-day Hungary: Endre Tóth, "Die karolingische Burg von Sabaria-Szombathely," *Folia Archaeologica* 29 (1978), 151–82; Róbert Müller, *Die Gräberfelder vor der Südmauer der Befestigung von Keszthely-Fenékpuszta* (Budapest/Leipzig/Keszthely: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2010); Olivér Gábor, *Sopiane késő antik temetői épületei* [The late antique cemetery buildings of Sopiane] (Kaposvár/Pécs: Vivarium Fontium, 2016), pp. 225–27; Szabina Merva, "*…circa Danubium…*" a késő avar kortól a kora Árpád-korig: 8–11. századi települések a Kisalföld középső részén és a Dunakanyarban ["*…circa Danubium…*" from the late Avar period to the early Árpádian period: 8th- to 11th-century settlements in the central part of the Little Hungarian Plain and the Danube Bend], Ph.D. dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, 2019).

33 Smith, *The Political Landscape*, pp. 226–27.

34 For a few signs of possible private ownership of land *inside* strongholds, see Marek Hladík, *Mikulčice and Its Hinterland: An Archaeological Model for Medieval Settlement Patterns on the Middle Course of the Morava River (7th to Mid-13th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill) pp. 308–09.

35 Vladimír Vavřínek, "Missions to Moravia: Between the Latin West and Byzantium," in *Europe's Centre around A.D. 1000*, edited by Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), pp. 196–99; Vladimír Vavřínek, "Christianity and the Byzantine mission in Great Moravia," in *Great Moravia and the Beginnings of Christianity*, edited by Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015), pp. 84–87.

36 Sergei A. Ivanov, *"Pearls Before Swine." Missionary Work in Byzantium* (Paris: ACHCByz, 2015). Marcello Garzaniti, "The Constantinopolitan project of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the light of the Slavonic vitae of Thessalonican brothers," in *International Scientific Conference "Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs", Thessaloniki 2015*, edited by Antonios-Emilios N. Tachiaos (Thessaloniki: Dimos, 2015), pp. 51–68. Nonetheless, the events unfolding with the arrival of the two brothers from Thessaloniki in 863 are still treated as "mission" by some authors e.g., Maciej Salamon, "How to win new followers for Christianity? The origins of Eastern and Western missions in the early medieval 'younger Europe'," in *Studies on the Christianisation of Europe*, edited by Józef Dobosz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2019), pp. 25–46. For the Christianization of the region before the mission of Constantine and Methodius, see Krzysztof Polek, "Chrystianizacja Moraw i Słowacji w okresie przedcyrylometodiańskim" [The Christianization of Moravia and Slovakia before Cyril and Methodius], in *Chrystianizacja "Młodszej Europy"*, edited by Józef Dobosz, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Marzena Matla (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2016), pp. 55–84.

37 Lumír Poláček, "Altmährische Kirchen als archäologische Quelle," in *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Mährens und der Slowakei. Archäologischer Kontext und herstellunstechnologische Analyse*, edited by Martina Pippal and Falko Daim (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2008), pp. 11–30; Lumír Poláček, "Great Moravian religious architecture," in *Great Moravia and the Beginnings of Christianity*, edited by Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015), pp. 92–97. The most recent discovery is from Pohansko, near Břeclav; see Jiří Macháček, Adéla Balcárková, Pavel Čáp, Petr Dresler, Antonín Přichystal, Renáta Přichystalová, Eliška Schuplerová, and Vladimír Sládek, "Velkomoravská rotunda z Pohanska u Břeclavi" (The Great Moravian rotunda at Pohansko near Břeclav), *Památky Archeologické* 105 (2014), 87–153. For churches in Slovakia, see now Andrej Botek, *Veľkomoravské kostoly na Slovensku a odraz ich tradície v neskoršom období* [Great Moravian churches from Slovakia and the reflection of their tradition in the later period] (Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2014).

38 Szőke, *The Carolingian Age*, pp. 61–91. The newest find is from Kaposszentjakab, near Kaposvár; see István Molnár, "Traces of a church and fortress built prior to the Hungarian conquest found in a Benedictine monastery. New discoveries in Kaposszentjakab," *Hungarian Archaeology* (2020), 13–26.

39 Luděk Galuška, "Die großmährische Siedlungsagglomeration von Staré Město-Uherské Hradiště (Mähren): Uherské Hradiště-Sady, Kirchenkomplex und Erzbischofsitz," in *Die frühmittelalterlichen*

Wandmalereien Mährens und der Slowakei. Archäologischer Kontext und herstellungstechnologiches Analyse, edited by Martina Pippal and Falko Daim (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2008), pp. 47–62, here pp. 55–60; Szőke, *The Carolingian Age*, pp. 82–85.

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42 Béla Miklós Szőke, *A Karoling-kor Pannoniában* (The Carolingian Period in Pannonia) (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungarian National Museum and Martin Opitz Press, 2019), p. 303. See also Béla Miklós Szőke, *Die Karolingerzeit in Pannonien* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2021).

43 Luděk Galuška, "O otrocích na Velké Moravě a okovech ze Starého Města" [The slaves in Great Moravia and the shackles from Staré Město], in *Dějiny ve věku nejistot. Sborník k příležitosti 70. narozenin Dušana Třeštíka*, edited by Jan Klápště, Eva Plešková and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2003), pp. 75–86; Henning and Ruttkay, "Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle," p. 284; Jiří Macháček, "O Velké Moravě, archeologii raného středověku i o nás samých" [On the subject of Great Moravia, early medieval archaeology, and archaeologists in general], *Archeologické rozhledy* 67 (2015), 464–94, here 478–82. For a critique of those ideas, see Janel Fontaine, "Early medieval slave-trading in the archaeological record: Comparative methodologies," *Early Medieval Europe* 25 (2017), no. 4, 466–88, here 487.

44 Research project "Glass networks: Tracing early medieval long-distance trade, c. 800–1000 CE", funded by the Leverhulme Trust, 2019–2020 (http://sites.exeter.ac.uk/glass-networks/, visit of January 31, 2021).

45 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 835 mentions a "clay mold of a dirham of Calip al Mu'tadid (892–902)" found in the amphitheatre of Carnuntum (Petronell, Austria). McCormick cites Eduard Beninger, *Prähistorische, germanische und mittelalterliche Funde von Carnuntum und Umgebung* (Vienna: Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft und Anthropologische Gesellschaft, 1930), p. 41, which is in turn based on a "report of H. Kurtz"; see also Herbert Mitscha-Märheim, "Gräberfunde am Kirchenberg in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, N.Ö.," *Archaeologia Austriaca* 18 (1955), 32–44, here 42 and 44 n. 19. Július Vavák, "Nové nálezy v slovanskej pevnosti vo Svätom Jure" [New finds from the Slavic stronghold at Svätý Jur], *Pamiatky múzeá* (2018), no. 2, 2–5, here 3–4 publishes a fragment of a dirham struck for Caliph al Mu'tazz in Samarkand in 867 and found within the stronghold at Svätý Jur (Slovakia), next to a jewelry workshop. Carnuntum and Svätý Jur are located at a distance of c. 30 km as the crow flies.

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50 Štefan,"Great Moravia," pp. 170–71.

51 Michał Kara, *Najstarsze państwo Piastów - rezultat przełomu czy kontynuacji? Studium archeologiczne* [The oldest state of the Piasts: The result of a turning point or of continuity? An archaeological study] (Poznań: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2009), pp. 282–316; Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Early medieval strongholds in Polish lands," in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries*, edited by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold (Oxford/Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. 95–106, here pp. 100–01; Michał Kara, "Transformations of elite culture in Wielkopolska related to the process of the Piast state formation (with a particular emphasis on strongholds). An archaeological perspective," in *Moravian and Silesian Strongholds of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in the Context of Central Europe*, edited by Pavel Kouřil and Rudolf Procházka (Brno: Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Brno, 2018), pp. 307–18. For the dates, see Marek Krąpiec, "Dendrochronological dating of early medieval fortified settlements in Poland," in *Frühmittelalterlicher Burgenbau in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Tagung, Nitra, vom 7. bis 10. Oktober 1996*, edited by Joachim Henning and Alexander T. Ruttkay (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1998), pp. 257–67; Kara, Krąpiec and Teske, "Wyniki badań".

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54 Urbańczyk, "Early medieval strongholds," pp. 102–03. See also Aneta Bukowska, "The first cathedral in Poznań ca. 1000," in *Polonia coepit habere episcopum. The Origin of the Poznań Bishopric in the Light of the Latest Research*, edited by Józef Dobosz and Tomasz Jurek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2019), pp. 111–26.

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67 An overview is given by Jurković, "Fortified settlements."

68 Rossina Kostova, "The western Black Sea coast in the 8th–10th centuries: How and how much was it defended?" in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th–10th Centuries*, edited by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold (Oxford/Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. 221–34.

69 Kostova, "The western Black Sea coast," pp. 231–33.

70 Kostova, "The western Black Sea coast," pp. 231–33. See also Rossina Kostova, "Settlement patterns on the Byzantine-Bulgarian periphery: The north part of the west Black Sea coast (8th to 11th c.)," in *Mezhdunaroden nauchen simpozium "Vizantiia i slavianite" po sluchai 20-godishninata ot săzdavaneto na Centăra za slaviano-vizantiiski prouchvaniia "Prof. Ivan Duichev" kăm Sofiiskiia universitet "Sv. Kliment Okhridski"*, edited by Aksiniia Dzhurova (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Okhridski, 2006), pp. 129–45 and 405–10. For earthworks, see Pavel Georgiev, "Pliska v VIII veke: probleme i dostizheniia" [Pliska in the 8th century: Problems and achievements], *Povolzhskaia arkheologiia* (2014), no. 3, 194–221. For dikes, see Rasho Rashev, "Les vallums de Dobrudža dans le developpement de la fortification ancienne bulgare," in *Dobrudža. Etudes ethnoculturelles. Recueil d'articles*, edited by Dimităr Angelov (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1987), pp. 48–56.

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9

THE RISE OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL ARISTOCRACY

Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu

Aristocracy is a well-known category of historical analysis and discourse and is usually understood as the top layer of the political elites, namely, the relatively closed group participating in decision-making either as the senatorial class in the Roman republic and empire or as *conviva regis* in the Merovingian kingdoms. In the later period, the aristocrats are the close members of the princely or royal councils. The criteria used to identify this group of people are usually those of a distinguished origin or pedigree (the credit earned for a member of the elite by previous generations of ancestors occupying high offices), landed wealth, office holding in the royal council proximity to the ruler (a criterion to which German scholars refer as *Königsnähe*), recognition of peers, and lifestyle.[1] This chapter will attempt to describe the evolution of this social and political category in the East Central and Eastern Europe in light of the available sources. To be sure, there is much variation, both regionally and chronologically, in the information regarding the social structures and the consolidation of a layer of individuals distinguished among others by their access to the exercise of power and, together with it, to possibilities of enrichment.

Most scholars assume that in medieval Eastern Europe, social structures emerged from tribal formations, the aggregation and dissolution of which followed an almost continuous process. Judging by such standards, there are three stages in the development of elites, irrespective of the terminology employed in the region for their definition. For example, *knez* is believed to refer a kinglet of the Sclavenes in the Lower Danube area during the 6th and 7th centuries although the same word applied later to princes in Poland and Rus'.[2] Moreover, the same word was used in 13th-century sources, such as the royal issued by King Béla IV of Hungary for the Hospitallers (1247), in reference to Romanian chieftains in Wallachia and southern Transylvania.[3] To complicate things even further, the vocabulary associated with elites did not keep up with social changes. While one needs to be aware of the cleavage between terminology and social reality, no cases are known in which the change happened so fast or so radically as to render the terminology absolutely meaningless.

The first stage in the development of elites is represented by what some historians call "tribal aristocracy." Those early elites typically relied on armed retinues, the existence of which may be traced well into the second half of the 10th century.[4] The second stage begins with the establishment of medieval (Christian) states, for the administrative of which a number of royal or ducal officials are introduced. Those are the people whom historians

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recognize as nobility. The landed aristocracy, which came to play a significant political role in medieval Central and Eastern Europe after 1300, may have therefore originated in 11th-century social developments. However, its legal definition as a corporate group or estate (*universitas*) took place only in the 13th and 14th centuries. During the 11th and 12th centuries, members of the ducal or royal court as well as the holders of various offices began to acquire and to build up their own landed properties. It is only during the third stage that the nobility was organized as a legally defined group, with rights and obligations confirmed by rulers through written charters of privilege. The formation of the nobility was the final stage in the emergence of the top category that controlled significant landed resources and had access to decision-making through positions within the administrative system of the medieval state.

Despite criticism of specific details, this model of elite development is still accepted by most historians and will be employed in this chapter. Different sources are used for different stages. For example, the earliest involves a combination of archeological and written sources. The latter offers some details on groups that appear suddenly through migrations and attacks—Avars, Slavs, Rus', Magyars, or Pechenegs.[5] Archeologists, on the other hand, rely primarily on data from cemetery sites to understand the social organization of groups located beyond the radar of the early medieval sources. For the second stage, written sources, both narrative and nonnarrative (such as laws), are the basis for historical reconstruction. The charter evidence is rather sparse for the period before the 13th century, but it becomes more significant after that for locating specific members of the elite with kinship networks and along genealogical lines.

The archeological study of early medieval elites is based on the excavation of fortified settlements, but especially of cemeteries. For example, the study of Avar-age cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin (especially Hungary, Slovakia, and the central and western parts of Romania known as Transylvania) has revealed differences in the quantity and quality of grave goods throughout the entire period between ca. 570 and ca. 820. This suggests a ranked society, with military chieftains and retinues separated socially from commoners. Chieftain graves have produced not only weapons, dress accessories, and pottery but also the remains of horses, either entire skeletons or only parts (with elements of the horse tack).[6] Belt fittings were more decorated, sometimes gilded or silvered, in the case of chieftain burials, unlike similar artifacts found in graves of simple warriors. Moreover, gold objects are typically found in chieftain graves although they are very rare in the later period (ca. 700 to ca. 800), when the distinction is rather made between dress accessories made of plain bronze and those that are gilded. Women, probably wives of chieftains, are typically buried within the same cemeteries and with an equally conspicuous display of wealth. However, it is difficult to match specific assemblages with titles and ranks of the aristocracy otherwise known from the written sources.[7] That gold and silver had a very uneven distribution among the very large number of burial assemblages known for the Avar age strongly suggests a system of control and reward, perhaps based on local military leaders under the power of the khagan.[8] A similar organization of society is advanced on the basis of the analysis of 9th-century cemeteries in Moravia and 10th-century cemeteries in Hungary.[9]

For vast areas in Eastern Europe inhabited by Slavs, Finno-Ugrians, Balts, as well as, farther to east by Khazars and Volga Bulgars, the development of the elites in the 8th, but especially during the 9th and 10th centuries, took place in a very complex economic and political context defined by the long-distance trade networks through which silver minted by Arab rulers in the south was exchange for furs, slaves, and weapons from the north. The archeological study of strongholds, cemeteries, weapons, and certain categories of dress accessories,

combined with data provided by the Byzantine, Arab, Frankish, and Rus' narrative sources indicates the crucial role of Scandinavians (Rus'), as main agents of the commercial activity.[10] The history of trade activities was reconstructed on the basis of hoards of silver and the archeology of towns in northwestern Russia, the Upper Volga, and the Dnieper regions, as well as on the southern and eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Two settlements excavated in Staraia Ladoga and at Rurik's Stronghold near Novgorod produced a considerable amount of archeological and numismatic material, the interpretation of which shed light on the rise of elites in the world of trading settlements situated within a vast area of Eastern Europe, sparsely populated. In some of those settlements, there is clear evidence of ironworking as well as of nonferrous metallurgy, and archeologists surmise the presence of craftsmen of different ethnic backgrounds. The elites in those settlements were armed men responsible for the defense or for the construction of fortifications. Judging from the written sources, some sort of political formation was in place by 838, with a leader called khaghan at its head, who sent an embassy to Constantinople.[11] The most likely location of that khaghan is at Rurik's stronghold, where he was residing, according to an Arab source, together with 400-strong retinue.[12] While the range of authority of that chieftain over all the lands of (future) Rus' remains a matter of dispute, there can be no doubt about the rapid development of centers of commercial and production activity along the main rivers of Eastern Europe. By contrast, the lack of variation in the archeological record of settlements attributed to the Slavs and excavated in the region of present-day Moldavia, Moldova and Ukraine, strongly suggests the absence of prominent elites. The only weapons found on such sites are spear and arrow heads.[13] In fact, at some point during the 8th century, this population of agriculturalists began to spread into the lands to the east from the river Dnieper and became tribute-paying subject of the Khazars.[14] By the 9th century, the Magyars came to control this area, but they were replaced at the end of that century by the Pechenegs.

The members of the prince's retinue played various roles, ranging from that of personal bodyguards to army for his campaigns or raids. The development of a permanent administrative structure with mechanisms in place for the control of communities living in the area under the prince was slow. Sources mention expeditions aimed at intimidating or forcing various communities into submission and accepting to pay a tribute. Exacting tribute provided princes with the means to sustain and reward their military forces.[15] In Rus', a sharp differentiation came into being during the 10th century between elites associated with (or depending upon) the ruler and those that were not depending upon him, in other words, between the princes and boyars. Beginning with Vladimir (980–1015), legitimate power was controlled by princes. This process seems to have involved an increase of the number of strongholds, which is interpreted as indicating the restructuring of the elites in the early 11th century.[16] After 1100, each town had an agent of the prince called *posadnik,* whose administrative duties included the collection of the *dan'* (a generic term for judicial fines and other princely taxes levied on the local population).[17] Others have drawn the development of social elites in Rus' from a different source, namely, voivodes (*kniazi*) and local assemblies. According to such theories, during the 7th and 8th centuries, the *kniazi* were heirs of tribal or clan chieftains, who formed the core of a hereditary category of landowners. A parallel development, consisting in the emergence of strongholds that grew into towns, created the conditions for the transformation of the tribal life. As a consequence, the *kniazi* extended their authority over broader regions centered upon strongholds operating as trade centers.[18] Clashes between the Rurikids and various uprisings resulted in the practice of appointing agents of the prince in the newly established administrative centers. Those agents were chosen from the Scandinavian elites or from among the boyars. This, in turn, brought about the

subordination of the local *kniazi* to the authority of the Kievan prince, as well as the amalgamation of Scandinavian trader-warriors and local voivodes. The latter were military leaders of aristocratic origin in existence before the Viking Age. Their role was to protect the local population and to coordinate the defense of local strongholds and trade routes. The voivodes could just as well be the source of disruption in the circumstances of the power struggle between the Rurikids. However, Vladimir and his successors appointed them as defenders of strongholds erected against the attacks of the Pechenegs in the 11th century.[19]

A description of the Magyar elites in the 10th century offers some details on the complex organization of the chieftains and on the different titles in use. The description may be found in *On the Administration of the Empire*, a treatise attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, but probably only commissioned by him. Chapter 38 is dedicated to "the genealogy of the Turks" (the name used in the treatise for the Magyars). In that chapter, the *voivode* is said to be the head of the seven clans (or tribes) of the Magyars. Lebedias is said to have been the first voivode, whom the khagan of the Khazars intended to appoint prince (*archon*) over the seven tribes. Lebedias, however, declined the offer and instead recommended as the prince another voivode, Almos, or his son, Árpád.[20] According to Emperor Constantine (or his ghostwriter), before those events, "had never had over them a prince," but instead, relied on joint agreements "to fight together… upon the rivers, wheresoever war breaks out."[21] As such agreements were primarily in time of war, they relied in fact on voivodes, of which, judging by the answer Lebedias gave to the khagan, there seems to have been more than one at the same time. During Emperor Constantine's lifetime, however, the prince of the Magyars had to be a descendant from Árpád. Two dignitaries called *gyla* and *karcha*, respectively, had "the rank of judges." Constantine insists that those two were dignities and not (proper) names and that *gyla* was superior to *karcha*.[22] Each clan (or tribe) had a chief (*archon*), but Muslim sources suggest that in the 9th century, there were two chiefs for each clan, the *kende* and the *gyula*. The *kende* was superior, although they possessed nominal power, the executive authority resting with the *gyula*.[23]

Those tribal chieftains disappeared in the process of Christianization and were replaced by a new elite, consisting of the king's men, his closest collaborators, and advisers.[24] The origins of the aristocracy in Hungary were regarded already in the 13th century as diverse. Some aristocrats traced their lineage to some tribal chieftain of the 10th century who managed to survive the dramatic transformations introduced during Stephen's reign. This group was continuously supplemented with knights from Germany, France, Italy, or even Spain.[25] In the first half of the 11th century, the unknown author of the *Admonitions* called the members of the royal government *principes, comites,* and *milites*.[26] The advice that that author gave to Prince Emeric as of coming from his father, King Stephen I, was to regard the loyalty of those people as the fourth adornment of the government. Emeric was further advised to treat them with peace, humility, and decorum and to avoid all hatred, pride, or envy in his dealings with them. He was warned that if showing wrath, pride, and envy to his *comites* and *principes,* they would rebel against the king, and the power of the knights would lead to the worsening of the royal dignities.

The emergence of nobility in the kingdom of Hungary

As there are almost no detailed descriptions of the social structure in 11th-century Hungary, one has to rely on the information culled from the laws of King Stephen I and of his successors. Article 7 of the first book of the Laws of King Stephen, which deals with the "preservation of the royal goods" mentions both the warriors (*milites*) and the servants (*servi*)

of the king.[27] Social differences were expressed in the law by different fines to be paid as compensation for various offences, according to the standing of the wrongdoer. For example, the compensation for murdering the wife of a count (*comes*) was 50 steers, but only 10 for the wife of the knight of some rich man (*miles alicuius vir ubertatis*) and just 5 for a commoner's wife.[28] If one takes this gradation at face value, then there were at least three social categories in early 11th-century Hungary—counts, warriors, and commoners. Moreover, pedigree seems to have mattered, as indicated by chapter 16 of the Laws of King Stephen, which refers to *maiores natu* (those of higher birth) and *minores* (those of lesser origin). For perjury, a member of the powerful category (*valentes*) would have his hand cut, or he could redeem himself by paying 50 steers. According to Article 21, those of higher birth and dignity (*maiores natu et dignitate*) had slaves. If a rich person (*dives*) presented someone else's slave for manumission, he had to pay a fine of 50 steers, while a poor man or someone of lower rank (*pauper et tenuis*) in the same position paid only 12 steers. Article 23 forbade lords (*seniores*) to entice warriors (*milites*) of other lords to join their own retinues, which seems to have caused many conflicts. The same gradation appears in the last provision of the law, which concerns the violation of homes: a count (*comes*) sending his warriors to kill someone and destroy his property had to pay 100 steers; a warrior invading the courtyard of another warrior owed 10 steers; and a commoner invading the hut of another commoner was to pay 5 steers. The vocabulary employed for various categories singled out the counts, a category whose fines were usually 20 times higher than those of commoners and ten times higher than those of warriors (*milites*). Other terms and phrases, such as *valentes*, *maiores natu et dignitate*, and *dives*, indicate that pedigree, high office, and wealth were all taken into consideration by the law, as they must have been criteria of social distinction. In other words, the Laws of King Stephen clearly indicate the existence of a higher echelon of the social elite, which, at least in the eyes of the law, could be easily distinguished from the rest of the society. As the last example shows, this social group was just as prone to violent action as the other social categories considered by the law.

The wealth of the elite is also mentioned in charters, particularly those confirming pious donations made to monasteries in the second half of the 11th century. Those donations typically included villages, mills, courtyards (*curiae*), vineyards, fishing ponds and fishing installations, as well as service people (*ministri*), plowmen (*aratores*), herdsmen (*armentarii*), vinedressers (*vinitores*), millers (*molarii*), fishers (*piscatores*), beekeepers (*apiarii*), and slaves.[29] Some charters suggest that some counts possessed tens of villages and settlements with hundreds of peasant households. However, the property of the lay elite is otherwise not described in any source before 1200. Judging by the scarce evidence, the members of that elite resided on their own *pr(a)edia*, together with their subjects, who were part of their *familiae*.[30] The only other source of information about elites in early Árpádian Hungary, as well as in 11th- to 13th-century Bohemia, consists of archeological excavations of churches and strongholds. While many of elite residences called *curia* or *curtis* in the sources were built from timber and clay, they were relatively large and typically surrounded with wooden palisades.[31] The construction of stone churches by lay landowners is attested in the narrative sources as well as in charters beginning with the 12th century onward, just as stone fortifications imitating ducal strongholds started to be built by lay landowners.[32]

Several kinds of dignitaries appear in sources after 1100, ranging from the count palatine to the royal judge, marshal, master butler, master steward, treasurer (*magister tavernicorum*), voivode of Transylvania, ban of Croatia, and ban of Slavonia. An intermediary rank in the royal administration was that of the count (*ispán*, a term derived from the Slavic word *zhupan*, itself probably of Avar origin).[33] By 1100, those who had access to such offices as well

as the members of their families constituted the nobility.[34] Historians believe that between 1100 and 1200, the term *nobilis* was used only for high royal dignitaries. During the 13th century, however, the notion of nobility was expanded to include lower categories that had not been until then regarded as noble. Instead, such people were called in the sources by different names—*proceres, potentes, prepotententes,* and *jobagiones*. Slowly, however, *nobilis* began to apply to the military elite on ecclesiastical properties, as indicated, among other examples, by the 1190 charter of Béla III for the bishopric of Pécs, which lists the *nobilis iobagio* among people under church control.[35] The rise of the nobility as a political factor is regarded as the most important aspect of the social history of early 13th-century Hungary. Nobles were those who owned allods or fully inheritable property. The land grants made by kings to their favorites were rewards for services that had already been performed. As such, the grants were not conditional. Because of the great emphasis placed after 1200 on allodial property, any landowner, no matter how poor, had to be regarded as noble as long as he lived on his own land. A large, layered category of nobility included in its lowest strata those who had the obligation to fight for the king, such as the castle warriors (*iobagiones castri, liberi udvornicorum*) as well as warriors of the church (*populi exercituantes*). The former distinction between free and unfree disappeared to be replaced by the distinction between those who fought and those who did not perform military tasks.[36] Moreover, during the 13th century, ennoblement by royal charter became the standard mode of granting to an individual, his relatives, and his heirs not only the lands which they already possessed but also exemption from the bonds of their previous conditions.[37]

The upper layer of the nobility descending from former royal dignitaries and counts was referred to as *de genere* (i.e., descending from a particular aristocratic kindred).[38] In addition to the pedigree (which in some cases included Árpád's chieftains), they also had wealth. The middle layer of the nobility descended from the so-called royal servants (*servientes regis*), while nobles of the lowest rank had previously been either castle warriors or commoners ennobled at some point during the second half of the 13th century.[39] Even though there are many more sources for the 13th century than for any of the earlier centuries, historians still rely on estimates of the multiple social and political factors at work in the process of formation of the nobility. One of those factors that received a good deal of scholarly attention are the reforms of King Andrew II (1205–1235) known as *novae institutiones*.[40] The king made large-scale donations of lands to his favorites. The donations included not only forested or uninhabited territory but also villages of *udvornici* and *castrenses*. The king expected that those who received such wealth would provide military aid. Some have, therefore, concluded that this was an attempt to introduce feudal institutions to Hungary. Whatever the intentions, it was a short-lived experience because the lands transferred from the castle territories to private, heritable property were not conditioned by any obligations of providing military service. In other words, those were rewards for services already performed. One of the (unexpected) consequences of Andrew II's large-scale donations was the disruption of the old castral system, which completely disappeared by the end of the century. The *iobagiones castri* and *castrenses* were thus confronted with the prospect of falling under private control. The social tensions generated by the *novae institutiones* were complicated by other factors, such as the devaluation of the coinage and the increase of taxation in order to cover for the royal debt. All of that contributed to a revolt of the *servientes regis* that forced the king to concede to the demands of the nobility in the Golden Bull of 1222.

Most articles of that charter were meant to redress grievances caused by the excesses of the king and of his dignitaries, but in the long run, it was much more important that the

privileges of the nobility (*servientes regis*) for the first time received public, royal recognition. Those rights included the exemption of the noble property from royal taxation, the obligation of providing *descensus* (billeting), while the obligation to provide military service was limited to the defense of the country. For external expedition, the king had to pay his "servants." Nobles could be judged exclusively by the king or the count palatine, and not by (local) counts; they could not be incarcerated, unless first condemned through a judicial sentence. One last article asserted the right of the prelates and the *iobagiones* (at that time, this term was employed for high dignitaries, who shortly afterward were called *barones*) and the nobility to oppose the king without incurring the guilt of treason (*ius resistendi*). In the short run, the Golden Bull had no significant effects. In 1231, King Andrew II issued a new version of the Bull, which repeated most articles, but added others to satisfy the demands of the church. However, with further complications intervening between him and the church, a new agreement was accepted at Bereg in 1234. That agreement stipulated the exclusion of Jews and Saracens from the administration of finances and introduced regulations regarding the salt monopoly. Despite an unsuccessful attempt to convince Charles Robert of Anjou to endorse the Golden Bull in 1317, his son, King Louis I, confirmed it in 1351, while adding new articles.

Those privileges created an attractive model for castle warriors and the noblemen living on ecclesiastical lands, whose military services were not limited. (A bishop would not launch a military expedition abroad on his own, but he could send his military forces in the army of the king.) Those people were under the jurisdiction of their landowners. The notion of nobility, therefore, evolved in Hungary in a particular mode. From a term designating a narrow category of aristocrats and royal dignitaries around ca. 1200, *nobiles* came to be applied in the course of the 13th century to the *servientes regis*. By 1300, the term was used for the members of a unified category, *universitas nobilium* (the community of nobles) or the *veri nobiles regni*. Several explanations have been advanced concerning the emergence of the legally defined category of nobility. Some claim that nobles, royal servants, and semifree military groups all had military duties. Others believe that because of the decentralized notion of nobility, the term applied in each region to the top layer of the local lay society.[41] "Decentralization," in this context refers to the fact that the recognition of the superior standing of particular individuals depended not only on a universally ("centrally") accepted definition, usually entrenched in the documents issued by the royal chancellery, but also on local perceptions and values. Historians are, therefore, faced with the difficult task of mitigating variable definitions by studying the usage of specific terms in the primary sources. This exercise in semantic analysis has resulted in complicated descriptions of who was a true nobleman and who was not, despite possessing land and providing military service. Economic differences existed within the new category, which after 1300 came to be regarded as a unified group, all members of which enjoyed the same rights.

Beginning with the first half of 13th century, members of the former nobility (i.e., the members of the royal council) started to be called either *barones* or *magnates*, in an attempt to distinguish them from the other nobles. The barons were the richest landowners in the country and held the highest offices in the royal administration. The lesser nobility, with properties ranging from several plots to several villages, played a key role in the administration of justice at the county level. Their chances of prosperity and enhancing their status were greatly improved if the king could be impressed with their military valor, in such a manner as he would reward them with landed properties. The other option for petty noblemen was to enter aristocratic *familiae* and serve in administrative offices on behalf of their masters.

The emergence of nobility in Bohemia

The development of the elites in Bohemia is interpreted in different ways. In the 1960s, Marxist historians advanced a stadial model.[42] According to such views, both the archeological and the linguistic evidence proved the existence of an "old" elite in the 10th century. Each member of that elite called *velmož* or *bojar* resided in one of the strongholds recently (at that time) discovered in central Bohemia. The old Slavic term for prince, *vladyka*, survived, but came in the 14th century to designate a member of the lesser nobility. The 10th-century, "old" elite was eliminated presumably by the Přemyslids, which explains the absence of any genealogical myths or names of 11th- and 12th-century elites harkening back to earlier times. The stadial model was rejected soon after being advanced, and historians now agree that at least some elites survived from earlier to later times.[43]

A second group of historians placed a great deal of emphasis on the ability of the ruler (duke) in Bohemia to exercise total control over the land through his retinue and a system of service settlements. Building upon some of the ideas of the stadial model, those historians believed that in the 10th century, the Přemyslids eliminated some of the former tribal elites with their retinues, while others were absorbed into the new organization. Between the 10th and the 12th century, the servants and the members of the duke's retinue turned into an elite, the social preeminence of which was entirely dependent upon a direct relationship to the duke. Those people received offices at the ducal court or were appointed leaders of one of the ducal strongholds, with rights to collect dues and to receive services from the ducal land.[44] For that reason, this was regarded as an "office-holder" or "benefice-based" nobility in sharp contrast to the 13th-century nobility, the power of which rested on landed properties.[45] Members of the ducal administration were not rewarded with land, but with parts of the tribute, ducal revenues from minting, garments, jewelry, or temporary concessions of tolls and market fees. While mobile property consisting of livestock is attested relatively early, landed properties of the elite appear in the sources only in the 12th century. Those properties were small properties, each consisting of a few villages or parts of villages, and were dispersed. Nobles have acquired them either through the grants from the ruler or directly, through purchase and inheritance. All sorts of arrangements consisting in the transfer of slaves, rights to collect revenues from tolls or market fees seem to have characterized earlier procedures, but in time, what were initially lifetime grants were turned into hereditary possessions. Ducal officials enriched themselves through various modes. A certain pattern has been noted for the formation of private domains belonging to ducal officials in the proximity of the ducal castles. Moreover, the castellans were soon capable of building their own castles on their properties. The construction of the private domains was not only the result of usurping of ducal lands through the connivance of ducal officials, but of colonization of uninhabited territories through clearing and bringing the new land under cultivation, and the establishment of new villages.[46] While those who used to be ducal officials now formed the category of highly born (*nati*), and in the 12th and 13th centuries, the social hierarchy had *domini* at the top, followed by *barones* and *pani*, then by the lesser nobility (*clientes, milites, vladykove*). The latter were particularly active at that time in developing their own landed estates.

The differences between the higher and the lesser nobility were expressed in the types of residences they each built. Magnates built stone castles, while lesser nobles had to make do with manor houses in their villages. While magnates could own between 60 and over 100 villages, lesser nobles had only a few villages. At the lowest level of the social hierarchy were free landowners descending from the ducal peasants and *ministeriales*. They served either the king or magnates and could be rewarded with land.[47]

Nobility in Poland

Two main directions have dominated the research on early medieval elites in Poland during the 20th century. One of them pursued investigations in the genealogy of elite families, based, for example, on coats of arms, following the model of research established by Władysław Semkovicz (1878–1949). This line of research was criticized by Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968), who argued against the idea that noble clans had any stability.[48] Some assumptions regarding the origins of 14th- and 15th-century noble families as going back to members of the retinues of the first Piasts have no basis in the existing evidence. In the 1980s, the prevalent theory regarding the origins of the Polish elites was that they descended from freemen who could not only sustain themselves through their own labor and cultivate their own lands but also engage in raids and benefit from such endeavors, in contrast to poorer peasants who could only engage in defensive actions. Such views did not deny the existence of the ducal retinue, members of which were identified in the sources as *magnates*, and who also possessed their own estates. This latter group benefited from the organization of the state by participating in the central or provincial administration and receiving as a reward for such services parts of the dues and services that the population owed to the duke.[49] The fragmentation of the state in the 12th century led to the formation of administrative elites in each of the Piast duchies.[50]

In Poland, the aristocracy included members of the Piast dynasty and their relatives, who were appointed to various court or provincial offices. The system of recruitment is not known, but it is supposed to have had a hereditary basis. Elites are believed to have emerged out of the organization of the ducal power in several provinces, with castle districts run by counts and castellans, who had military, judicial, and fiscal attributes.[51] For their services, those involved in the ducal administration were rewarded with shares from the dues and services of the population. The revenues extracted from the population on behalf of the ruler by far exceeded those generated by their own landed properties. The dignitaries of the ducal court were allocated important sources of revenue consisting from villages attached to the office, rights to collect market fees, toll taxes, fines, and judicial fees.[52] In Poland, unlike other countries of East Central Europe, members of the nobility had exclusive access to offices.[53] The landed properties of the aristocracy were partly obtained through ducal donations, but seemingly not before the end of the 12th century. Some believe that rural communities (*opole*) restricted the possibilities of aristocratic properties to grow.[54] The category to which Polish historians refer as *możnowładztwo* grouped families of the relatives of the Piasts and those appointed to the highest offices. They dominated the close circle of the prince and had influence in state affairs, as they regarded themselves as co-owners of the state and thus entitled to its benefits.[55] The offices occupied by those people included the dignities of palatine (*palatinus*), judge (*iudex*), cupbearer (*dapifer*), butler (*pincerna*), chamberlain (*camerarius*), master of hunt (*venator*), and treasurer (*thesauriarius*). All these offices had attached revenues, and the office holders were protected by higher compensations in case of being hurt or killed.

The military, the "middle" category of the Polish nobility, was highly stratified, with knights (*milites*, *rycerz*) at the top since the early 13th century. Knights were landowners whose estates produced enough to cover the costs of armor, weapons, horses, and servants, but there were also esquires (*włodyka*) who worked their lands themselves.[56]

Polish historians have long insisted on the importance of kinship in elite development. An earlier generation focused on the structure of clans with coats of arms, while more recent investigations turned to the pattern of landholding.[57] The combined results of those studies shed light on key aspects of the development of elites in medieval Poland. For example, it

became clear that the estates of families tracing their origins back to the early stages of the Piast state were scattered all across Poland, while those of families that rose to prominence later, after the political fragmentation of the Piast state, clustered in one region alone.[58] The economic differentiation between branches of the same family resulted from the practice of partible inheritance among descendants of a nobleman. A third approach has recently proposed to scour the 12th to mid-14th century for features of privileged groups pertaining to a set of "patterns of social privilege." "Social privilege," in this context, refers to activities enhancing the ability of certain individuals or groups to access power and to have influence at a local, regional, or interregional level.[59] In other words, in the 12th century, "noble" was someone who made donations to the saints, participated in war and peacemaking, and made services for the Piasts. The former was identified as *comes*, *dominus*, and *miles*.[60] To participate in war implies several categories of violence directed at the population (in order to exact dues) or at other dukes and their retinues (in the context of strife between different Piasts). Some groups in the Polish society seem to have had open access to the use of violence, while others did not. The problem is that violence could be unleashed at all social levels, which makes problematic the idea of using (the right to perpetrate) violence as a criterion for defining social privilege. For violence, ecclesiastical sources blame armed travelers, *potentes*, and *satellites*, who demanded hospitality from the poor as their right. Moreover, all members of the ducal court, from dignitaries to servants, could engage in oppression of others. Some oppressed the church, usurping church properties or tithes, which has obviously nothing to do with the ducal organization.[61] By contrast, activities promoting peace and order may serve for the definition of social privilege. The groups participating in such activities in the 13th century included *primi principum* (the heads of the princes), *pene cuncti proceres* (almost all those born in kindreds), *potiores* (the better ones), *primates* (lords), barons, and knights.[62] The same groups served as witnesses in litigations. A dispute that erupted in 1249 between the duke of Silesia and the bishop of Wrocław offers a glimpse into the group of witnesses: all were old and had moral stature, had at some point in their lives exercised high office, were associated with the disputed by virtue of their service, and were identified with the title of *comes*.

An interesting subject pertaining to this chapter is the formation of aristocracy in so-called Red Ruthenia.[63] After 1340, Halych-Volhynia was incorporated into the Polish state and was subsequently colonized and integrated into the Polish social system. Most authors admit that the region had a well-developed class of boyars; its origins are not as clear. Nor can authors agree about the basis for this social group's power. Some insist that, much like in Poland, because they were office holders, the boyars received revenue in the form of a portion of the goods and obligations due to the duke (*korm*). That revenue was far greater than what their own domains could produce. By the mid-13th century, the situation changed. During the first half of the following century, the boyars of Halych-Volhynia appear as a numerous, prosperous, and quite powerful group of people. Their power was based on the income collected from their own properties (*votchina*) and from ducal dues. The consolidation of the boyars as a distinct group characterized by their wealth (landed properties) and power (access to offices) was also accompanied by the development of the great domains acquired through ducal donation, renting, or occupation of the lands of the rural communities. There are clear indications in the sources that the boyar group was stratified, as some are called "great" or "older," others "smaller" and "newer."[64]

Judging from the existing evidence, the development of elites in Poland and western Rus' up to the year 1300 was a slow process with multiple stages. Some stages are explored and discussed almost exclusively on the basis of the archeological record attributed to princely families and to military elites who owned exceptional objects, weapons, and garments. A

less wealthy, but still better-off group was that of the members of the retinues of the prince, military men possessing weapons and less refined jewelry, but still differentiated from the category of commoners. The exclusive reliance on archeological finds for exploring social issues diminishes after the 11th century, as written sources become available in greater numbers.[65] The combination of archeological investigations and analysis of charter evidence has allowed the identification of members of the governing councils of kings or dukes, who were both office holders and founders of churches or strongholds in the 11th and 12th centuries. Counts or other royal or ducal dignitaries were recruited from the wealthiest families and were also rewarded from the system of ducal or royal taxation and with services from the population. The importance of the office-holding as a premise for the acquisition and enlargement of private domains is a feature that has been identified in Piast Poland, Árpádian Hungary, and Přemyslid Bohemia. In all three cases, one of the significant sources of income for the aristocracy was the shares from the ducal or royal revenue to which members of the court or provincial officers were entitled. Besides in-kind or monetary rewards, those people were given landed properties, which became a frequent form of reward after 1100. Up to that point, the circle of nobility was narrow, including only the members of the royal court and provincial officials or descendants of former dignitaries. After 1200, other categories appeared on the scene and aspired to acquire privileges and exemptions that the nobility enjoyed. The granting of a charter of privileges such as the Golden Bull of 1222 to royal servants and other nobles in Hungary marked the beginning of a new phase, in which social groups previously excluded now aspired to form a new privileged estate. Their direct connection with the king, the military service, and the possession of allodial property gave them the right, at least in their own eyes to push their claims. The example of Hungary is perhaps the most complex in the whole of Eastern Europe, for it involved an expansion of the notion of nobility, while in most other cases, though the ranks of the nobility were enlarged, "upstarts" were absorbed into already existing structures, with relatively fixed notions of nobility. As *servientes regis* in Hungary were called *nobiles* intermittently in the 1230s and 1240s, within a few decades, the term was generalized. Perhaps in reaction to such a terminological "democratization," the former *nobiles,* who were royal dignitaries, began to call themselves *barones* and *magnates*. Legal equality between all those echelons of the nobility was established only in 1351. However, despite of the leveling of the legal status, enormous economic differences separated various members of the Hungarian nobility. Lesser nobles owned a few villages, some only parts of villages, while their power and political influence was limited to the local level of their counties. At the other end of the economic divide were the wealthiest aristocrats, who controlled not only dozens of villages with hundreds of tenant plots but also managed to acquire royal fortresses and strongholds in extended areas where they began to build their own power bases. Their economic and military capacities grew considerably, and during the last decades of the 13th century, many were capable of challenging the royal power on the basis of immense resources that they had acquired and controlled. A similar development may be observed in Bohemia, where a group of strong aristocratic landowners emerged in the late 13th century, the members of which group no longer needed royal dignities for their status.

Notes

1 Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 154.

2 Patrick Wormald, "Kings and kingship," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. I c. 500-c.700*, edited by Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 571–604, here 584;

Andrzej Poppe, "Words that serve the authority: On the title of 'grand prince' in Kievan Rus'," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 60 (1989), 159–84, here 180; Ambroży Bogucki, "The administrative structure of Poland in the eleventh and twelfth century," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 72 (1995), 5–32, here 29. To be sure, the word is not attested in 6th- to 7th-century sources, and attempts to equate it to any of the terms employed by authors writing at that time are little more than exercises in futility. For the vocabulary of social and political prominence among the Sclavenes of the Lower Danube region, see Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 311–34.

3 Radu Popa, *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc. Ţara Haţegului* [At the beginning of the Romanian Middle Ages. The Haţeg Land] (Bucharest: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1988), pp. 163–65.

4 For armed retinues in the early Middle Ages of East Central and Eastern Europe, see Václav Vaněček, "Les 'družiny' (gardes) princières dans les débuts de l'Etat tchèque, " *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 2 (1949), 427–47; František Graus, "Raněstředověké družiny a jejich význam při vzniku státu ve střední Evropě" [The early medieval retinues and their significance for the state formation in Central Europe], *Československý časopis historický* 13 (1965), 1–18; Anton A. Gorskii, *Drevnerusskaia druzhina* [The Rus' retinue of warriors] (Moscow: Prometei, 1989); Michał Kara, "Siły zbrojne Mieszka I. Z badań nad składem etnicznym, organizacją i dyslokacją drużyny pierwszych Piastów" [Mieszko I's armed forces. The study of the ethnic composition, the organization, and the dislocation of retinues under the first Piasts], *Kronika Wielkopolski* 62 (1992), 33–47; Vratislav Vaníček, "Sociální mentalita české šlechty: urozenost, rytířství, reprezentace (Obecné souvislosti, pojetí družiny, 'modernizační' trend)" [The social mentality of the Czech aristocracy: nobility, chivalry, representation (General context, the concept of retinue, and the "modernization" trend)], in *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středověku*, edited by Martin Nodl and Martin Wihoda (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), pp. 141–88. For the notion of "tribal aristocracy," see Tibor Živković, "O plemenskom ustrojstvu i vojnoj snazi podunavskih Slovena u VI i VII veku," [The tribal organization and the military power of the Danubian Slavs, 6th-7th cc.], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 35 (1996), 95–117; Ferenc Makk, "A vezéri törzsek szálláshelyei," in *Változatok a történelemre. Tanulmányok Székely György tiszteletére*, edited by György Erdei and Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum - ELTE BTK Középkori és kora Újkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék, 2004), pp. 119–27; Pavel V. Lukin, "'Startsy' ili 'starshie'? O terminologii slavianskoi 'plemennoi znati'" ["Elders" or "seniors"? On the terminology of the Slavic "tribal nobility"] *Slavianovedenie* (2010), no. 2, 12–13; Mykola F. Kotliar, "Plemennaia znat' v processe skladyvaniia gospodstvuiushchego sloia Galitsko-Volynskoi Rusi" [The tribal elite in the process of social stratification in Halych-Volhynia], in *Sosloviia, instituty i gosudarstvennaia vlast' v Rossii. Srednie veka i rannee Novoe vremia. Sbornik statei pamiati akademika L. V. Cherepnina*, edited by Valentin L. Ianin and Vladislav D. Nazarov (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2018), pp. 295–304. All those historians are otherwise oblivious to the criticism of the notion of "tribe," for which see especially Morton H. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, CA: Cummings, 1975). See also Michał Tymowski, "State and tribe in the history of medieval Europe and Black Africa - a comparative approach," *Social Evolution and History* 7 (2008), no. 1, 171–97.

5 Robert Benedicty, "Die auf die frühslawsiche Gesellschaftsbezügliche byzantinische Terminologie," in *Actes du XII-e Congrès international d'études byzantines (Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961)*, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Comité yougoslave des études byzantines, 1964), pp. 45–55; Lubomír E. Havlík, "Die Byzantiner über die Verfassung der Slawen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium. Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference*, edited by Vladimír Vavřínek (Prague: Academia, 1985), pp. 173–77; Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Die Hauptzüge der Sozialordnung des Awarenkhaganats im Zeitalter der Regesten byzantinisch-awarischen Verbindungen," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982), no. 2, 145–54; Tat'iana M. Kalinina, "Termin 'liudi doma' ('akhl al-Bait') u ibn Fadlana po otnosheniiu k obshchestvy Rusov" [The term "men of the house" in Ibn-Fadlan in reference to Rus' society], *Drevneishie gosudarstva vostochnoi Evropy* (1992), 134–39; Gyula Kristó, *Honfoglalás és társadalom* [Conquest and society] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996); A. V. Marey, "Social-political structure of the Pechenegs," in *Alternatives of Social Evolution*, edited by N. N. Kradin (Vladivostok: Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2000), pp. 289–93.

6 Csilla Balogh, "Avar kori ló, lovas és lószerszámos temetkezések a Duna–Tisza közén" [Burials with horse or horse-harness of the Avarian Age in the territory between rivers Danube and Tisza],

in *"In terra quondam Avarorum…" Ünnepi tanulmányok H. Tóth Elvira 80. születésnapjára*, edited by Ágnes Somogyvári and György Székely (Kecskemét: Türr István Múzeum, 2009), pp. 9–42; Ilona Bede, "Le cheval dans les rites funéraires de la période avare: une forme d'individuation? (fin du VI^{e}-milieu du IX^{e} siècle ap. J.-C.; Bassin des Carpates)," in *Rencontre autour de l'animal en contexte funéraire. Actes de la Rencontre de Saint-Germain-en-Laye des 30 et 31 mars 2012*, edited by Ilona Bede and Magali Detante (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Groupe d'anthropologie et d'archéologie funéraire, 2014), pp. 211–25. For graves of Avar-age chieftains, see Éva Garam, "Sepolture di principi," in *Gli Avari. Un popolo d'Europa*, edited by Gián Carlo Menis (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1995), pp. 125–31; Csanád Bálint, "Der Reichtum der Awaren. 'Fürstengräber', Prunkgräber, Schatzfunde," in *Herrschaft, Tod, Bestattung. Zu den vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Prunkgräbern als archäologisch-historische Quelle. Internationale Fachkonferenz Kiel, 16.-19. Oktober 2003*, edited by Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Dirk Krausse and Anke Wesse (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2006), pp. 147–59; Péter Prohászka, "Die awarischen Oberschichtgräber von Ozora-Tótipuszta (Kom. Tolna, H)," in *Byzanz - das Römerreich im Mittelalter. Teil 3. Peripherie und Nachbarschaft*, edited by Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2010), pp. 188–276; Erika Wicker, "Nagyurak és vezérek. Híres avar leletek a Kiskunságból – A Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum állandó régészeti kiállításának bemutatása" [Hungarian: Lords and leaders. Renowned Avar finds from the Kiskunság region. The permanent archaeological exhibition of the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét], in *Hatalmi központok az avar kaganátusban*, edited by Csilla Balogh, József Szentpéteri and Erika Wicker (Kecskemét: Kecskéméti Katona József Múzeum, 2019), pp. 11–46.

7 Walter Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 361–68. One of the most significant titles of Late Avar age aristocrats is *zhupan*, for which see Phaedon Malingoudis, "Die Institution des župans als Problem der frühslawischen Geschichte," *Cyrillomethodianum* 2 (1972), 61–76; Matthias Hardt, "Der Supan: Ein Forschungsbericht," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 39 (1990), no. 2, 161–71; István Fodor, "Neue Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von slawisch und ungarisch *župan-span-ispán*," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 21 (1993), 135–39; Alexandru Madgearu, "Were the zupans really rulers of some Romanian early medieval polities?" *Revista de Istorie Socială* 4–7 (1999–2002), 15–25.

8 Pohl, *The Avars*, pp. 230–43. For Avar elites in Transylvania, see Călin Cosma, *Graves of Avar Military Chiefs in Transylvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018). For Avar-age cemeteries in Slovakia, see Zlata Čilinská, "Soziale Differenzierung und ihre Spiegelung im Bestattungsritus des 7.-8. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei," *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 30 (1991), 187–212; Jozef Zábojník, "Soziale Problematik der Gräberfelder des nördlichen und nordwestlichen Randgebietes des awarischen Kaganats," *Slovenská Archeológia* 43 (1995), 205–344.

9 For (Great) Moravia, see Zdeněk Klanica, "Eliten auf Gräberfeldern altmährischer Zentren," in *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik). Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz, Mikulčice, 25.-26. 5. 2004*, edited by Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik 2005), pp. 35–47; Milan Hanuliak, "Skizze der ökonomisch-sozialen Struktur des Hinterlandes der großmährischen Zentren in der Slowakei aufgrund der Nekropolen," in *Das wirtschäftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, edited by Lumír Polaček (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2008), 389–400; Jan Klapšte, *The Czech Lands in the Medieval Transformation* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), pp. 13–29; Jiří Macháček, "Who was the man buried in grave H153 in Pohansko and what happened to him and his family at the end of Great Moravia?" in *The Fall of Great Moravia. Who Was Buried in Grave H153 at Pohansko near Břeclav?*, edited by Jiří Macháček and Martin Wihoda (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 187–202. For 10th-century Hungary, see László Madaras, "Egy méltatlanul elfelejtett törzsfői sír. Régészeti adatok egyik honfoglaló törzsünk és annak törzsfőnöke temetkezéséhez" [An undeservedly forgotten chief burial. On the conquering tribes and their chiefs' graves according to the archaeological data], in *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei. Tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára*, edited by László Révész and Mária Wolf (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tanszék, 2013), pp. 161–84; Károly Mesterházy, "Das Gold der landnehmenden Ungarn (10. Jh.)," in *Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum. Akten des 23. internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum, Tengelic, 16.-19. 11. 2011*, edited by Matthias Hardt and Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska (Weinstadt: Bernhard Albert Greiner, 2013), pp. 483–98.

10 Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (London/New York: Routlegde, 1996), pp. 17–111; Thomas S. Noonan, "Scandinavians in European Russia," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, edited by Peter Sawyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 134–54; Andrei E. Leont'ev and Evgenii N. Nosov, "Osteuropäische Verkehrswege und Handelsbeziehungen im Zeitraum vom Ende des 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert," in *Die Rus' im 9.-10. Jahrhundert. Ein archäologisches Panorama*, edited by Nikolai A. Makarov (Mainz: Wachholtz Murmann, 2017), pp. 390–409.

11 Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence*, pp. 31–35. For the khagan of the Rus', see Ildar H. Garipzanov, "The Annals of St. Bertin (839) and *Chacanus of the Rhos*," *Ruthenica* 5 (2006), 7–11.

12 Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence*, pp. 49–50. For the material correlate of retinues in 9th- and 10th-century Rus', see Aleksander A. Fetisov, "'Druzhinnaia kul'tura' drevnei Rusi," [The "retinue culture" of Kievan Rus'], *Drevneishie gosudarstva vostochnoi Evropy* (2010), 406–36.

13 Franklin and Shepard, *The Emergence*, pp. 72–73. See also Anatoliii Z. Vinnikov, *Slaviane lesostepnogo Dona v rannem srednevekov'e (VIII-nachalo XI veka)* [The Slavs of the early medieval forest-steppe belt along the Don river (8th to early 11th cc.)] (Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo universiteta, 1995); Sergiu Musteaţă, *Populaţia spaţiului pruto-nistrean în secolele VIII–IX* [The population of the territory between the Prut and the Dniester rivers during the eighth and ninth centuries] (Chişinău: Pontos, 2005); Liubomyr P. Mykhaylyna, *Slov'iani VIII–X st. mizh Dniprom i Karpatami* [The Slavs between the Dnieper and the Carpathian Mountains (8th to 10th cc.)] (Kiev: Instytut arkheologii NAN Ukrainy, 2007). For weapons in 8th- to 9th-century settlement sites in the forest-steppe belt of Eastern Europe, see Vitalyi Kalinichenko and Sergyi V. Pyvovarov, "Seredn'ovichni predmety ozbroennia dal'nogo boiu z Rukhotins'kogo gorodyshcha (uroch. Korneshty)" [Medieval far-combat weapons from the stronghold in Rukhotin-Corneşti], *Arkheologichni studii* 5 (2014), 254–77.

14 Aleksandr V. Grigor'ev, "Ob ekonomicheskom razvitii slavian mezhdurech'ia Dnepra i Dona v VIII-pervoi polovine XI v." [On the economic development of the Slavs between the Dnieper and the Don in the 8th to the first half of the 11th century], *Drevneishie gosudarstva vostochnoi Evropy* (2015), 261–77; Iliia R. Akhmedov and L. S. Vorotinskaia, "Slavianskoe naselenie mezhdurech'ia Dnepra i Dona v poslednie stoletiia I tys. n. e." [The Slavic population between the Dniepr and the Don rivers during the last centuries of the first millenium AD], in *Puteshestvie ibn Fadlana: Volzhskii put' ot Bagdada do Bulgara. Katalog vystavki*, edited by A. I. Torgoev and Iliia R. Akhmedov (Moscow: Izdatel'skii dom Mardzhani, 2016), pp. 462–73. See also S. P. Shchavelev, *Slavianskaia dan' Khazarii: novye soobrazheniia* [The Slavic tribute in Khazaria: new considerations] (Voronezh: Istoki, 2008).

15 Wladyslaw Duczko, *Viking Rus: Studies on the Presence of Scandinavians in Eastern Europe* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 206 and 209; Michał Tymowski, "Tribal organizations in pre-state Poland (9th and 10th Centuries) in the light of anthropological theories of segmentary system of chiefdom," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 99 (2009) 5–37, here 20–21.

16 Yulia Mikhailova, *Property, Power, and Authority in Rus and Latin Europe, ca. 1000–1236* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), pp. 141–42. See also Elena R. Mikhailova and Vladislav Iu. Sobolev, "Elitarnye kompleksy drevnerusskogo vremeni: stereotipy vydeleniia (na primere Kotorskogo pogosta)" [Elite assemblages of the Rus' age: The stereotypes of the interpretation (on the exampellof the Kotorskii *pogost*], *Novgorod i novgorodskaia zemlia. Istoriia i arkheologiia* 30 (2016), 181–89; Kirill A. Mikhailov and Anna A. Peskova, "'Vitiaz' u vorot', ili rekonstruktsiia voinskogo kompleksa iz raskopok Bol'shogo Shepetovskogo gorodishcha" ["Knight at the gate" or the reconstructiion of a military complex from the excavations of the Great Shepetovka stronghold], *Stratum+* (2019), no. 5, 77–92.

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18 Walter K. Hanak, *Nature and the Image of Princely Power in Kievan Rus', 980–1054. A Study of Sources* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 149–50.

19 Hanak, *Nature*, pp. 152–54. Hanak's interpretation is largely driven by his interpretation of what he takes to be a hostile attitude towards voivodes in the Russian Primary Chronicle (Hanak, *Nature*, p. 162).

20 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 38, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, 1985), pp. 171 and 173. For Magyars as Turks, see István Vásáry, "Hungarians and Mongols as 'Turks': On the applicability of ethnic names," in *Zwischen Byzanz und der Steppe. Archäologische und historische Studien. Festschrift für Csanád Bálint zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Ádám Bollók, Gergely Csiky and Tivadar Vida (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), pp. 537–44. For the titles of "prince" and "voivode," see Sándor László Tóth, "Princes and dignitaries in the ninth- and tenth-century Magyar tribal federation," *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged* 3 (2003), 21–36. For Lebedias, see Katalin Fehértói, "Lebediasz vajda" [Duke Lebedias], *Magyar nyelv* 95 (1999), 320–23. For the Magyar account in the *On the Administration of the Empire,* see P. Antonopoulos, *Ho autokratoros Konstantinos Z' ho Porphyrogennetos kai hoi Oungroi* [Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and the Magyars] (Athens: Vasilopoulos, 1996).

21 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 38 and 40, pp. 171 and 179.

22 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 40, p. 179. For the requirement that chief princes of the Magyars be descendants of Árpád, see Sándor László Tóth, "A magyar fejedelmi méltóság öröklődése" [The succession of the princely dignity among the Magyars], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Jozsef nominatae. Acta Historica* 83 (1986), 3–9; Ferenc Makk, "Megas archon," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Jozsef nominatae. Acta Historica* 107 (1998), 17–34.

23 See Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2000), p. 14.

24 Márta F. Font, "Missions, conversions, and power legitimization in East Central Europe at the turn of the first millennium," in *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Florin Curta (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp. 283–96, here pp. 283–85.

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26 *Libellus sancti Stephani regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 623–24.

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28 Bak, Bónis, and Sweeney, *The Laws*, p. 5.

29 *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, edited by György Györffy, vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), pp. 172–73 and 225–26.

30 Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 173–77.

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32 Jan Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), pp. 103–11. For Hungary, see Alexander T. Ruttkay, "Dvorce v 9. až 13. storočí," [Ninth- to thirteenth-century manors], in *Slovensko vo včasnom stredoveku*, edited by Alexander Ruttkay, Matej Ruttkay and Peter Šalkovský (Nitra: Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2002), pp. 135–47; Maria Emilia Crîngaci Ţiplic, "Arheologia reşedinţelor nobiliare în Transilvania:

reşedinţele elitei săseşti (secolul al XII-lea şi prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea). Studiu preliminar" [The archaeology of noble residences in Transylvania: The residences of the Transylvanian Saxon elite (12th century-1st half of the 13th century). Preliminary research], *Banatica* 23 (2013), 347–69; István Feld, "A magánvárak építésének kezdetei a középkori Magyarországon a régészeti források tükrében. I," [The beginnings of building private castles in medieval Hungary in the light of the archaeological sources. I], *Századok* 148 (2014), no. 2, 351–86; Dumitru Ţeicu, *Ilidia. Un centru de putere din secolele XII-XV* [Ilidia, a center of power, 12th–15th centuries] (Brăila: Istros, 2017). For Poland, see anna Marciniak-Kajzer, "Dwór obronny w Proboszczewicach koło Płocka," [A fortified manor house in Proboszczewice], *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia archaeologica* 18 (1994), 25–28; Mieczysław Haftka, "Wieża mieszkalno-obronna XIII-wiecznej siedziby rycerskiej w miejscowości Podzamcze w Pomezanii" [A 13-th-century defense tower turned into a knight's residence in the village of Podzamcze, Pomesania], *Archaeologia historica polona* 17 (2007), 307–17. For Rus', see G. A. Kuznetso and Iurii M. Sitii, "Feodal'na sadiba XII–XIII st. na okolitsi Chernigova" [A twelfth- to thirteenth-century medieval manor in the hinterland of Chernihiv], in *Chernigivs'ka starovyna. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats', prisviachenyy 1300-richchiu Chernigova*, edited by Petro P. Tolochko (Chernihiv: Siverians'ka dumka, 1992), pp. 34–41.

33 For a complete list of royal dignitaries of officials, see Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000—1301* (The lay archontology of Hungary 1000–1301) (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011).

34 Zsolt Hunyadi, "*Maiores*, *optimates*, *nobiles*: semantic questions in the early history of the Hungarian nobility," *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* 4 (1996–1997), 204–11, here 206.

35 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, edited by György Fejér, 11 vols. (Buda: Typis typographiae regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–1844), vol. 2, p. 252:

> Prima libertas populorum ecclesie Sancti Petri Principis Apostolorum hec est: ut omnis populus Quinqueecclesiensis Ecclesie, siue sit nobilis Iobagio ecclesie sue, hospes vel ciuis, seu condicionalis, cuiuscunque seruitutis, collectam vel taliam, in nostro regno pro tempore emergentem, nec nobis, nec nostris Baronibus soluere teneatur, sed soli episcopi.

36 Engel, *The Realm*, pp. 83–84.

37 There are many examples of charters of ennoblement from the second half of the 13th century. The most characteristic elements of such a charter was the exemption from the previous condition, bonds or jurisdiction, and the granting of privileges otherwise restricted to the nobles of the realm (sometimes mentioned as *veri nobiles*), and the inclusion into a selective group of *servientes regis*, those fighting under the king's banner. For example, ac charter of 1271 for castle warriors in Vasvár county mentions their *libertas*. See *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 7/5, p. 366:

> cum omnibus possessionibus eorum haereditariis videlicet empticys, acquisitis et quocunque iusto titulo obtentis; de iobbagionatu predicti (castri) et eius potestate omnino exhimentes ad numerum servientium regalium transtulimus. Ita quod de cetero tam ipsi, quam ipsorum heredes, sine reprehensione et absque nota libertatis ipsorum pristine, inter regni nobiles computentur.

In another charter issued only two years later, castle warriors are promoted to the rank of *servientes regis*. See *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 7/5, p. 384:

> in futurum ipsos et patres eorumdem cum omnibus terris suis a iobbagionatu castri, et iurisdictione penitus eximendo, ad numerum seu cetum seruientium nostrorum regalium liberaliter duximus transferendos. Ita videlicet, quod tam ipsi, quam ipsorum heredes, heredumque suorum successores, ea gaudeant libertate, qua ceteri seruientes nostri regales gratulantur et exultant.

In short, promotion meant transfer from one category of "liberty" to another.

38 Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (Houndmills/New York: Palgrave, 2000), p. 38.

39 Attila Zsoldos, *The Árpáds and their People: An Introduction to the History of Hungary from cca. 900 to 1301* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020), pp. 158–59.

40 See, most recently, Martyn Rady, "Hungary and the Golden Bull," *Banatica* 24 (2014), no. 2, 87–108, here 96–98.

41 Zsoldos, *The Árpáds*, p. 159; Attila Zsoldos, "Modificările conceptului 'nobilime' pe parcursul secolului al XIII-lea în regatul Ungariei" [The changes of the concept of "nobility" in Hungary during the 13th century], in *Secolul al XIII-lea pe meleagurile locuite de către români*, edited by Adrian Andrei Rusu (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2006), pp. 85–104, here pp. 90–92.

42 František Graus, "Adel, Land und Herrscher in Böhmen vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert," *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft* 35 (1966), 131–53; František Graus, "A propos de l'évolution de la noblesse en Bohéme de l'IXe au XIIIe siècle," in *L'Europe aux IXe-XIe siècles. Aux origins des Etats nationaux*, edited by Tadeusz Manteuffel and Aleksander Gieysztor (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukove, 1968), pp. 205–10.

43 Robert Novotný,. "K počátkům české šlechty: otázka kontinuity a vizuální reprezentace" [On the origin of the Czech nobility: The question of continuity and visual representation], in *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana, k životnímu jubileu*, edited by Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malíř, Lukáš Reitinger and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2020), pp. 131–46.

44 Josef Žemlička, "Origins of noble landed property in Přemyslide Bohemia," in *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe: Kinship, Property and Privilege*, edited by by János M. Bak (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1994), pp. 7–24. Žemlička's ideas are largely based on the model of state formation and social development proposed by Barbara L. Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, "Služebná organizace v raně středověkých Čechách" [The organization of services in Bohemia during the Middle Ages], *Československy časopis historický* 12 (1964), 637–67; Barbara L. Krzemieńska and Dušan Třeštík, "Přemyslovská hradiště a služebná organizace Přemyslovského státu" [Strongholds and the organization of services in the Přemyslid state], *Archeologické rozhledy* 17 (1965), 624–44 and 649–55; and Dušan Třeštík and Barbara L. Krzemieńska, "Zur Problematik der Dienstleute im frühmittelalterlichen Böhmen," in *Siedlung und Verfassung Böhmens in der Frühzeit*, edited by František Graus and Herbert Ludat (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), pp. 70–98. See also chapter 7 in this book.

45 Žemlička, "Origins," pp. 8–14. For the "benefice-based" nobility, see Stanisław Russocki, "Z badań nad czeskim systemem beneficjalnym" [On the benefice system in Bohemia] *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 23 (1971), no. 1, 33–46; Libor Jan, "K počátkům české šlechty: družina, *beneficium*, pozemkové vlasnictví" [The beginnings of the Bohemian nobility: *druzhina, beneficium*, and land ownership], in *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středověku*, edited by Martin Nodl and Martin Wihoda (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), pp. 45–52.

46 Klápště, *The Czech Lands*, pp. 13–169.

47 Tomáš Petráček, "*Rustici, hospites, duces*. K problému svobodných rolníků v Přemyslovských zemích 11. a 12. století" [*Rustici*, *hospites*, *duces*. On the problem of the free peasants in Přemyslid lands, 11th-12th cc.], *Časopis Národního muzea - řada historická* 171 (2002), nos. 3–4, 137–64.

48 Antoni Gąsiorowski, "Research into medieval Polish nobility. An introduction," in *The Polish Nobility in the Middle Ages. Anthologie*, edited by Antoni Gąsiorowski (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódż: Ossolineum, 1984), pp. 11–14. For the newest state of research on this matter, see Tomasz Jurek, "Geneza szlachty polskiej" [The formation of the Polish nobility], *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středovku*, edited by Martin Nodl and Martin Wihoda, (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), pp. 63–140.

49 Gąsiorowski, *The Polish Nobility*, p. 15. For the archaeology of the early Piast retinues, see Aleksandr E. Musin, "Elita pol'skogo gosudarstva v epokhu rannikh Piastov: arkheologicheskoe izmerenie i obshcheevropeiskii kontekst" [The elite of the state of Poland in the early Piast period: archaeological dimension and European context], *Rossiiskii arkheologicheskii ezhegodnik* (2015–2016), no. 5–6, 247–65. See also Lech Leciejewicz, "Die sozialen Eliten im frühpiastischen Polen," in *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik). Materialien der internationalen Fachkonferenz, Mikulčice, 25.-26. 5. 2004*, edited by Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2005), pp. 353–58. For free peasants, see Stanisław Trawkowski, "*Heredes* im frühpiastischen Polen," in *Europa Slavica - Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1980), pp. 262–85.

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51 Ambroży Bogucki, *Komes w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych* [Comes in Polish sources of the Middle Ages] (Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972); Karol Modzelewski, "*Comites*, *principes*, *nobiles*. The structure of the ruling class as reflected in the terminology used by Gallus Anonymus," in *The Polish Nobility in the Middle Ages. Anthologies*, edited by Antoni Gąsiorowski (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódż: Ossolineum, 1984), pp. 177–206.

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56 Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 63–64. For the *włodyka*, see Henryk Łowmiański, "The rank nobility in medieval Poland," in *The Polish Nobility in the Middle Ages. Anthologies*, edited by Antoni Gąsiorowski (Wrocław/Warsaw/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódż: Ossolineum, 1984), pp. 21–54, here pp. 32–33, 39–40, 48–49, and 52–54. For the stratification of the Polish nobility, see also Antoni\Gąsiorowski, "Faktoren der Schichtung des Adelsstandes im mittelalterlichen Polen," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi* 4 (1991), 87–115.

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58 Bieniak, "Knight clans," pp. 134–35.

59 Piotr Górecki, "Words, concepts, and phenomena: Knighthood, lordship, and the early Polish nobility (c. 1050–1150," in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, edited by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 115–55. See also Eduard Mühle, "Genese und frühe Entwicklung des Adels in polnischer Sicht," in *Studien zum Adel im mittelalterlichen Polen*, edited by Eduard Mühle (Mühle, Eduard. "Genese und frühe Entwicklung des Adels in polnischer Sicht." (German) In *Studien zum Adel im mittelalterlichen Polen*, edited by Eduard Mühle (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 1–12.

60 Górecki, "Words," p. 120. See also Kazimierz Dola, "Religijność rycerstwa śląskiego i mieszczan w XIII wieku" [The religiosity of the Silesian knights and townspeople in the 13th c.], in *Bitwa legnicka: Historia i tradycja*, edited by Wacław Korta (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1994), pp. 333–51.

61 Górecki, "Words," pp. 123–24.

62 Górecki, "Words," p. 126.
63 Andrzej Janeczek, "New authority, new property, new nobility. The foundation of noble estates in Red Rutenia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 7 (2002), 77–125. For the title of "boyar" in Rus' (including Halych-Volhynia), see Igor N. Danilevskii, "'Boiare': istoriograficheskaia traditsiia *vs*. svidetel'stva drevnerusskikh istochnikov" ["Boyars": The historiographic tradition vs. the testimony of the Rus' sources], in *Seredn'ovichna Rus': problemy terminologii*, edited by Vitaliy Nagirnyi and Miroslav M. Voloshchuk (Ivano-Frankivs'k/Cracow: Tsentr medievistychnykh studiy Derzhavnogo vyshchogo navchal'nogo zakladu "Prykarpats'kyy natsional'nyy universytet imeni Vasylia Stefanyka"/Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 2018), pp. 39–50.
64 Janeczek, "New authority," pp. 83–86.
65 For rare cases of archaeological exploration of matters of social status in the 11th to 13th centuries, see Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, Frühmittelalterliche Bestattungen der Würdenträger in Polen (Mitte des 10. bis Mitte des 12. Jh.)" *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 38 (1991), 109–34; Elżbieta Dąbrowska, "'Groby uprzywilejowane' w Polsce średniowiecznej" [Privileged inhumation in medieval Poland], *Roczniki historyczne* 58 (1992), 87–92.

10

RULERS BETWEEN IDEAL AND REALITY[1]

Dušan Zupka

The law books of St Stephen, King of Hungary (1000–1038), represent one of the most remarkable sources that historians have for understanding the early implementation of the ideas of Christian kingship in the newly founded monarchies of East Central Europe at the beginning of the second millennium. In the preface to the first book, one reads the following:

> since every people use their own law, we, governing our monarchy by the will of God and emulating both ancient and modern Caesars, and after reflecting upon the law, decree for our people too the way they should lead an upright and blameless life.[2]

This short text reveals much about the nature, concept, and perception of power and rulership in medieval East Central Europe. Explicitly, it points out its three essential characteristics. First, it describes the ideal political system based on the rule of a single monarch (a king or a duke). Second, the power and authority of the ruler derive from the divine sanction; in other words, he rules by the grace of God. The last point is hinting at the process of building and incorporating this type of sacral kingship.[3] This was done by imitating the rule of ancient and contemporary emperors and kings. All three ideas will be recurrent in the next pages, which aim to describe the foundations of rulership and royal (or princely) power in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland between the 10th and the 13th century.

In medieval Europe, monarchy was the prevalent political structure that spread to all possible parts of Christendom. Thus, the power was in the hands of the most powerful ruling family, a dynasty, which attempted to secure the rule in its hands.[4] This could be achieved either by sharing power within the broad kinship of a ruling family, where the royal or princely throne belonged to the oldest member (*senioratus*), or by wielding the rule in a vertical line of a single ruling family, where the power was transferred from father to his oldest son (*primogenitura*). In Latin Europe, since the early Middle Ages, and in East Central Europe gradually after the year 1000, the idea of sacral Christian kingship sanctioned by God prevailed as the dominant ideological concept.[5]

During the 10th century, the Piasts in Poland, the Přemyslids in Bohemia, and the Árpádians in Hungary succeeded in securing the decision-making power for themselves. By means of territorial unification, alongside the removal of political opponents, they were

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able to lay a solid basis for establishing home (or national) dynasties that ruled as kings (in Hungary) or dukes (in Bohemia and Poland) for centuries to come. In fact, the rulers of the Árpádian dynasty held power to 1301, the Přemyslids to 1306, and the Piasts even to 1370. One of the main differences in the nature of rulership was that, while the Árpádians retained the royal title from St Stephen to the last king of the dynasty, Andrew III (d. 1301), the Piast and Přemyslid rulers were usually dukes and attained the royal dignity only sporadically. The hereditary kingship was introduced in Bohemia with Přemysl Otakar I (1198–1230) and in Poland with Władysław Łokietek (1320–1333).[6]

After entering the community of Christian rulers, the kings and dukes of East Central Europe, as stated in the Laws of St Stephen of Hungary, imitated the models set by their West and East European eers. From the many influences, the most decisive patterns and ideas came from the two dominant powers that surrounded Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, namely, the Roman-German kings and emperors, on the one hand, and the Byzantine emperors, on the other hand. Whether kings or dukes, rulers in East Central Europe had to conform to standards of princely behavior shaped by a set of values and virtues expected from Christians monarchs. The most important among them were humility, piety, justice, and clemency. These values were represented in the behavior of any ruler, who was expected to defend the peace, to spread royal wisdom and to maintain the (correct) world order. The Christian medieval king was a unique and specific figure among many types of contemporary rulers. His unique character resided in the fact that he was at the same time a monarchic, a Christian, and a noble ruler.[7] From the rich typology of medieval rulers, this chapter will deal with four essential categories: the ideal ruler, the warrior king, the sacral monarch, and the ceremonial king. By tracing those four types of medieval rulers in the East Central European context, I will attempt to depict the ruler and his rulership between the ideal and reality.

Rex imago Dei—the ideal ruler

The first requirement every medieval monarch had to observe was to present himself as the ideal ruler. The medieval king was, after all, an image of God (*rex imago Dei*). Elevated to the highest secular position conceivable by the sacral royal coronation (*rex a Deo coronatus*), the king acquired sacral nature and thus became the anointed of the Lord (*christus Domini*). To be able to hold such an elevated status and authority, the ruler was supposed to act according to the ideal. This is why, the image of the ideal ruler appears in numerous contemporary sources. Essential for formulating and preserving the image of the ideal Christian ruler were popular mirrors of princes (*specula principum*). To trace the spread of those ideas in East Central Europe, one must turn again to Stephen of Hungary. Probably around 1015, an unknown foreign cleric at the court of the first king of Hungary composed a treatise in the genre of the mirrors for princes known as *Libellus sancti Stephani regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*. The work was written in the name of King Stephen and was addressed to his son and designated heir, Prince Emeric (d. 1031).[8] Still in the process of building a Christian(ized) monarchy in Hungary, Stephen I used the treatise to articulate his ruling ideology and his vision of the role of the ideal Christian monarch. These were based on the firm observation of the Catholic faith, due reverence to bishops, and keeping the good order of ecclesiastical institutions. The future king was also supposed to be in good terms with his nobles and followers and to honor, especially, his knights and *hospites*, on whose support and loyalty he had to rely in order to defeat both the visible and the invisible enemies. The ideal king was also supposed to lend a sympathetic ear to the beneficial advices of his courtiers.

By doing so, he would show the most desirable royal virtue (*humilitas*) and would reject the most despicable vice (*superbia*).[9]

On the personal level, the ideal king is urged to follow the patterns established by his ancestors, just like the famous ancient and modern emperors. Old Testament kings such as David and Solomon will provide a desirable pattern to follow. The Christian nature of the royal office is represented by the requirement to observe prayers and acts of piety incessantly, including the distribution of alms and founding of religious institutions. The ideal ruler as depicted in the *Libellus de institutione morum* is a humble and pious monarch personified in the ideal of the *miles Christi* fighting against the real physical enemy and the invisible enemy (sin) simultaneously. As a true Christian monarch, Prince Emeric was supposed to imitate the habits of the ancient monarchs giving preference to prayer and to protect his subjects and his country. In this manner, he was supposed to attain the highest possible status, that of the invincible king (*invictissimus rex*).[10]

Another description of an ideal ruler in the context of East Central Europe dates to the reign of the second king of Poland, Mieszko II (1025–1031, as duke 1032–1034). Shortly after his coronation, he received a laudatory letter from Matilda, Duchess of Swabia, which illuminates the ideological basis of his rule. This is perhaps the best description of kingship from the early period of Piast Poland.[11] The author of the letter addresses Mieszko in the spirit of bellicose Christian rhetoric as an invincible king (*rex invictissimus*), wishing him a triumph over his enemies (*super hoste triumphum*), and the palm of the victory (*palmamque uictoriae*).[12] Mieszko's wife, Richeza, was the daughter of Ezzo, Count Palatine of Lotharingia, which brought him to the camp of the opponents of Emperor Conrad II (1024–1039). Matilda of Swabia belonged to that same camp, and she, therefore, had a good reason to depict the new and important ally, Mieszko II, in a favorable light. Despite certain amount of generalization, her account proposes an authentic picture of the perfect Christian ruler, as promoted in the early 11th century in the Holy Roman Empire. Applying those ideas to the Piast ruler demonstrates the transferability of political thought from the center to the periphery of Latin Christendom.

A third source for royal idealization may be found in the Chronicle of Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125). In his remarks on duke Boleslav II (967–992), Cosmas inserts a detailed depiction of a ruler associated with the active spread of Christianity in his ducal domain, the continuous building of the ecclesiastic organization, and military activities home and abroad.[13] Writing in the early 12th century, Cosmas of Prague listed all the necessary qualities of an ideal ruler to characterize Boleslav: "most Christian man, a Catholic in faith, a father to orphans, a protector of widows, a comforter to the grieving, a pious supporter of clergy and pilgrims, an exceptional builder of God's churches."[14] In Cosmas' view, the crucial virtue was that of a diligent supporter (and defender) of the Christian faith, who enabled the spread of that faith among his subjects through the continuous creation of the church infrastructure. Boleslav II was said to have founded no less than 20 churches on his domains and decidedly supported the creation of the bishopric of Prague in 973. He also proved as a faithful ally of Emperor Otto III (983–1002) during his campaign against the pagan, Polabian Slavs in 992.[15]

Miles Christi—the warrior king

Although there were different aspects of medieval rulers in East Central Europe that shaped their picture as ideal monarchs, one aspect emerges in all three sources just mentioned. Stephen I, Mieszko II, and Boleslav II all appear as *milites Christi*, soldiers of Christ. This concept emerged through the combination of military ideals with the moral and religious

requirements of the church at the turn of the 10th and 11th century. This was precisely the period of the ongoing Christianization and, at the same time, cultural, social, and political integration of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia into the world of Latin Christendom.[16] Religious warfare provided a perfect opportunity for the gradual process of integration of the local monarchies. The comparison between the three realms in East Central Europe in terms of the close relation and mutual influences between warfare and religion makes it possible to understand the importance of the ideology of Christian warfare in local environment, combined with the dissemination and adaptation of the concept of holy war.[17]

When reading the sources about Mieszko II, Boleslav II, and Stephen I, one immediately notices a great resemblance with canons of the Peace of God councils and the *ordines* for knighting *milites*, which were popular in the Latin West during the first half of the 11th century. Their emphasis was on protection of the church, the widows, the orphans, and the poor.[18] That is precisely how Cosmas depicts Boleslav II, as the most Christian and Catholic prince who always protected the poor, the orphans, the churchmen, and their possessions.[19] On the other hand, Matilda of Swabia employed the rhetoric of religious warfare to praise the Polish king, Mieszko II, as the husband of the widows, the father of the orphans, and the steadfast protector of the poor and the needy.[20] Both texts echo the contemporary ideal of *militia Christi* engaged in the service of the monarchical ideology. However, Matilda goes much farther when comparing Mieszko II to St. Sebastian, the military saint *par excellence*.[21] By imitating St. Sebastian, the Piast king assumed the role of a religious warrior king, which was an essential pillar of his royal dignity. The Swabian duchess, coming from an environment familiar with those ideas, stressed this aspect repeatedly by applying the rhetoric of Christian warfare.[22]

The same line of reasoning appears in sources related to Stephen I of Hungary. This remarkable ruler became a personification of the warrior Christian king during his lifetime, while later, his life (as depicted by biographers) served as a model for generations of kings and dukes to come. It is not surprising, in that respect, that Stephen of Hungary was the first (royal) saint canonized without being a martyr.[23] He was regarded as a devout, Catholic, and father-like ruler of his subjects and a fearless soldier of Christ. The best example of that image may be found in the First legend of St. Stephen the King (*Legenda maior*), written most probably around 1080.[24] St. Stephen appears in that text explicitly as a servant of God (*dei servus*), the most Christian prince (*princeps Christianissimus*), and a soldier of Christ (*miles Christi*).[25] The intransigent Christianization of the Carpathian Basin has led to several revolts, as well as armed resistance from some of the Magyar leaders. According to the anonymous author of the legend, King Stephen, protected and assisted by heavenly powers (Virgin Mary, St. Martin and St. George), did not hesitate to wage a ferocious military campaign that ended with the submission and eventual christening of the rebels.[26]

It is quite evident from this brief discussion that during the second half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century, the rhetoric of Christian warfare in the context of the holy war concept successfully spread into the intellectual milieux of East Central Europe. Stephen I of Hungary, Boleslav II of Bohemia, and Mieszko II of Poland were all regarded as *milites Christi*, ready to fight for the faith against pagans and enemies of the church alike. The sources (narrative, hagiographic, and epistolary) unanimously approve of their religious warlike enterprises, as they followed two main goals—Christianization and territorial expansion. The First legend of St. Stephen is most telling in this respect. Not only it does not object to the use of arms in spreading of the word of God, to the spilling of blood by the servant of God, or even to the forced conversion of opponents but also it interprets the Hungarian king's military campaigns in line with contemporary Gregorian apologists contemplating

the role of violence and war in the service of the church and God. In that respect, the ideal picture of King Stephen resonates with the intellectual discourse in Latin Christendom during the 1070s and 1080s.[27]

According to medieval political theories, the military function was one of the basic elements of the "trifunctional rulers" of the Middle Ages. The old notion of the trifunctional system as coined by Georges Dumézil may indeed be illustrated by such medieval works as those of Alfred of Wessex and Bishop Adalbero of Laon. In other words, according to those and other medieval authors, kings fulfilled three functions at the same time.[28] The first function is reflected in the permanent preoccupation of medieval rulers with the sacralization of their rule, stressing its supernatural foundations, as well as their divinely sanctioned mandate acquired by means of the ritual of royal anointing.[29] The second function may be defined as the idea of peasant king (*rex agricola*), a metaphor for the ruler's responsibility for the prosperity of the realm. Jacques Le Goff complained that that function was difficult to trace in the medieval sources, but that is not entirely true for East Central Europe. The case of Duke Wenceslas (Václav) of Bohemia (d. 935) serves as a good example among many. According to one of his earliest *vitae* written by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua in or around 980, the first ruler of the Přemyslid dynasty to become a saint enjoyed secret ventures in the middle of the night, during which he "cut wheat in the field on his own with a small sickle," "threshed and diligently sifted the wheat," milled it "between stones," sprinkled the resulting flour with water, and worked them out "with his own hands from unleavened dough." He also "squashed grapes with a pounder" in a jar and strained the liquid through a linen cloth. He did all that in order to prepare the sacred host and wine for Eucharistic services.[30]

With another royal saint, King Ladislas I of Hungary (1077–1095), all three functions appear together. In the sixth chapter of his *vita*, the author describes Ladislas at the head of the Hungarian troops attacking the pagan Pechenegs, who had invaded Hungary in 1068. When, in pursuit of the enemy, the Hungarian army found itself in the middle of a deserted, hostile land, it suddenly faced starvation. At that moment, Ladislas prostrated himself and entreated God to save his men from death. Miraculously, a herd of stags and buffaloes appeared and marched directly toward the Hungarian camp.[31] The *vita* was written in the early 13th century and as such is an echo of the traditional ideas about the holy king, who simultaneously fulfils three functions—military commander, intercessor with the heavenly powers, and provider of food.

The military function was the most common and recognizable of all features of a medieval ruler. Since ancient times, military victory represented one of the most powerful attributes of the ability of a king or a duke to hold power and to succeed in the struggle against any possible opponents. In Latin Christendom, the military function was sacralized through the teachings of the church and transformed to fit into a specific way of waging war—religious warfare.[32] Medieval authors writing about the Piasts, the Árpádians, and the Přemyslids were well acquainted with those concepts and skilfully applied them to their heroes. As a consequence, the exercise of the monarchic power, the sacralization of the rule, and the Christianization of warfare worked together, especially in the cases of decisive military encounters.[33] For example, Gallus Anonymus employed the holy war rhetoric to describe the Pomeranian conquests of Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth, which took place between 1102 and 1128.[34] Gallus's description matches that of Duke Soběslav I of Bohemia in his confrontation with King Lothar of Germany in 1126 at Chlumec, as rendered by two 12th-century continuators of Cosmas of Prague, an anonymous monk from Sázava and the Canon of Vyšehrad.[35] The same description appears in the late 13th-century *Second Continuation of Cosmas* in relation to

King Přemysl Otakar II and the religious rituals of war and sacral symbols connected to his great victory at Kressenbrunn in 1260.[36] Only few years later, when Přemysl Otakar II himself was defeated at Marchfeld (Moravské pole) in 1278, the same description was applied by both Hungarian and Austrian authors to his opponent, King Ladislas IV of Hungary.[37] The list of comparable descriptions increases significantly after 1300, when several East Central European monarchs, such as John of Luxemburg, Charles IV, Casimir the Great, and Louis of Anjou took (or only intended to take) part in the crusades (*Reisen*) against the (pagan) Lithuanians.[38]

Theatrum ceremoniale—rituals of royalty

The ceremonial aspect of medieval kingship, which included the representation of monarchic power through the frequent use of diverse rituals and symbols, has attracted considerable attention from scholars dealing with Western, East Central, and Eastern Europe.[39] The power of the rulers had to be represented and observed by the public in order to highlight the exclusive character of the royal majesty and its exceptional position within the society. During ceremonial public events, commitments and responsibilities were taken over, relationships were established, and rights and privileges were confirmed. Another essential task of the public performance connected with the display of monarchic symbols was to guarantee the preservation of stability and right social order.[40] Those notions were encapsulated in the idea of *ordo*—the correct order, system, and running of the world. Underlying that idea was the belief in a world that was well organized by design. Owing to the exceptional status of medieval monarchs, the rituals of power and the court ceremonial that reflected the whole social-political system maintained the political relations and symbolized the state ideology. Through the frequent use of rituals, the ruler became a personification of the *regnum* as the ideal form of government. Sanctioned by God and ruling by His grace, the ruler was an earthly, microcosmic reflection of the eternal macrocosm. He was the quintessence of all nobles in the realm and his behavior had to correspond to the local political tradition as well as to Christian requirements.[41] All those components constituted the symbolic, ritualized dimension of the ceremonial king within the complex of the *theatrum ceremoniale*.[42]

Although the royal coronation was the most frequent and most widely spread investiture ritual, it was not the only way to acquire power symbolically.[43] In East Central Europe, a continuous tradition of royal coronations existed only in the Kingdom of Hungary. The rulers of that kingdom between 1000 and 1301 were all kings, and every one of them underwent a coronation ceremonial accompanied by episcopal anointment. However, there is no coherent information about the course of events in the Árpádian era, and the individual components included in the coronation order are not known. It can be surmised that the three condition for royal coronation developed only gradually. The king of Hungary had to be crowned with the Holy Crown, which was (mistakenly) attributed to St. Stephen. Second, the coronation had to take place in the Church of St Mary in Székesfehérvár. Third, the one crowning the king had to be the country's primate, the Archbishop of Esztergom.[44] However, those three conditions are attested only for the first non-Árpádian king, the founder of the new Angevin dynasty, Charles Robert of Anjou, on the occasion of his (first) coronation in 1301.[45] Symptomatically, there are uncertainties over the first Hungarian royal coronation, that of Stephen I. Scholars cannot even agree on the date—was it in 1000 or in 1001? Another unresolved issue is whether the crown was sent to Hungary by Pope Sylvester II or by the Emperor Otto III. What is beyond any dispute, however, is that, shortly before or after 1300, the *ordo coronationis* preserved in the *Durandus Pontifical* was used for the crowning

of the Hungarian kings.[46] Research on this topic stands on firmer ground only for the Late Middle Ages because of considerably more numerous and essentially more reliable sources.[47]

The first coronation in Polish history raises confusion among scholars. Many now agree, however, that the crown that Emperor Otto III bestowed upon Bolesław Chrobry in Gniezno in 1000 was symbolic; in other words, it was meant to signal (and define) a new imperial ally and a friend of the emperor.[48] The first real coronation took place shortly before Bolesław's death in 1025. Despite the fact that his son Mieszko II (1025) and later also Bolesław II (1076) underwent royal coronations, most Piast rulers before 1300 remained "only" dukes. Renouncing the royal title (especially under the influence of the Holy Roman Empire) did not mean, however, that Piast rulers renounced their claim to the sacral nature of their (ducal) power. On the contrary, they programmatically attempted to vest their power in sacral habit.[49] While the set of three benedictions preserved in the 11th-century Pontifical of Cracow was once believed to be part of the oldest ducal *ordo*, it is now clear that those were more likely a part of the liturgy of war, which was for warriors before battle, not for kings or dukes.[50] More information about the coronation of Piast rulers exists for the later Middle Ages.[51]

Přemyslid dukes are also known for royal aspirations. While Břetislav I had no success in that respect, his successors Vratislav II (in 1085 or 1086) and Vladislav II (in 1158) became kings, although only for themselves, as personal titles. In both cases, this was meant as a reward for loyal support of the imperial policies of Henry IV and Frederick I, respectively.[52] Before 1200, Bohemian dukes underwent the traditional ducal investiture ritual in the Prague Castle. From the scattered evidence preserved in the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, one learns that the future duke was led to a sacral space on the Prague Castle hill, called Žiži. There, between the Church of St. George and the Cathedral of St. Vitus, stood an old stone throne. Only those seated on that throne, acclaimed by the free people gathered who shouted thrice *krlešu* (*Kyrie eleison*), could be regarded as legitimate dukes of Bohemia. This ceremonial, with obvious pre-Christian roots, was accompanied by a festive *adventus*, the ringing of the bells, the distribution of coins, and feasts for the gathered people.[53] For a long while, those rituals reflected the dual nature of the state ideology in Přemyslid Bohemia. On the one hand, only members of the Přemyslid family were eligible for the position of duke; on the other hand, "free Czechs" (in fact, noblemen) insisted on their right to elect and approve the new ruler.[54]

The situation changed with Přemysl Otakar I, who was not only proclaimed king but also able to secure the hereditary right to the throne for his successors (1198, 1203, 1212). He was the last Přemyslid ruler to undergo the old ducal investiture ritual. Conversely, his son Wenceslas (Václav) I (1230–1253) was the first ruler of Bohemia recognized as such only by virtue of his royal coronation performed according to ecclesiastical rites in 1228. The old pagan components, together with the traditional stone throne, were quickly forgotten and replaced, once for all, by an ecclesiastic *ordo coronationis*.[55] Most relevant in that respect is the coronation of Wenceslas II in 1297 (19 years after his ascension to power in 1278) which turned into a lavish display of royal dignity and splendor, but which also reflected the knightly culture that had become fashionable at the court of the last Přemyslids. Wenceslas II used the opportunity of his coronation to project an image of pious ruler (*rex pius*): following the coronation ceremony, the king went to a nearby place called Zbraslav (Aula Regiae) where he laid the foundation stone of a new Cistercian monastery. In the sacred perimeter of the groundwork, he also knighted 240 distinguished nobles from Bohemia and from abroad.[56]

There were numerous occasions to use rituals and symbols intended for the public presentation of the royal dignity. Besides proper coronation ceremonies, there were other repetitive rituals such as festive coronations (*Festkrönung*), the chanting of liturgical praises for the ruler (*laudes regiae*), symbolic ostentations of the royal majesty, or the public wearing of the royal crown, and of other royal insignia (*unter-Krone-gehen* rituals). These came to the fore usually during times of crisis or immediately after them, when there was a stringent need to demonstrate publicly that legitimacy and order (*ordo*) have been restored. Perhaps, the best example in that respect is King Béla IV (1235–1270) of Hungary, who had to strengthen the royal power considerably weakened during the reign of his father, Andrew II (1205–1235). According to a contemporary observer, Master Roger of Apulia, Béla restricted the direct access to the king for petition by introducing a system of written supplications to the royal court. Only petitioners who first provided a written statement to the royal chancery could expect to talk to the king in person, and that only if he believed that their physical presence was worthy of his majesty. In a spectacular, symbolic performance, the king ordered all chairs from the royal council to be removed and burned. From that moment onward, only a few privileged magnates and prelates were allowed to sit in the presence of the monarch. All others had to stand whenever the king sat on his throne in order to execute his supreme power.[57] This process continued even more evidently after the devastating Mongol conquest and destruction of his country (1241–1242). Following the unexpected but rapid withdrawal of Batu's armies, King Béla had to rebuild his kingdom almost from scratch. His royal majesty and power also needed to be restored after the crushing defeat at the battle of Muhi and the subsequent, humiliating escape from the enemy.[58] Béla continued to use ritualized behavior to strengthen his royal authority. The sources record his ceremonial entries into towns (*adventus regis*), festive coronations (*Festkrönung*), and public performances, all of which involved the ostentatious display of the royal crown, garments, and other insignia of power.[59]

In Bohemia, Wenceslas I used similar, ritualized tools in 1248 and 1249 to restore order in his realm during and after the disputes with his son, the future king Přemysl Otakar II. After decisively defeating the rebellious son and his supporters, the king organized a ceremonial reconciliation. That turned into display of his power as supreme and most powerful lord in the kingdom, a ceremony charged with symbolism. Prelates and monks, as well as the townspeople of Prague and the noblemen of Bohemia solemnly welcomed the Bohemian king several times during a ceremonial procession. The performances included the signing of laudatory hymns and cheering to celebrate the restored order and peace of the realm. Wenceslas entertained them with lavish feasts and banquets during which he always appeared in full ceremonial outfit and decorated with royal insignia. The most prominent magnates of the realm served at this table according to their duties and their dignity. When, finally, the humbled Přemysl Otakar performed a public submission (*deditio*) to his father, he was received back into the king's favor by an exchange of the kiss of peace (*osculum pacis*).[60]

Rex sacrus et sanctus—sacral rulership

The religious dimension of medieval rulership is already quite evident from the previous considerations. In medieval East Central Europe, that dimension appears in several local variants. Some believe that one of the elementary forms of the social and political organization is monotheistic rulership.[61] The sacrality of the ruler rested on him being chosen by God (*Dei gratia*); acting as His representative on earth; and having a quasi-pastoral (*priesterähnliche*)

responsibility to his subjects. Those ideas in turn relied upon the distinction between sacred and profane, while at the same time underlining the need to distinguish between sacral and holy.[62] There were two main types of religious kings on the political scene of Latin Christendom. The first included kings that were both sacral (in that they had been confirmed through religious rites) and holy (in that they were canonized as saints), such as Stephen I and Ladislas I, kings of Hungary; the English king Edward the Confessor; the Holy Roman Emperor Henry II; Wenceslas I, Duke of Bohemia; and the French king Louis IX. The second type included kings that were sacral, but not holy, such as the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III, the Polish king Bolesław Chrobry, and Béla IV, King of Hungary. Such a typology reveals the distinction between the sacral nature of princely power and Christian sanctity, despite both of them being rooted in the Christian political theology.[63]

In East Central Europe, those ideas made room for the concepts of holy kings (*sancti reges*) and blessed lineage (*beata stirps*). Kings who were both sacral and holy appear in the sources pertaining to Hungary and Bohemia. In Hungary, this led to the popular veneration of the "holy kings of Hungary"—Stephen I, the first Christian king, the founder of the Christian monarchy, and the fervent supporter of Christianization; Emeric, his son and designated heir; and Ladislas I, the incarnation of the 12th-century knightly ideal and the *athleta patriae*. The former two were canonized in 1083, and the latter, in 1192. Stephen's canonization was the result of political and dynastic struggle between his successors. It was in fact Ladislas, who showed that a religious ceremony performed at the right time and place had the power to legitimize a disputed rule. In 1077, he succeeded his deceased brother, Géza, on the Hungarian throne, despite the fact that the legitimate, crowned, and anointed king Solomon was still alive. His cousins Ladislas and Géza had driven him out of the country in 1074.[64] This behavior contradicted the established order of succession and the legitimacy of rulers, which was constituted by the royal coronation and the ecclesiastical anointment. Ladislas was well aware of his abusive behavior against the legitimate monarch and, therefore, opted for another way to legitimize his rule. He brought up the concept of *idoneitas*, or fitness to rule.[65] Hungarian sources insist that Ladislas did not want to be crowned, but instead had the royal insignia carried out in front of him.[66] The decisive moment for acquiring legitimacy came with the canonization of the first king Stephen I and his son Emeric (together with three other churchmen, a bishop, and two hermits) in 1083. The elevation of the holy relics of the venerable Árpádian ancestors was possible only after the release of the detained king Salomon from custody in the Visegrád castle. The canonization enabled Ladislas to associate himself with the blessed lineage (*beata stirps*) of the Hungarian kings, and in this way, he obtained the much desired legitimacy by acquiring the inheritance of the sacral power of the Árpádian monarchs.[67]

Ladislas I was himself canonized a century later (1192). Ironically, his canonization served as a means of political legitimization for another king.[68] Béla III (1172–1196) grew up at the imperial court in Constantinople, adopting the name Alexios. Betrothed to Maria, the daughter of Emperor Manuel Comnenus, he was considered heir apparent for several years. After the birth of Manuel's son, the emperor sent Béla back to Hungary and supported his claim to the vacant throne in 1172. Some of the Hungarian noblemen, however, resented the claims of the newcomer who had the support of the Byzantine emperor. The country's primate, Archbishop Luke of Esztergom even refused to crown him. Béla III, therefore, received the crown from the second metropolitan of Hungary, the archbishop of Kalocsa, in 1173. The dispute surrounding the position and legitimacy of King Béla III had to be sanctioned by the rule of *idoneitas*. The canonization of Ladislas I in 1192 finally provided Béla III with the necessary symbolic and sacral tools to legitimize his authority.[69]

Equally ironical and paradoxical is the story of the saintly ruler of Bohemia, Duke Wenceslas I (925–935). He does not match the importance and fame of rulers such as Stephen I of Hungary and Bolesław I of Poland in terms of political accomplishments or military activity: he was neither a great warrior nor the founder of a united Christian monarchy. His fame and uniqueness rests solely on his piety and charitable work. Wenceslas became a martyr even though he was not killed for his faith, but in the course of a conflict over power with his brother, Boleslav I.[70] Nonetheless, the most fervent supporter of the cult surrounding Wenceslas was his brother, who quickly understood the political and religious benefits of a dynastic saint. In the course of the 11th, but especially during the 12th century, Wenceslas became a popular saint. He was the ideally pious ruler, who was later given the attributes of the eternal ruler of Bohemia. The Přemyslid dukes served only as earthly, temporary representatives of that heavenly ruler. This relation between the Přemyslids and St. Wenceslas is shown by 12th-century coins, the legends of which allude to "the peace of St. Wenceslas in the hand of Duke such and such."[71] St. Wenceslas also took on the attributes of a military saint. In decisive battles (such as those of 1126 at Chlumec and 1260 at Kressenbrunn), Bohemian troops marched under the protection of the saint. The most valiant soldiers stood in the middle of the array and carried the lance of St. Wenceslas as the most precious relic.[72]

The religious dimension is also apparent in the case of those rulers who belong to the second type, sacral, but not holy. Leaving aside the fact that canonization happened after the ruler's death, those rulers who were not canonized, nonetheless, attempted during their lifetime to appear as pious and holy princes. It was not only beneficial for their image as Christian rulers but also resonated with the moral requirements imposed on them by the Christian society. Those requirements rested on the main virtues mentioned by St. Paul—faith, hope, and love (*fides, spes, charitas*)—and were manifested in a set of qualities that characterized ideal rulers, namely, piety (*pietas*), mercy (*misericordia*), and leniency (*clementia*).[73] Christian monarchs publicly displayed piety in deeds of charity, almsgiving, as well as frequent participation in liturgical ceremonies. The church expected from them not only moral but also material support. Kings and dukes founded churches and monasteries, financed the building of cathedrals, supported the implementation of monastic orders, provided for decoration and financial provision of churches, and, especially in the early stages, promoted the spread of Christianity both home and abroad. The medieval king was, first and foremost, a *rex Christianus*, and in some cases, even a *rex Christianissimus*.[74]

There was no holy ruler among the Piasts who could be compared with those of the Árpádian or Přemyslid dynasty. Bolesław Chrobry came closest, but he was never canonized.[75] This is surprising, given that he was responsible for implementing an ecclesiastical organization centered upon Gniezno. He also supported Christianization in the neighboring regions, including the missions of Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Querfurt, both martyred in lands adjacent to Poland. Moreover, Bolesław's ceremonial meeting with Emperor Otto III in 1000 in Gniezno at the tomb of St. Adalbert as well as his receiving a copy of the Holy Lance as a gift were means of sacralization of Piast rulership. Such efforts were accompanied by a programmatic imitation of Ottonian sacralized kingship, which culminated with Bolesław's royal coronation of 1025. In short, although he never became a saint, Bolesław remained an ideal ruler for the next generations, and he was depicted as such in the first Polish historical work.[76] The author of that chronicle, known as Gallus Anonymus, has another sacral, but not holy ruler as hero—Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–1138). Like his namesake, this Piast ruler supported and personally led Christianization of neighboring peoples, especially in Pomerania. In his case, however, there were clear efforts to combine dynastic rule with the Christian ideal of the *miles Christi*, which in the account of Gallus

Anonymus takes on the features of holy war ideology. That much, at least, results from the chronicler's description of Bolesław's campaigns to Pomerania.[77]

Gallus also reflects upon the religious and ceremonial dimension of public princely penance. In 1113, Bolesław III underwent a series of symbolically charged penitential rites in order to atone for sins committed against his half-brother, Zbigniew, who died after being blinded.[78] According to Gallus, Bolesław first confessed publicly his trespasses and showed his repentance by spending two weeks dressed in sackcloth and laying in ashes, while deploring his sins. He then provided financial support for the poor and ordered the celebration of special masses at which psalms were recited that were meant to clean his guilt. Ultimately, he sought to reconcile with his brother and to provide him with satisfaction. Upon completing the first phase of his public penance, the Piast duke set to the next stage, during which he travelled as a penitential pilgrim to Hungary in company of his prelates; even King Coloman of Hungary joined him on several occasions. Bolesław went to the tomb of King St. Stephen in Székesfehérvár and to the abbey of St. Giles (his own patron saint) in Somogyvár. Throughout his pilgrimage, he continued to give away alms, to pray, and to observe strict fasting. The ritualized penance and display of special piety culminated with yet another pilgrimage to the cathedral in Gniezno. The Piast duke, barefoot and with contrite heart, remunerated his followers and together with them celebrated the Easter religious rites. This final stage of his penance ritually associated Christ's resurrection with Bolesław's own personal (spiritual) resurrection. As Gallus put it, the Piast ruler cleansed himself from his sins by public display of humility and piety (*humilitas* and *pietas*). This enabled him to restore his rule and fully enjoy the privileges of his sacred ducal office.[79]

Rulers between ideal and reality—by way of conclusion

This chapter has presented a sketch of what constitutes the ideal representation of rulership, as resulting from contemporary historical, hagiographic, and diplomatic sources. The main goal was to reflect, comment upon, and delineate the image of the ideal monarchic order. On the other hand, the reality of East Central European political struggle in the High Middle Ages was anything but ideal and harmonious.[80] The same sources provide abundant information on the behavior of kings and dukes that was contrary to all ideals. For example, Duke Boleslav I's murder of his brother, Wenceslas, was coupled with his cynical support of the growing cult of the martyr. Despite all diligent efforts of Gallus Anonymus to depict Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth as an ideal prince, he could not conceal the fact that his hero acted in contradiction to all monarchic ideals when dealing so harshly with his brother, Zbigniew. Similarly, the dynastic strife between the Hungarian King Coloman I and his younger brother, Duke Álmos, ended in military defeat, as well as the latter's imprisonment and, blinding.[81] Blinding as a tool for excluding rivals from the competition for the throne was also employed at the behest (or at least with the approval) of Stephen I of Hungary. He let his cousin, Vazul blinded, when the latter opposed Stephen's change of the old custom of seniority, in order to secure the throne for his nephew, Peter Orseolo. It was only because Vazul was not castrated (in addition to being blinded) that the Árpádian dynasty did not become extinct within the first generation of kings, given that Stephen died without a male heir. All subsequent kings of Hungary from 1046 to 1301 descended from Vazul, not from Stephen.[82] The rulers were bound by Christian virtues such as piety, clemency, and mercy, but that did not prevent them from giving preference to other virtues, such as justice. This kind of behavior was, in fact, regarded as quite appropriate when dealing with rebels,

traitors, and felons. When Stephen of Hungary defeated Duke Koppány, who was challenging his right to rule, he let the latter's body be quartered and sent to four corners of the realm. Duke Břetislav I of Bohemia punished his disloyal castellan Prkoš by gouging out his eyes and cutting off his limbs, before ordering his mutilated body to be "thrown into the abyss of the river (Bílina)—in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1041."[83]

The history of kings and dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia is full of treason, deceit, broken oaths, and violence. To reconstruct a true image of the political culture of East Central Europe during the High Middle Ages, one has to examine carefully both the ideal and the reality of rulership, as well as their presentation in contemporary sources. What seems to be evident is that in real political struggle, to a great extent, the rulers of East Central Europe, just like the authors who wrote about them (on a narrative level, in their case), followed and imitated the ideal patterns of influential and mighty neighboring Christian rulers. In doing so, they expressed their belonging to the cultural, religious, and political sphere of Latin Christendom.

Notes

1 The research for this study has been sponsored by grants VEGA 1/0814/18 Dejiny diplomacie v ranom stredoveku and APVV 18-0333 Databáza historickej terminológie k dejinám Strednej Európy.

2 *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae*, *Tomus I. 1000–1301*, edited and translated by János M. Bak, György Bónis and James Ross Sweeney (Idylwild: Charles Schlacks, 1989), p. 20: "Et quoniam unaqueque gens propriis utitur legibus, idcirco nos quoque dei nutu nostrum gubernantes monarchiam, antiquos ac modernos imitantes augustos, decretali meditatione nostre statuimus genti, quemadmodum honestam et inoffensam ducerunt vitam."

3 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. Studies in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 42–86; Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Herrschersakralität im Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Investiturstreit* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), pp. 213–14.

4 Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal. Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 1–5.

5 Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg: Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1924), pp. 15–86; Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Tübingen: Akademie Verlag, 2001); Francis Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism. Kingship and the Divine in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (to 1050)* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 67–219.

6 The most recent overviews are to be found in Zbigniew Dalewski, *Modele władzy dynastycznej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej we wcześniejszym średniowieczu* [Models of Dynastic Rule in Early Medieval East Central Europe] (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2014), pp. 9–267; Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 341–408.

7 Jacques Le Goff, *Il re nell´ Occidente medievale* (Rome/Bari: Gius. Laterza et figli, 2006), p. 12.

8 Előd Nemerkényi, "The religious ruler in the Admonitions of King Saint Stephen of Hungary," in *Monotheistic Kingship. The Medieval Variants*, edited by Aziz Al-Azmeh and János M. Bak (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004), pp. 231–47; Előd Nemerkényi, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century* (Debrecen/Budapest: University of Debrecen/Central European University, 2004), p. 31. See also László Havas, "A Szent István-i *Intelmek* mint a teokratikus keresztény monarchia eszményének úttörő jelentőségű metaforikus műfaji megszólaltatása" [King Stephen's *Admonitions* as metaphorically pioneering the genre of the ideal Christian theocracy], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 116 (2012), 363–79.

9 *Libellus sancti Stephani regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 611–27.

10 *Libellus sancti Stephani regis*, p. 627:

> Hac quidem oratione antiqui utebantur reges, tu quoque hac eadem utere, ut deus cuncta vitia a te aufferre dignetur, ut invictissimus rex a cunctis nomineris. Ora etiam, ut desidiam et ebetudinem a te depellat, et sublevamentum omnium tibi tribuat virtutum, quibus visibiles et invisibiles vincas inimicos. Ut securus et expeditus ab omni incursione adversariorum cum omnibus tibi subiectis cursum etatis tue vite cum pace possis finire.

See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 123–30; György Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 93–94.

11 Andrzej Pleszczyński, *The Birth of a Stereotype. Polish Rulers and Their Country in German Writings c. 1000 A.D.* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), pp. 254–57.

12 Brygida Kürbis, "Die *Epistola Mathildis Suevae* an Mieszko II. in neuer Sicht. Ein Forschungsbericht zu Cod. C 91 der Düsseldorfer Universitätsbibliothek," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 318–38, here 337–38.

13 David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 144–62; Zdeněk Fiala, *Přemyslovské Čechy* [Přemyslid Bohemia] (Prague: Svoboda, 1987), pp. 73–75. From a broader perspective, see Jiří Sláma, "Počátky přemyslovského státu" [The beginnings of the Přemyslid state], in *České země v raném středověku*, edited by Petr Sommer and Milena Bravermanová (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2006), pp. 30–52.

14 Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicon Boemorum* I 22, edited by Bertold Bretholz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), p. 42: "vir christianissimus, fide catholicus, pater orphanorum, defensor viduarum, gementium consolator, clericorum et peregrinorum pius susceptor, ecclesiarum Dei precipuus fundator." The English version is from Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, translated by Lisa Wolverton (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 71. See also Wojciech Iwańczak, *Po stopách rytířských příběhů* [In the Footsteps of Knightly Tales] (Prague: Argo, 2001), p. 199.

15 Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicon Boemorum* I 22, p. 42.

16 Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), pp. 260–68; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 5 and 48. See also František Dvorník, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Polish Research Centre, 1949).

17 Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War, and the Piast Monarchy, 1100–1230* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 217–20; Dušan Zupka, *Meč a kríž. Vojna a náboženstvo v stredovekej strednej Európe (10. -12. storočie)* [The Sword and the Cross. War and Religion in Medieval East Central Europe (10th–12th century)] (Bratislava: VEDA, 2020), pp. 24–233. See also *Christianity and War in Medieval East-Central Europe and Scandinavia*, edited by Radosław Kotecki, Carsten Selch Jensen and Stephen Bennett (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2021).

18 Jean Flori, *La guerra santa. La formazione dell'idea di crociata nell'Occidente cristiano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), pp. 67–109; Jean Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette, 1998); Jean Flori, "Chevalerie et liturgie; remise des armes et vocabulaire chevaleresque dans les sources liturgiques du IXe au XIVe siècle," *Le Moyen Âge* 84 (1978), no. 3, 247–78; Franco Cardini, *Alle radici della cavaleria medievale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014); *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000*, edited by Thomas F. Head and Richard Landes (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992).

19 Cosmas of Prague, *Chronicon Boemorum* I 22, p. 42.

20 Kürbis, "Die Epistola Mathildis," p. 337: "uiduis ut uir, orphanis ut pater, egenis et pauperibus incorruptus defensor." The standard edition is *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi* [The Codex of Matilda. A Book of Rites with Dedicatory Pictures], edited by Brygida Kürbis (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejetności, 2000).

21 Kürbis, "Die Epistola Mathildis," p. 337: "Christi procul dubio militem cum beato Sebastiano sub regalis uestitus cultu ducis absconditum."

22 Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 66–76; Pleszczyński, *The Birth*, pp. 254–85; Kürbis, "Die Epistola Mathildis," pp. 318–43.

23 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 114–54; László Veszprémy, "Royal saints in Hungarian chronicles, legends and liturgy," in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (c. 1000–1300), edited by Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculaneum Press, 2006), pp. 217–45, here pp. 231–33.
24 Richard Marsina, *Ku koncepcii a vývoju slovenskej historiografie* [Concepts and development of Slovak historiography] (Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2013), pp. 235–37.
25 *Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis*, edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 381–83.
26 *Legenda maior*, pp. 381–82.
27 Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 229–68; Gerd Althoff, *Rules and Rituals in Medieval Power Games. A German Perspective* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2020), pp. 203–14.
28 Georges Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-Européens* (Paris: Latomus, 1958); Le Goff, *Il re,* p. 23.
29 Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*; Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*; Erkens, *Herrschersakralität*.
30 Gumpold of Mantua, *Passio Sancti Venceslavi martyris*, edited by Jana Zachová and translated by Marina Miladinov, in *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest/New York: Central University Press, 2013), pp. 42 and 44 (Latin), 43 and 45 (English).
31 *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis*, edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 520–21. See also Kornel Szovák, "The image of the ideal king in twelfth-century Hungary. Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, edited by Anne J. Duggan (London: King's College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993), pp. 241–64, here p. 263.
32 Erdmann, *The Origin*, pp. 306–54; David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 32–107 and 151–88; Flori, *La guerra santa*, pp. 11–17 and 371–73.
33 See Zupka, *Meč a kríž;* Dušan Zupka, "Religious rituals of war in medieval Hungary under the Árpád dynasty," in *Christianity and War in Medieval East Central Europe and Scandinavia*, edited by Radoslaw Kotecki, Carsten Selchen Jensen and Stephen Bennett (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2021), pp. 141–57; Dušan Zupka, "Political, religious and social framework of religious warfare and its influences on rulership in medieval East Central Europe," in *Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe (Bohemia, Hungary and Poland)*, edited by Dušan Zupka and Grischa Vercamer (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2021), forthcoming.
34 Gallus Anonymus, *Gesta principum Polonorum*, edited and translated by Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer. (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2003), pp. 166, 168, 170, 206, 208, 220, 222, 224, 226, 232 and 234.
35 *Monachi Sazawiensis continuatio Cosmae*, edited by Josef Emler, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2 (Prague: Nákladem N. F. Palackého, 1874), p. 255; *Canonici Wissegradensis continuatio Cosmae*, edited by Josef Emler, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2 (Prague: Nákladem N. F. Palackého, 1874), pp. 203–04.
36 *Příběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II* [Stories of King Přemysl Otakar II)] edited by Josef Emler, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2 (Prague: Nákladem N. F. Palackého, 1874), pp. 314–19.
37 Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited by Alexander Domanovszky, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 1 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1937), pp. 148–54; *Continuatio Vindobonensis,* s. a. 1278, edited by Georg Pertz, MGH SS 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 710.
38 Anti Selart, *Livonia, Rus′ and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2015); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), pp. 118–70; Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 563–73.
39 The literature for Western Europe is enormous. A few titles stand out: Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London/Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1986); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 1992); Philippe Buc, "Political ritual: Medieval and

modern interpretations," in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, edited by Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum: Winkler, 2000), pp. 255–72; Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). For Eastern Europe, the literature is more abundant for the period after 1300. For the earlier period, see Mariusz Bartnicki, "Ceremoniał powoływania władców na Rusi w XII wieku na przykładzie intronizacji książąt Igora Światosławowicza i Izjasława Mścisławowicza w 1146 roku" [The ceremony of consecrating rulers in Rus' in the 12th century, illustrated with an example of the enthronement of Igor Sviatoslavich and Iziaslav Mstsislavovich in 1146] *Res historica* 36 (2013), 73–85; Aleksandr A. Romenskii, "'Khochiu na by iti': voinskii etos i ritual'no-simvolicheskoe vospriiatie voiny v domongol'skoi Rusi" ["I am coming after you": Military ethos and ritual and symbolic perception of warfare in pre-Mongol Russia], *Stratum+* (2019), no. 5, 39–52; A. Laushkin, "'Vǎzvrashchenie s pobedoiu': domongol'skie kniazheskie tseremonii v svete vozmozhnykh parallelei" ["Return with victory": Pre-Mongol princely ceremonies in the light of possible parallels], *Vostochnaia Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* 32 (2020), 136–42. For East Central Europe, see Zbigniew Dalewski, *Władza przestrzeń ceremoniał: Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.* [Authority Space Ceremony: The Place and Ceremony of the Inauguration of the Ruler in Medieval Poland until the End of the 14th Century] (Warsaw: Instytyt Historii PAN, 1996); *Stát, státnost a rituály přemyslovského věku* [State, statehood and rituals of the Přemyslid age], edited by Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice Moravská, 2006); Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty, 1000–1301* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016).

40 Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*, pp. 10–21.

41 Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century. Mentalities and Social Orders* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 3–6 and 158–60.

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11
ROYAL GOVERNMENTS

Adrien Quéret-Podesta

Reconstructing the history of the practical aspects of royal government in the three medieval states of East Central Europe—Bohemia, Hungary and Poland—before 1300 is a challenging task, marred by important obstacles. The first is that the very political situation in each of the above-mentioned states was very different from the others. While there was much stability in Hungary, despite some dynastic quarrels in the second half of the 11th and in the 12th centuries, royal governments were far from stable in Bohemia and in Poland during that same period. In Bohemia, the royal government was a discontinuous and late phenomenon, largely dependent upon the decisions of the German emperors. In spite of the coronations of Vratislav II (king from 1085 to 1092), Vladislav II (king from 1158 to 1172) and Přemysl Otakar I (king from 1203 to 1230), Bohemia became a hereditary kingdom only in 1212, with the promulgation of the Golden Bull of Sicily by Frederick II.[1] In the case of Poland, besides discontinuity in royal government, the kingdom was divided into several duchies from 1138 to 1295. The five known Polish kings are either long before (Bolesław Chrobry from 1000 to 1025 or just in 1025; Mieszko II from 1025 to 1031; and Bolesław II from 1076 to 1079) or after that (Przemysł II from June 1295 to February 1296 and Wenceslas II, King of Bohemia and Poland from 1300 to 1305). The second important impediment is the nature of the sources, which are rare before the 12th century. There are of course differences in that respect as well: while the problem is quite serious for Poland and Bohemia, for which there are very few written sources before 1100, in Hungary, at least, laws exist, in addition to a short "mirror of princes" entitled *Admonitions* and attributed to a foreign clerk writing on behalf of King Stephen I for his son Emeric.[2]

In an attempt to overcome those obstacles, this chapter will describe the practical aspects of royal government in East Central Europe prior to 1300. I will first deal with the establishment of the instruments of territorial and fiscal control during the first part of the period, before moving to the production of written documents in the 11th century, and finally to the birth of royal administration in the 12th century.

Control of territory and taxation

One of the first tasks of the first Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian rulers around AD 1000 was to secure the complete control of their respective territories. However, this turned out

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to be a rather lengthy process, primarily because of dynastic crises which in some cases led to the creation of territorial division of the realm.[3] In order to maintain the control of the territory, rulers relied on their vassals, who were in charge of key strongholds and their hinterlands. For example, in Hungary, the realm was divided into counties (*comitates*), each headed by a count (*ispán*), an office introduced by Stephen I (1000–1038). The office of *comes* appears somewhat later in Poland (12th century), even though both castellans and palatine counts (*comites palatini*) were already known in Central Europe during the 11th century. In Hungary, one can also notice at the same time the presence of "bailliffs" called *pristaldi*, an office and a word believed to be of (south) Slavic origin.[4] The main functions of the ruler's officers were of course law enforcement (along with the judges first mentioned in Hungary in the 11th century) and military duties, as well as tax collection.

The beginnings of tax collection and fiscal policy in East Central Europe are rather difficult to reconstruct since many dues were paid in kind.[5] What was paid was collected and then directly consumed by the royal court during its travels around the country.[6] Because of the scarcity of written sources, next to nothing is known about the earliest phase of fiscal control in Bohemia and Poland during the 11th century.

For Hungary, the earliest references to direct taxation may be found in the 11th-century legal texts. The first book of the Laws of King Coloman, which was composed between 1095 and 1104, contains a stipulation concerning the change of a tax to be paid in the amount of eight deniers by all freemen, which strongly suggests that the tax had already been in existence for some time.[7] Article 45 of King Coloman's oldest legal text links the amount of the tax to the nature of military service for the king, as some freemen continued to pay eight deniers, while those "who usually furnish the king with horses, transport wagons, and [do] services for pay when he passes through their region" had to pay only four deniers.[8] Articles 78 and 79 offer some details about the collection of taxes and their distribution between the king and the counts: every *ispán* has to make sure that, each year before Michaelmas (September 29), the tax money was sent by one of his *centuriones* to Esztergom, where the king took two-thirds of the amount collected in the respective county and left the other third to the *ispán*.[9]

Besides taxes, excise duties were another important instrument of fiscal control. The oldest information about them is contained in charters confirming the donation of income from tolls to ecclesiastical institutions, but a toll collector (*thelonarius*) already appears in the Laws of King Ladislas.[10] Moreover, the distribution of income from excise duties is described in the first book of the Laws of King Coloman. According to article 45, one-third was to go to the count, one-tenth to the (local) bishop and the remaining part to the king.[11]

The need to deal with the management of increasingly complicated finances prompted the creation of specific offices. During the early 12th century, according to Czech and Polish narrative sources (Cosmas of Prague's *Chronicle of the Czechs* and the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles* by an unknown author conventionally known as Gallus Anonymus) the office of *camerarius* was already known as dealing with financial matters. In Poland, after the division of the realm into several duchies following the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1138, the replacement of the central administration with several ducal administrations was accompanied by the multiplication of instruments of financial organization and excise duty collection.

In Hungary, the creation of a special office dedicated to the royal finances took place in the 12th century. A unique glimpse into the state of royal finances in the 12th-century Hungary is made possible by the survival of a list of revenues compiled for King Béla III, probably before his marriage in 1186 to Margaret, sister of the French King Philip II and widow of Henry the Young, King of England, or prior to the wedding, shortly before

1200, of Béla's son Emeric and of Constance, daughter of King Alfonso II of Aragón. Although there is still debate about the circumstances in which this list was written, and some have even raised doubts about the reliability of the figures therein, the types of revenues and their ratios are commonly regarded as reliable.[12] A brief analysis shows that taxes from the counties and the excise duties represent 25,000 and 30,000 silver marks, respectively, which constitutes about one-third of all royal revenues in coin (166,000 marks). Other sources of revenue include special taxes from the duke of Slavonia and from the counts (each in the amount of 10,000 marks), as well as dues from the Saxon "guests" in Transylvania (15,000 marks), in addition to revenue from minting and the salt trade (60,000 and 16,000 marks, respectively).[13] To that, one needs to add the various "gifts" and in-kind contributions mentioned in the document.

The beginning of the production of written documents

The first written document associated with Poland is the so-called *Dagome Iudex*. The text, which basically places the *Civitas Schinesghe*, commonly identified with the Polish realm during the lifetime of Mieszko I (d. 992), under the protection of the Holy See, is known only from a notice in a late 11th-century collection of canons. Some have therefore posited that the text was a later version of a document originally written not in Poland, but in the papal chancery, on the basis of oral information obtained from Polish envoys.[14] Although others believe that other documents may have been issued before 1100,[15] the only known document of a Polish ruler dated before that century is a letter of Władysław Herman (ruled from 1079 to 1102) to the cathedral in Bamberg concerning the restitution of two golden crosses, as well as the establishment of a prebend.[16] The letter was authenticated by a wax seal, which was later damaged but its left half has survived. This, in fact, is the earliest known example of seal used in Poland.

Although Bolesław the Wrymouth used a lead bull and probably issued documents, there is no other text written by or on behalf of any Piast ruler before 1138.[17] Nor is there any trace of written laws, and the only information about the oldest Polish laws comes from the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg.[18] The bishop-chronicler indeed mentions the harsh punishment imposed by Mieszko I and Bolesław Chrobry on those found guilty of adultery, as well as the equally harsh punishments instituted by Bolesław for those found eating meat during Lent (physical mutilation, such as castration or teeth extraction).[19] One must take this testimony with a grain of salt, given that the bishop-chronicler was very ill-disposed toward Bolesław.

One of the oldest recorded traces of a Bohemian ruler's decision is a short note written around 1000 in a 10th-century German legal manuscript. The note concerns decisions taken by Boleslav II in 992 to prevent incest, the necessity of building churches, and the establishment of tithes.[20] The next information about laws promulgated by Bohemian rulers appears in the *Chronicle of the Czechs*, in which Cosmas of Prague describes the laws given by Duke Břetislav I to his people in 1039. Much like the Polish laws mentioned by Thietmar of Merseburg, the laws presented by Cosmas deal primarily with adultery and the respect of Christian holidays.[21]

No original documents issued by Bohemian rulers have survived from the 11th century, but a handful is known by later notices or copies. Unfortunately, forgeries were also common in that, as well as in the following century. Out of 70 known documents issued by rulers of Bohemia before 1197, 22 are forgeries.[22] The oldest decisions of the Bohemian rulers are known only from four notices produced by two ecclesiastical institutions

that benefited from their munificence—the Benedictine abbey of Ostrov and the collegiate church of Litoměřice. On the basis of that, some have suggested that the earliest documents are those of Vratislav II (duke from 1061 to 1085, then king until his death in 1092).[23] The traces of his activity are known chiefly from a note about his confirmation of the foundation of the Hradisko abbey by Otto I, Duke of Olomouc (1078). Forged charters of Vratislav were made by ecclesiastical institutions, such as the collegiate chapter of Vyšehrad.[24] The forged charters of Vyšehrad even had forged seals, which led some to advance the idea that Vratislav used a seal to authenticate his documents.[25] This, in turn, would be the first example of such a practice among Bohemian rulers.

The situation is comparatively better for Hungary, since no less than five authentic documents are known from the first king, Stephen I. However, they are not preserved in original, but in much later notices or copies. The first royal document preserved in original is the foundation charter that King Andrew I issued for the Benedictine abbey of Tihany in 1055.[26] However, throughout the 11th century, the production of written documents remained rather modest, since less than 20 documents were preserved, 8 of which are from King Coloman (1095–1116). Although the number of documents produced must have been higher as indicated by such clues as references in later documents and by finds of seals, the estimate for the entire production in the 11th century is no more than 50 documents. The analysis of documents shows that the 11th-century rulers of Hungary relied first on foreign clerks and only in the second place on local churchmen for the redaction of documents. György Györffy noted that the text of the surviving documents shows a clear influence of the practices in the imperial chancery.[27]

Most of the documents issued by the Hungarian kings were authenticated with seals. Wax seals are known for Béla I (only a fragment), Ladislas I and Coloman.[28] Information culled from the sources suggests that Stephen I, Andrew I and Géza I also used wax seals.[29] Stephen may have even had a signet ring.[30] No seals are known either for Peter Orseolo or for Solomon, but both used lead seals.[31] No seal is known for Samuel Aba, but his was a short and turbulent reign (1041–1044). Along with seals, some Hungarian rulers also used a *sigillum citationis*, which is a metallic seal that had a hole in the upper part for suspension. Such a seal was worn like a pendant around the neck when the king traveled and needed to summon someone to trial. Two such seals are known for Andrew I.[32] However, the traces of the use of such seals by the count palatine (responsible for the king's seal) and judges also appear in the laws of Saint Ladislas.[33]

As already mentioned, Hungary stands out among all the 11th-century states in East Central Europe by virtue of a relatively large number of legal texts, a precious source of information about the organization of the state. Two legal texts were produced under Stephen I, three under Ladislas I and another three under Coloman.[34] The two sets of laws promulgated by Stephen I, the first king of Hungary, contain 35 and 21 articles, respectively. Much like the oldest Czech and Polish legal dispositions, they are primarily concerned with the Christianization of the social life in the country. Because of that, there is even information about (the punishment of) witches and sorcerers. The laws also dealt with theft and violent crimes such as abduction, arson and murder. In several cases, the penalty consisted of a compensation, either in money or in-kind (usually oxen), and its value changed according to the crime and to the social status of the criminal. Scholars have noted many similarities between Stephen's books of laws, on the one hand, and imperial and papal texts, on the other hand, which suggests the use of Carolingian and canonical sources.[35] While the oldest trace of a Bohemian ruler's legislation is preserved in a manuscript of a legal compilation brought from

the Empire, the models used for Stephen's legislation in Hungary were probably brought there by foreign churchmen. In fact, most scholars agree that the author of the first Hungarian king's books of laws was a foreign clerk.[36]

The three legal texts of Ladislas I contain 42, 18 and 29 articles, respectively. The first text was produced at the synod of Szabolcs (May 20, 1092). Responsible for its redaction was most likely one of the churchmen who participated in the synod. No surprise, therefore, that the text deals almost exclusively with matters of faith and church authority, even though it also includes articles about general juridical procedure. Scholars regard the second and third books as collections of different decrees.[37] Those decrees are concerned with the same types of crimes as the laws of Saint Stephen, but they also deal with the organization of the juridical system and offer interesting details about the role the count palatine and the use of summoning seals. Just as in the case Stephen's laws, material compensation was a common form of penalty.

The three legal texts produced under King Coloman are very different from each other. One of them contains 84 articles that were adopted at an assembly in Tarcal, now a village in northeastern Hungary near Tokay. Both noblemen and churchmen participated in this assembly, the exact date of which remains unknown. It must have been before 1104, since the text's prologue mentions Seraphin, the Archbishop of Esztergom, as still living.[38] The common opinion is that the articles of Tarcal represent the decisions taken after deliberations in Hungarian, which were translated into Latin by a priest named Alberich, who is also mentioned in the prologue.[39] The first part of this legal text (up to article 22) deals with ecclesiastical matters, and as such is strongly influenced by the ideas of the Gregorian reform.[40] The remaining, longer part concerns the organization of the state with a focus on fiscality as well as juridical procedures and the punishment of crimes. However, church matters are not completely absent from the second part. Some articles, for example, deal with non-Christian practices. Article 60 deals with wizards, and article 57 mentions *strigae*, i.e., witches capable of form-changing and believed to engage in cannibalism. The second legal text issued by King Coloman is in fact a collection of decrees adopted at various synods during his reign. The 90 articles all deal with church matters, the largest number of them (72) having been promulgated at a synod in Esztergom, which most likely took place after 1104 and before 1112.[41] The last legal text issued by King Coloman is much shorter, with only six articles. This text is a gathering of statues concerning the Jews, who were forbidden to buy, own or sell Christian slaves. The remaining articles concern money lending and trading between Jews and Christians. Despite its brevity, this text is an important milestone in Hungarian legal history as it is the first legal text that concerns a specific social group.

This quick survey of the production of written documents in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary before the 12th century reveals significant similarities. In each case, one can notice that the production was rather modest, although figures are quite different for each country. In all three cases, however, responsible for the production of those written documents were foreign churchmen. Some of them were of elevated ranks, such as Archbishop Dominic of Esztergom, mentioned as *vicecancellarius* in the foundation charter issued by Stephen I for the abbey of Pannonhalma (1001) or Bishop Manasses of Zagreb, who applied the royal seal to the charter issued by Coloman for the abbey of Zobor in 1111. This strongly suggests that the production and authentication of written documents was only one of the tasks of the churchmen involved in such practices, with no developed chancery offices and no specialized personnel. Nonetheless, those were the "seeds" out of which chanceries began to grow in the course of the 12th century.

The beginnings of the complex royal administration

In the 12th century, the production of written documents exploded in East Central Europe. The needs for authentication of one's own rights to property and the difficulty of finding witnesses capable of confirming old transactions greatly contributed to the increasing emphasis on the written word. This certainly explains why so many surviving documents of the 12th and 13th centuries are little more than confirmations of previous grants of property and rights. Much like in Western Europe, certain institutions, especially monasteries, suddenly became very concerned with the confirmation of their possessions. Much like elsewhere, this new emphasis on the written word quickly led to the proliferation of forgeries, especially of documents allegedly issued by earlier rulers.

The growing number of written documents is, however, interesting for the purpose of this chapter, because it reflects directly the development of the chanceries in the region. In Bohemia and Hungary, the reforms leading to the establishment of well-structured royal chanceries were introduced during the second half of the 12th century. The situation in Poland was of course very different, since the country was divided into several duchies from 1138 to 1295. Although there was no royal chancery in Poland, there were several chanceries in the Polish duchies during the 13th century.[42]

In Bohemia, responsible for the establishment of the state chancery was Vladislav II (duke from 1140 to 1158, king until 1172).[43] The chancery apparently came into being soon after his royal coronation by Frederick II Barbarossa in 1158. Indeed, while two charters of Vladislav as duke were written for the bishopric of Olomouc by a churchman associated with that see, the king's chancellor, a provost of Vyšehrad named Gervasius, appears in a charter of Vladislav II for the Cistercian abbey of Waldsassen in Bavaria dated to 1159.[44]

Judging by what is known about the chancery in Bohemia during the first few decades of its existence, the institution was already well organized and developed under Vladislav II, with such offices as chancellor, vice-chancellor, protonotary, notary and scribe.[45] There is also evidence of curricula associated with the institution, since careers in the chancellery often implied working first in one of the lower positions, before being promoted to higher ranking offices. This was clearly the case of Chancellor Florian, who held that office from 1189 onward.[46] As suggested by Gervasius's case, the collegiate chapter of Vyšehrad, which operated as royal chapel, played a very important role in the development of the chancery. The first three chancellors—Gervasius, Alexander, and Bartholomew—were all provosts of Vyšehrad, much like the already mentioned Chancellor Florian.[47] The series of chancellors coming from Vyšehrad was interrupted only by Alexander, chancellor between 1187 and 1189, who had previously been a *magister* at the cathedral chapter of St. Vitus in Prague.[48]

The contribution of the cathedral chapter in Prague to the development of the chancery may also be seen in the presence of some of its members in lower offices. This was the case of Vincent, who was the chaplain of bishop Daniel, as well as notary of the royal chancery.[49] At the turn of the 12th century, the Cistercian abbey of Plasy began to play an important role in the organization of the chancery, with many of its monks working as notaries or even chancellors. Their formation being different from that of the Vyšehrad and Prague churchmen, they introduced new styles and practices in the chancery.[50] After an initial period of alternating, as well as a conflict between King Přemysl Otakar I and Bishop Andrew of Prague, the office of chancellor was finally and definitively linked to the dignity of provost of Vyšehrad. Beginning with 1225, the institution of the chancery remained tied to the collegiate chapter of Vyšehrad until well into the 15th century.[51] That chapter became responsible for the training of notaries, not only those working in the royal chancery, but also those employed by the

chancery of the bishopric of Prague or the City Hall of Prague. Two generations of graduates of the "Vyšehrad school" may be distinguished for the last third of the 13th century on the basis of the paleographic analysis of the script.[52]

The Hungarian chancery developed much in the same way. Responsible for the production of written documents were the provosts of collegiate churches in Szekésfehérvár and Buda.[53] Those provosts held the title of *cancellarius*, even when acting as notaries. Their main task was to apply the royal seal to documents dictated by notaries and written by scribes.[54]

During the second half of the 12th century, the production of royal documents increased greatly. The point was well illustrated by György Györffy's comparison between the 15 years (1116–1131) of the reign of Stephen II, with only four written documents, to the much shorter reign of Emeric (1196–1204), from which more than 50 documents survive.[55] Such a dramatic change was the direct result of the organization of the chancery under Béla III, ca. 1183.[56] Shortly after that, the royal chancery was modeled after that of the French king, as Béla III's second wife, Margaret (whom he married in 1186), was Philip II's sister. All Hungarian churchmen studying in Paris at that time, at the Abbey of Saint Geneviève, were recalled, in order to work in the chancery.[57] Those churchmen soon filled important positions. Jób was *summus cancellarius* in 1185, before becoming Archbishop of Esztergom. Adrian was provost of Buda and chancellor. Béla III's reform greatly contributed to the uniformization of diplomatic practices, which sharply contrasted with those in existence under the king's predecessors.[58]

In Poland, the production of written documents remained modest during the 12th century. Only 20 documents produced by the Piast rulers are known for the two-thirds of the century between 1138 and 1200. Moreover, only six of them are originals, four others being later copies, and the remaining ten notices and summaries.[59] The ten extant documents, which were all issued for ecclesiastic establishments, were composed by churchmen, mostly of foreign origin, for their respective institutions.[60] This strongly suggests that in Poland, much more than in Bohemia and Hungary, the 11th-century practices continued well into the following century, when the realm of Bolesław Wrymouth was divided into duchies. However, shortly after 1200, chanceries were established in all duchies, even though the number of documents varied from one duchy to another. To be sure, however, the use of the written word became the norm in almost every aspect of social life by the time the Polish kingdom was restored ca. 1300.[61] One of the main mediating factors was the diminishing access to the ruler in contrast to the ducal period, when travel to the court was easier, since the duchies were relatively small, and it was also easier to produce witnesses.[62]

Chanceries developed not only for kings and dukes, but also for ecclesiastical centers. In fact, in some cases, episcopal chanceries even predate the establishment of ducal or royal chanceries. Moreover, with the rapid urban development of the 13th century, urban chanceries mushroomed, although their development happened mostly after 1300, during the late Middle Ages. There are even examples of chanceries working for specific members of the royal family. Béla III's French wife, Margaret, founded a collegiate church dedicated to St. Thomas Becket, the provost of which was her (personal) chancellor.[63] During the 13th century, the increasing reliance on the written word led to the rise of a specific institution in Hungary, the so-called *locus credibilis* (place of authentication). Attached to cathedral chapters or monasteries, those institutions were granted by the king the right to issue documents and copies of documents.[64]

During the 13th century, the number of written documents continued to increase as it became the norm to record every important transaction and juridical decision. One of the new types of documents issued at this time was the grant of rights or privileges to lay

communities. Some of the earliest recipients of such grants were immigrants from Western Europe, especially from the German-speaking areas, who settled in the mining regions of Transylvania, in the central parts of modern Slovakia, in Bohemia and in Silesia. Their arrival greatly stimulated the urban development in East Central Europe, which in turn prompted rulers to bestow upon them city rights and statutes. In most cases, the rights granted to cities and towns followed German models, particularly that of Magdeburg, often transmitted through the *Saxon Mirror*.[65]

The German-speaking settlers were not the only recipients of royal charters in Hungary. Most Dalmatian cities had their rights and institutions confirmed or guaranteed by royal writ. In several cases, this happened during the first decade of the 12th century, following King Coloman's coronation in Biograd as king of Croatia (1103). As many coastal towns were coveted by Venice, the king had to secure their loyalty by confirming the rights of the urban communities in Dalmatia. In the case of Trogir and Split, the confirmation came only five years after the coronation, when Coloman began the practice of the Hungarian kings visiting Dalmatia every couple of years. In Zadar, the deputy of the king had to take an oath on the Gospels that he would respect the customs of the country.[66] Most other cities requested the (re)confirmation of their rights from any new king or ban of Croatia.

Other groups received privileges. The conflict between the nobility and King Andrew II led to the promulgation of the Golden Bull of 1222.[67] One of the most important articles of this text, which an earlier generation of scholars wanted to have been inspired by the English Magna Carta, concerns the *ius resistandi*, that is the right for the nobles to oppose to the king, if and when he would not respect the rulings mentioned in the bull.[68] In 1231, Andrew II renewed the Golden Bull, but the right of resistance was replaced by the right for the Archbishop of Esztergom to excommunicate the king if he would not respect the Golden Bull.[69] Andrew's son, Béla IV, together with his own sons, Stephen and Béla, granted to the lesser nobility in 1267 privileges partially inspired by the Golden Bull.[70]

Various legal documents promulgated by Bohemian and Hungarian kings during the 13th century concerned fiscality and the economic exploitation of royal monopolies. Among the rights granted to the town of Jihlava in Bohemia during the second half of the 13th century, most prominent is a decree concerning mining of silver in the vicinity. The decree later became one of the sources for the *Ius Regale Montanorum*, written in 1300 at the order of King Wenceslas II by a group of lawyers, the most important of whom was the Italian jurist Gozzius of Orvieto. The *Ius Regale Montanorum* subsequently shaped the entire legislation in Bohemia pertaining to mining. Another royal monopoly was minting, which appears in two documents pertaining to Bohemia, and another couple pertaining to Moravia.

The Golden Bull of 1222, as well as its confirmation of 1231, included articles dealing with fiscality as well as with monopolies and trade control. For example, article 29 of the Golden Bull and article 21 of its confirmation mention two new taxes to be paid to the king: the "bucket tax" (*cibriones*), which concerned wine making, and the "ox-tax" (*boves*).[71] The distribution of the other taxes remained unchanged. Article 27 of the Golden Bull mentions the *marturina*, an initially in-kind tax payed by the inhabitants of Slavonia in the form of one marten pelt per person. However, article 20 of the 1231 confirmation shows that the in-kind tax had already been converted to money, namely four *pondera* (i.e., 20 deniers) for a marten pelt.[72] Article 23 of the Golden Bull spells out the rules concerning the annual "renewal" of the coins and their legal content of silver.[73] Article 25 concerns the trade with salt. Whether or not salt was a royal monopoly during Andrew II's reign, the article mentions that salt can only be stored in the borderlands, with only two depots in the center of the kingdom, namely

at Szalacs (today Sălacea, in northwestern Romania) and Szeged. At the very least, the article thus shows the desire of the king to increase his control over this lucrative activity.[74]

The growing production of written documents also prompted the organization of the first archives. In Bohemia and in Hungary, royal archives came into being at about the same time as the royal chanceries, which were of course in charge of their creation and management. In Bohemia, the first archives were organized in the mid-12th century and, at least during the second half of the 13th century, they were kept together with the archive of the cathedral chapter in the sacristy of the Cathedral of St. Vitus, next to the tomb of St. Wenceslas.[75] Similarly, in Hungary, the royal archives were kept since the 12th century in the sacristy of the collegiate church in Székesfehérvár.[76] Because of the political division of Poland into several duchies from 1138 to 1295, a centralized royal archive came into being only after 1300.

In some cases, the importance of a particular document made it necessary for the chancery to produce several copies. For example, for the Golden Bull, no less than seven copies have been produced. One of them was sent to the papal chancery, another to the convent of the Hospitallers in Székesfehérvár, a third one to the Templars in Vrana (Dalmatia), a fourth was to be kept by the king, the fifth and the sixth by the archiepiscopal chapters of Esztergom and Kalocsa and the seventh by the palatine currently in charge.[77]

However, the explosion of written document production in the 13th century was quickly met with serious problems of parchment supply and raised issues of storage capacity. In response, chanceries began to record transaction and juridical decisions in registers. In Bohemia, the practice of register-keeping and register-recording began under King Přemysl Otakar II (1253–1278).[78] The most famous type of such registers consists of the so-called land tables, in which juridical decisions and translations were recorded that concerned people from the whole country (as opposed to "court tables"). The earliest "land tables" cover only Bohemia, with similar registers for Moravia and Silesia coming into being only after 1300.[79] Initially, the land tables concerned only the trials (*libri citationum, quaterni citationum*) and the transactions (*libri contractuum, quaterni contractuum*): records were provided on quires, usually quaternions, and bound into volumes when completed.

The history of the forms of government in East Central Europe before 1300 reveals a pattern of growing complexity of the state administration in response to the changing realities of the time, such as the arrival of new settlers or urbanization. The most important component of this response was the increasing role of written documents in the administration. Over less than three centuries, the practices of government, initially largely based on orality and on royal (or ducal) officers and judges, changed completely to an organization in which the royal chanceries played a key role in composing, issuing and authenticating royal charters, decrees, and statutes, as well by keeping records of all the administrative and juridical decisions. This change took place in East Central Europe under the direct influence of the West. Far from being just a form of imitation, the process led in several cases to original adaptation to local realities and even to the rise of specific institutions.

Notes

1 See Martin Wihoda, *Die sizilischen goldenen Bullen von 1212: Kaiser Friedrichs II. Privilegien für die Přemysliden im Erinnerungsdiskurs* (Vienna/Cologne/ Weimar, Böhlau, 2012).

2 *Libellus de institutione morum*, edited by József Balogh, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpéteri, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia litterae Hungarica, 1938; reprint Budapest: Nap, 1999), pp. 611–27.

3 See now Dániel Bagi, Divisio regni. *The Territorial Division, Power Struggles and Dynastic Historiography of the Árpáds of 11th- and Early 12th-Century Hungary, with Comparative Studies of the Piasts of Poland and Přemyslids of Bohemia* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020).

4 For *pristavniki*, a word typically used for "governors," see Ivan Biliarski, *Word and Power in Mediaeval Bulgaria* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2011), p. 123.

5 Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages. Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900–c. 1300* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 265, 279, 283, and 286; David Kalhous, "Przewod, powóz, prowod… a paraveredus? K otázce údajné služebné organizace a veřejných služebností a jejich původu" (Przewod, powóz, prowod… and paraveredus? Toward the public services in East Central European monarchies in high Middle ages and their origin), in *Pro Pana profesora Libor Jan k životnímu jubileu*, edited by Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malíř, Lukáš. Reitinger ans Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2020), pp. 121–29. For the food tax as the main source of revenue for the crown, see also Boglárka Weisz, "Royal revenues in the Árpádian age," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, edited by József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péeter Szábó, and András Vadas (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 255–64, here 255.

6 Berend, Urbańczyk and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, pp. 279 and 286.

7 János M. Bak, György Bónis and James Ross Sweeney, *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1000–1301* (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, 1989), reprinted in *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, edited by János M. Bak (available at https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=lib_mono, visit of February 2, 2021), pp. 111 (Latin) and 124 (English translation).

8 *Online Decreta*, p. 111.

9 *Online Decreta*, pp. 114 and 128–29.

10 *Online Decreta*, pp. 75 and 81.

11 *Online Decreta*, pp. 110 and 121.

12 Gábor Barta and János Barta, "Royal finance in medieval Hungary: The revenues of King Béla III," in *Crisis, Revolution and Self-sustained Growth. Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130–1830*, edited by W. Mark Ormrod, Margaret M. Bonney and Richard J. Bonney (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1999), pp. 22–37.

13 Weisz, "Royal revenues," pp. 256–57 and 262.

14 Przemysław Wiszewski, Domus Bolezlai. *Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 3–11; Przemysław Nowak, "Recent work on the *Dagome iudex* in the *Collectio Canonum* of Cardina Deusdedit," in Sacri canones editandi. *Studies on Medieval Canon Law in Memory of Jiří Kejř*, edited by Pavel Krafl (Brno: Pavel Omar Krafl, 2017), pp. 25–39.

15 Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś, "La typologie des actes royaux polonais avant 1200," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium de Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.-3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 249–55, here 249.

16 Sułkowska-Kuraś, "La typologie," p. 250; Przemysław Nowak, "Uwagi krytyczne o dokumencie i pieczęci Władysław Hermana" (Critical remarks on the document and the seal of Władysław Herman), *Przegląd Historyczny* 11 (2020), no. 1, 141–58.

17 Stanisław Suchodolski, "Nowa bulla Bolesława Krzywoustego i problem ołowianych pieczęci w Polsce wczesnośredniowieczne" [The recently discovered bulla of Bolesław III Wrymouth 1102–1138 and the problem of lead seals in early medieval Poland], *Przegląd Historyczny* 100 (2009), no. 2, 207–36; Sułkowska-Kuraś, "La typologie," p. 250.

18 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicle*, edited by Robert Holtzmann, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. Nova Series, 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), pp. 495–96.

19 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicle,* pp. 495–96. For Thietmar's portrait of Bolesław, see Andrzej Pleszczyński, *The Birth of a Stereotype. Polish Rulers and their Country in German Writings c. 1000 AD* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 162–82.

20 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, edited by Gustav Friedrich, vol. 1 (Prague: Alois Wiesner, 1904), p. 43. See Dalibor Havel and David Kalhous, "Heiligenkreuz 217 und die Anfänge der Schriftkultur in Böhmen um 1000: die Prager Kirche im Zeitalter Bischofs Thiddag," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica* 1 (2019), 159–67.

21 Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, edited by Berthold Bretholz, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. Nova Series, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann 1923), pp. 86–88.

22 Jan Bistřický, "Übersicht über das Urkundenwesen der böhmischen Herrscher bis zum Jahre 1197," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium de Comission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.-3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 227–40, here p. 227.
23 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 228.
24 A detailed analysis of this group of forged documents may be found in Lukáš Reitinger, *Vratislav. Prvni kral Čechů* [Vratislav. First king of the Czechs] (Prague: Argo, 2017), pp. 161–80.
25 Jarmila Krejčiková, "Die Siegel der böhmischen Herrscher bis 1250," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium de Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.–3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistřický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 241–48, here 241–42.
26 György Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden bis 1200," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium der Comission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.-3.9.1992*, edited by Jan Bistrický (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1998), pp. 259–70, here 259.
27 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 259.
28 Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal seals of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012), pp. 82–87 and 158–60.
29 Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, pp. 78, 80, 84, 156–57, and 159.
30 Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, pp. 78 and 156.
31 Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, pp. 79, 82–83, and 157–58.
32 Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, pp. 80–81 and 157.
33 *Online Decreta*, pp. 53–54, 72 and 76.
34 *Online Decreta*, pp. 18–221.
35 *Online Decreta*, p. 18.
36 *Online Decreta*, p. 18.
37 *Online Decreta*, p. 71.
38 *Online Decreta*, p. 107.
39 *Online Decreta*, pp. 105 and 107.
40 *Online Decreta*, p. 105. For the Gregorian reform in Hungary, see James Ross Sweeney, "Gregory VII, the reform program, and the Hungarian church at the end of the eleventh century," *Studi gregoriani* 14 (1991), 265–75, and Chapter 18 in this volume.
41 *Online Decreta*, p. 135.
42 Tomasz Jurek, "Stanowisko dokumentu w średniowiecznej Polsce" [The status of the written document in medieval Poland], *Studia źródłoznawcze* 40 (2002), 1–18, here 4.
43 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 229.
44 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 228.
45 Václav Vojtíšek, *Výbor rozprav a studii* [A selection of articles and studies] (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1953), p. 504.
46 Vojtíšek, *Výbor*, p. 504.
47 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 229.
48 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 229.
49 Bistřický, "Übersicht," pp. 228–29.
50 Bistřický, "Übersicht," p. 229.
51 Vojtíšek, *Výbor*, pp. 504–09.
52 Dalibor Havel, *Listinné pismo v českých zemích na přelomu 13. a 14. století* [Document handwriting in the Czech lands at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries] (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2008), pp. 118–42.
53 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," pp. 259 and 262.
54 András Kubinyi, "Königliche Kanzlei und Hofkapelle in Ungarn um die Mitte des 12. Jh.," in *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann*, edited by Herwig Ebner (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), pp. 299–324, here pp. 299–300.
55 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 262.
56 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 262.
57 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 262.
58 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 263.
59 Sułkowska-Kuraś, "La typologie," p. 251.
60 Sułkowska-Kuraś, "La typologie," p. 251.
61 Jurek, "Stanowisko dokumentu," p. 7.

62 Jurek, "Stanowisko dokumentu," p. 7.
63 György Györffy, "Thomas Becket and Hungary," *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* 4 (1969), 45–52. For episcopal chanceries in Poland, see Anna Adamska, "The ecclesiastical chancelleries in medieval Poland as intellectual centers," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 10 (2005), 171–98. For an example of churchmen simultaneously serving as episcopal and ducal chancellor, see Franciszek Sikora, "Janusz, kanclerz arcybiskupa Pełki i księcie Kazimierza Konradowica (1232–1255 i 1252/1253–1258)" [Janusz, the chancellor of the Archbishop Pełka and of Duke Casimir Konradowic], *Nasza przeszłość* 24 (1966), 87–125.
64 György Bónis, "Les autorités de 'foi publique' et les archives des 'loci credibiles' en Hongrie," *Archivum* 12, (1962), 97–104; László Mezey, "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der glaubwürdigen Orte," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 18 (1972), 290–302; László Koszta, *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége (1214–1353)* [The cathedral chapter in Pécs as a place of authentication, 1214–1353] (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1998); Kornél Szovák, "'… sub testimonio litterali eiusdem conventus …' Bencés hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon" ["… sub testimonio litterali eiusdem conventus …" Benedictine places of authentication in medieval Hungary], in *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon. Kiállítás a Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátságban 2001. március 21-től november 11-ig*, edited by Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001), pp. 80–96 and 601–12; Tamás Fedeles, *Loca credibilia. Hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon* [Loca credibilia. Places of authentication in medieval Hungary] (Pécs: Fény, 2009).
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66 Notices in a medieval manuscript from Zadar (Berlin, Preussischer Bibliothek, Ms Theol. Lat. Qu. 278, *folio* 191 *recto* and *verso*) bear witness to an oath by one Cledinus, Ban of Dalmatia, and another by the doge of Venice, Ordelaffo Falir. See Gerard Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. Teil 2. Ms. theol. lat. qu. 267–378* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), pp. 47–48.
67 *Online Decreta*, p. 156. See also Mári Homoki Nagy, "Magánjogi intézmények az Aranybullában" [Private interests and the Golden Bull], in *De bulla aurea Andreae II regis Hungariae, 1222*, edited by Lajos Besenyei, Géza Érszegi and Maurizio Pedrazza Gorlero (Verona: Valdonega, 1999), pp. 79–88; Attila Zsoldos, "II. András aranybullája" [Andrew II's Golden Bull], *Történelmi Szemle* 53 (2011), 1–38; Martyn Rady, "Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222," *Banatica* 24 (2014), no. 2, 87–108.
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69 *Online Decreta*, pp. 175 and 181.
70 *Online Decreta*, pp. 183–89.
71 *Online Decreta*, pp. 160, 168, 175, and 180.
72 *Online Decreta*, pp. 160, 168, 175, and 180. For the *marturina*, see Weisz, "Royal revenues," pp. 263–64.
73 *Online Decreta*, pp. 159 and 167. For the practice of *renovatio monetae* in Hungary, see László Kovács, "A kora Árpád-kori pénzújításról" [On the *renovatio monetae* of the Arpadian period], *Századok* 130 (1996), no. 4, 823–57. For the same practice in Poland, see Stanisław Suchodolski, "*Renovatio monetae* in Poland in the 12th century," *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 5 (1960), 57–75.
74 *Online Decreta*, pp. 159 and 167. For the salt trade, see Beatrix Romhányi, "Salt mining and trade in Hungary before the Mongol invasion," in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, edited by József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó and András Vadas (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 182–204.
75 Jiřina Štouračová, *Úvod do archivnictví* [Introduction to the study of archives] (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2002), p 65; Ludmila Sulitková, *Archivnictví a spisová služb. Vývoj archivů a jejich institucionalizace v českých zemích* (v evropském kontextu) [Archives and chancery services. The development and institutionalization of archives in the Czech lands (in a European context)] (Ústí nad Labem: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 2009), pp. 14 and 21.

76 Györffy, "Die ungarischen Königsurkunden," p. 259.
77 *Online Decreta*, pp. 160 and 169–70. See Géza Érszegi, "'Hét példányban megírattak': Az Aranybulla szövegének hagyományozása" ["Seven copies were drawn up": Bequeathing the text of the Golden Bull], in *Múltunk építőkövei* …, edited by József Csurgói Horváth and Eleonóra Kovács (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvár Megyei Jogú Város Levéltára, 2001), pp. 62–71.
78 Sulitková, *Archivnictví a spisová služba*, p. 21.
79 Pavla Burdová, *Desky zemské království českého* [The land tables of the Czech Kingdom] (Prague: Státní ústřední archiv v Praze, 1990).

12
RURAL ECONOMY[1]

Marek Hladík

Archaeologists have long been preoccupied with the basic economic relations in any given society.[2] More often than not, that was not a research goal in itself, but a way to understand complex social systems.[3] However, different theoretical assumptions may lead to very different interpretations of the nexus between economic relations and social structures.[4] This is particularly true for the research on the rural economy (or on economy in general) of the early medieval populations of Central and Eastern Europe. The area in question covers two-thirds of the continent, and one cannot simply assume that identical or even similar social and economic relations existed everywhere throughout the early Middle Ages. Moreover, Central and Eastern Europe, unlike the rest of the continent in the early Middle Ages, was home to populations with very different subsistence strategies at different stages of development in terms of social complexity.[5] Some are described in the literature as nomadic pastoralist societies (e.g., the Avars and the Magyars), others as settled societies subsisting on the long-term exploitation of local resources, the cultivation of crops (primarily cereals) and animal husbandry of domestic animals (e.g., Slavic-speaking peoples). Contacts are assumed, of course, between those populations, which are also regarded as coexisting over long periods of time. Their interactions are supposedly reflected in the development of subsistence strategies and in the rural economy. However, the transition between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe involved both continuity and rupture of economic systems.[6] Within East Central Europe, one particular area lends itself to a detailed study of this process of transformation—the Middle Danube region now shared by the (eastern part of the) Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. The river Danube has been a major axis of communication and cultural contact between east and west since prehistoric times. This chapter will use this region to explore in detail some of the most significant aspects of the rural economy in the early Middle Ages.[7]

Without an understanding of the subsistence economy, various reconstructions of the social structure are little more than speculations, as illustrated by the recent debate on the nature and development of the early medieval society in Central Europe.[8] The central point of the debate was the question of whether the Great Moravian society reached the highest level of complexity and thus became a state in the 9th century.[9] Other, somewhat less important, points of the debate concerned markets, long-distance trade (including the slave trade) and the means of exchange in Great Moravia, as well as the question of whether that

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polity, were tax- or tribute-based and what form of land ownership existed inside it, if at all. Even at a quick glimpse, it is evident that all those topics are directly linked to economy that is to the production and (re)distribution of resources. However, comparatively less attention has been paid to the rural economy, as the framework of discussion was set within a (neo-)evolutionist perspective that was more preoccupied with preconceived stages of the development.[10] Deductive approaches to social and economic relations in the early Middle Ages, drawing heavily on anthropological models, have long been popular in the medieval archaeology practiced in Central Europe.[11] The current trend in anthropology and archaeology, however, is to move away from evolutionist or strictly cultural approaches, such as illustrated ever since the first half of the 20th century by comparative studies.[12] In archaeology, in general, this new trend shifted the emphasis from deductive to inductive approaches.[13] Some have called that "theoretical pragmatism," others, especially in North America, prefer "processualism plus."[14] Characterized by an increased reliance on scientific data produced by "auxiliary disciplines" such as paleobotany or molecular anthropology, this new approach has also been adopted in East Central Europe.[15]

Agriculture

The renewed interest in the potential of the archaeological sources for in-depth analysis of subsistence strategies is at least in part caused by the absence of any substantial information from the written sources.[16] There is simply not sufficient information from the written sources for a reconstruction of agricultural production in East Central Europe between the 6th and the 13th centuries.[17] Without archaeology, there would truly be very little to say about rural economy.

The recent emphasis on isotope analysis of skeletal material (particularly teeth) confirms the predominant role of cereals in the diet of the local population.[18] Although the research is still in its infancy, there is no sign yet of a sharp difference in that respect between the supposedly sedentary and the supposedly nomadic populations. Nor is it clear yet how much livestock farming may account for comparatively lower percentages of cereals in the diet. So far, it seems that some form of mixed economy, in which crop cultivation was combined with stock breeding, is the best hypothesis, at least for the earlier, Avar-age period (ca. 570 to ca. 820).[19] More information is available for the following (9th) century, particularly for the area of Great Moravia. Much research has recently concentrated on the economic hinterland of such large central places (strongholds) as Mikulčice-Valy or Pohansko.[20] Such studies addressed the issue of how much the elites residing in those centers were involved in the organization of the agricultural and craft production.

Besides diet-based studies using isotope analysis, bioarchaeology has offered unexpected perspectives on agricultural production. For example, the study of traces of physical load on skeletons from the cemeteries excavated on the so-called acropolis (citadel) in Mikulčice and in unfortified areas outside the stronghold and within its hinterland has revealed substantial differences.[21] Changes in muscle and ligament attachments significantly correlate with age in all studied groups of the population, except for males from the two cemeteries excavated in the hinterland (at the Pružánky and Josefov sites). This confirms the hypothesis of a higher physical (therefore, work) load for the population in the hinterland. Few, if any, changes have been observed on skeletons of men buried in the "acropolis." Among those men buried in the bailey of the stronghold (the Tešický les site), two groups may be distinguished that belonged to the social elite, judging from changes in muscle attachments.[22] However, the situation was different for female skeletons. More changes in ligament and muscle attachments

have been observed on female skeletons buried in the "acropolis" than on those buried in the hinterland. Whether such differences may be interpreted as related to occupations and socioeconomic status remains unclear. However, it is likely that the men buried in the hinterland engaged in agriculture-related labor. By contrast, females were involved in leather processing, spinning, weaving, grinding grain and food preparation.[23] Such activities were not socially specific; in other words, women from all social groups were involved in them.

Slovak scholars have reached similar conclusions on the basis of the analysis of the skeletal remains from the Devín stronghold and from an open settlement in its hinterland (the Za kostolom site). Here, however, there is a chronological difference. The former cemetery is dated between the 11th and the 12th centuries, while the latter is from the 9th century.[24] Men who lived in the Devín fortified settlement in the 11th and the 12th centuries subsisted mainly on hard manual work and their main occupation was agriculture. The male population from the Devín-Za kostolom settlement was dominated by markers, which strongly suggest agriculture as the main work activity. Females in both populations performed hard manual work, possibly related to household work or crop processing (grain grinding).[25]

The conclusions of anthropological studies are now backed by the paleobotanical analysis of macro-residues from the Mikulčice-Valy stronghold and two agrarian settlements in its hinterland (Mikulčice-Trapíkov and Kopčany-Pri kačenárni).[26] There were notable differences in the types of cereals consumed, an observation that lends itself to a socioeconomic interpretation. However, the resulting model is also important for the issue of whether elites were involved in food production. The paleobotanical analysis clearly shows that not all food of plant origin in Mikulčice came from the stronghold's economic hinterland. The settlements known from that hinterland are typically small ("hamlets") and are unlikely to have had a sufficient labor force to provide for the entire population of the stronghold, especially during the most stressful periods of the agricultural year.[27] Therefore, it is likely that some of the stronghold's inhabitants were themselves involved in the production of food. What the social position of those inhabitants was remains unknown, but it is impossible that they could have done so without knowledge and approval of the social elites in the stronghold. Judging from the results of forensic anthropology, one cannot completely exclude the participation of those elites either.

The reconstruction of the paleoclimate based on dendrochronology shows that the second half of the first millennium coincided with a dry phase and a significant decrease in precipitation.[28] Some believe that the dry phase ended in the 10th century, with a significant increase in precipitation around the year 1000.[29] Others maintain that a dry and warm period known as the "medieval climatic optimum" *began* in the late 10th century. The last decades of the 10th century were in fact marked by an extraordinary drought.[30] Most pollen diagrams available for sites in the Carpathian Basin show a decrease in the early Middle Ages of pollen from cereals and other crops, as well as from fruit trees and vines. Pollen from cereals, fruit trees and grass began to increase again after the year 800. In the 10th century, the pollen from oak decreased accordingly, but that from hornbeam, beech and hazel increased, which has been interpreted as the sign of a possible short-term cooling.[31] The changes in the pollen diagrams for the final centuries of the early Middle Ages clearly show the formation of secondary steppes in the Carpathian Basin.

In addition to climate, cultural factors also influenced the landscape and its economic potential, especially in the earlier phases of the early Middle Ages. Most paleobotanical and palynological analyses dealing with the historical landscape were carried out in the vicinity of the Great Moravian strongholds at Mikulčice and Pohansko. The surroundings of both were overgrown with mixed oak forests.[32] Pollen spectra also indicate local meadows.

The mixed oak forest dominated from the 6th to the 8th centuries. In the 9th century, tree curves declined, indicating deforestation.[33] Meanwhile, the proportion of grasses and cereals increased.[34] This is interpreted as an indication of a significant impact of human activity, and it is generally assumed that the landscape was used intensively in the early Middle Ages. Through deforestation and intensive cultivation, the population in settlements around the strongholds created a cultivated steppe.[35] Groups with pollen indicators of cereal fields, wet meadows and pastures, as well as dry pastures, indicate human settlements and roads. Others signal fallow land. The most important of the Great Moravian centers, Mikulčice, was surrounded by fields, pastures and meadows.[36] Botanical remains of field weeds from the Mikulčice agglomeration indicate that fields were situated in the open country, i.e., they were not surrounded by forest. It is also very probable that the crops were grown at greater distances from each other and that the fields were relatively large.[37] Such observations delineate a picture of extensive farming. The results of the soil nitrogen analysis suggest that agrotechnical procedures aimed at improving or maintaining the quality of the agricultural land, at least in some fields.[38] In other words, fields on lower quality soils were regularly manured or laid fallow. Recent experimental work has demonstrated that cereal grains are enriched with heavy nitrogen when manure fertilization goes beyond 8.8‰.[39] Fallow farming—the existence of balks and pastures—is also documented by finds of field weeds, which are typical for those habitats.[40] In addition to extensive field systems in the vicinity of early medieval centers, the paleobotanical and palynological evidence points to the existence of meadows (pastures). Much like with fields, permanent grassland species indicate that those meadows were large.[41]

The natural conditions in central Europe in the early Middle Ages made it possible to apply a wide range of agricultural strategies. Pastoralists in the Carpathian Basin could use the steppe-like zones of the central Danube region for extensive horse and cattle husbandry. This area with a rich river network also had suitable conditions for growing crops. The existence of a steppe landscape in the Carpathian Basin during the first millennium has been a matter of some debate.[42] If no sufficient open land was available, it would be hard to explain how the Huns, Avars and Magyars could successively establish themselves there. Unlike the East European steppe regions, those steppe-like lands in the Carpathian Basin were more closely linked to agrarian lands and forests. In general, how the land could be used depended on its previous uses, so that these were "cultural steppes."[43] Many Avar-age villages excavated in the last decades show a permanent occupation and a mixed form of agriculture.[44] A fundamental ecological difference between the Carpathian Basin and the Eurasian steppe belt is that the Avars founded their khaganate on arable land. Wide areas were under agricultural cultivation or were susceptible to such cultivation. This advantage was exploited from the outset.[45] Agricultural production was therefore an integral part of the life of communities in the Middle Danube region, and that continued after the demise of the Avar khaganate.[46] It is very probable that in the initial stages of the early Middle Ages, the local population practiced extensive farming, which was gradually transformed into cyclical farming.[47] This form of farming is generally associated with the stabilization of the settlement network, when a more intensive form of field management could be applied, with short-term fallow cycles. In addition to uncultivated, barren, unsown land, fallow also included grasslands or pastures.[48]

No written sources inform the interested scholar about agriculture in East Central Europe during the early Middle Ages. Some information exists for earlier periods and other parts of Eastern Europe. For example, according to Procopius of Caesarea, the Sclavenes in the Lower Danube region "live in pitiful hovels that they prop far apart from one another, and, as a rule, every man is constantly changing his abode."[49] This may be interpreted in

reference to a form of field management, in which the arable lands were periodically left to lie fallow for a few years.[50] Half a century later, the author of a military treatise known as the *Strategikon* knew that the inhabitants of the lands north of the Lower Danube in what is now southern Romania "possess an abundance of all sorts of livestock and produce, which they store in heaps, especially common millet and Italian millet."[51] Millet is also mentioned in the early 10th century in Ibn Rusta's account of Slavs living somewhere in Eastern Europe.[52] Al-Masudi (ca. 947) mentions "many fields" and "cultivated fields" in his encyclopedic work *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* when writing about Rus' and Bohemia. Moreover, in the mid-10th century, Ibrahim ibn Yakub knew that wheat and barley were grown in Bohemia and Poland. Those 10th-century reports are remarkable in that cereals are presented as a commodity.[53] It is likely that field yields in some parts of the Central Europe exceeded consumption already in the 9th century.[54] However, most written sources mention millet as the staple cereal, not wheat. Ibrahim ibn Yakub also indicates that the inhabitants of Bohemia had "apples, pears and plums growing in their gardens."[55]

The archaeological evidence reveals a much more complex picture. The range of cultivated crops, an important source of information for understanding the agrarian economy, varies considerably for the hundreds of early medieval settlements that have so far been excavated in the central Danube region.[56] A large number of those sites have produced collections of plant remains. Moreover, there are also rich collections of paleobotanical data from such central places as Mikulčice, Pohansko, Pobedim, Mužla-Čenkov, Nitra Castle and Zalavár.[57] In addition, there is now a good deal of research on the southern parts of the Carpathian Basin now in Hungary, particularly on samples from Avar-age settlement sites.[58]

The range of plants cultivated in East Central Europe during the early Middle Ages was quite large. In addition to several types of cereals, the inhabitants of Great Moravia had legumes, various vegetables, spices and industrial crops, as well as fruits and nuts. The cultivated cereals included barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), rye (*Secale cereale*), common wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), millet (*Panicum*) and oats (*Avena sativa*).[59] It is worth noting that the ratio of these cereals varies depending upon the socioeconomic environment from which the paleobotanical finds originate. For example, in Slovakia, the primary cereals were barley and rye, while in Mikulčice the predominant cereal was wheat, followed by rye, millet and barley.[60] Moreover, there seems to have been drastic changes from one period to another. There are very few botanical finds from Slovakia that could be dated to the 6th and 7th centuries. What exists shows the predominant position of wheat and rye. Oats and barley are rare. The situation changed dramatically during the following 8th and 9th centuries. Assemblages of charred seeds dated to that time are dominated by barley, followed by wheat and rye to a lesser extent. The range of cereals is complemented by millet, two-rowed barley and oats. Another change took place in the late 9th and 10th centuries. While barley dominated in the 8th to 10th centuries, accompanied by wheat in the 8th and 9th centuries, the most remarkable phenomenon in the 9th century is the increase in the importance of rye. Between the 10th and the 12th centuries, the proportion of barley and wheat decreased significantly, and rye took the leading position.[61] The same trend is visible in Bohemia, where the importance of rye increased sharply beginning with the 11th century.[62] Although less frequent as cereals, legumes, vegetables and fruits were part of the diet of the early medieval population of East Central Europe. Both the number of finds and the variety of crops increased suddenly in the 8th century. While the earlier period is characterized by gathered fruit, beginning with the 9th century one can safely assume the cultivation of vine (*Vitis vinifera*), mulberry (*Morus*), apple (*Malus domestica*) and pear trees (*Pyrus communis*).[63]

The largest variety of both cultivated crops and gathered fruit is in strongholds. For example, no less than 27 cultivated species are currently documented for Mikulčice-Valy, with 37,303 seeds recorded.[64] Legumes were frequent at Mikulčice in addition to all cereals discussed above: there were lentils (*Lens culinaris*) and peas (*Pisum sativum*), broad beans (*Vicia faba*) and bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*). Fruits included peaches, grapes, apples, pears, English walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and plums. There is also evidence of cucumber consumption.[65] The evidence of fruits from Prague, Žatec, Olomouc and Pohansko, in the Czech Republic, or from Cracow and Wolin in Poland confirms the association with central places and higher social status. Fruit trees producing peaches and apples, as well as the vines require not only specific care (hoeing), but also skills (correct pruning). In addition, all those woody plants require protection from wild animals in the first years of growth, as they would otherwise not survive in nature unprotected.[66] Besides cereals, vegetables, legumes and fruits, there is evidence of textile and oily plants. Hemp *(Cannabis sativa)*, flax *(Linum usitatissimum)* and poppy *(Papaver somniferum)* are documented in Mikulčice, with hemp being the most important.

Much like in the northern parts of the Carpathian Basin and in the Morava region, there are only a few paleobotanical data from assemblages in Hungary that could be dated to the 6th and 7th centuries. It is generally assumed that the primary crop in the Avar age was millet.[67] The same assumption applies to the 8th century, even though there is more evidence of mixed agriculture for that period. To be sure, charred seeds of millet have been found in graves of the cemetery excavated in Szirák (Nógrád County, in northern Hungary).[68] However, barley and wheat have been documented on several cemetery and settlement sites.[69] Besides grape seeds, three graves of the 6th- to 7th-century cemetery excavated in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta, produced remains of straw-beds made of common bread wheat.[70] Paleobotanical information becomes a lot more abundant for the 8th and 9th centuries. Exacavations at Fonyod-Bélatelep, a settlement dated between the second half of the 7th and the late 9th centuries, have produced 181,000 seeds of 64 identified plants.[71] Dominant among the cultivated species are barley, wheat and rye. Cereals also included millet, but besides cereals, the site produced evidence of 13 species of trees bearing fruit, with cherries (*Cerasus avium*), plums and peaches as the commonest.[72] Much like in Mikulčice, there was also vine (*Vitis vinifera*) and legumes, particularly lentils and peas, albeit in smaller quantities.

While Fonyod-Bélatelep is so far the settlement with the largest paleobotanical assemblages known from Hungary, the greatest variety appears in the 9th-century stronghold at Zalavár-Vársziget. No less than 103 plant species have been identified. Most seeds and fruit remains come from the filling of a "well," which was more likely a silo. The most important crops were common millet, six-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and common bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), while legumes include lentil, peas and chickpeas (*Cicer*). Flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) was grown as an oil and fiber crop. Garlic (*Allium sativum*) slices were found. A great number of fruit remains—walnuts, peaches, garden plums and black wine grapes—confirm the idea that growing domesticated cultivars introduced during the Roman period continued and probably survived until the Magyar conquest.[73]

While the identification of crops is relatively easy, the reconstruction of agrotechnical procedures for the early Middle Ages is comparatively more difficult. The main reason for that is the absence of contemporary written sources describing agricultural processes. Direct contemporary reports on agricultural work are not available before the 11th or even 12th centuries.[74] For example, a charter issued in 1086 for the Benedictine abbey of Bakonybél (Veszprém County, in northwestern Hungary), dated 1086, mentions plowing, harvesting, the collection of grain in barns, threshing and transporting the grain to the mill.[75] When

combined with taphonomic, economic and ecological observations, paleobotany can offer important clues for the reconstruction of the steps carried out before the processing and cleaning of crops. The whole cycle of agricultural work in the early Middle Ages consisted of obtaining land for cultivation, and preparing it for plowing, subsequent sowing and harvesting.[76] To obtain good land for cultivation implied a whole range of activities. The methods by which arable land was obtained in forested areas and its subsequent management have long been discussed in archaeology.[77] At stake in that discussion is whether the dominant method was swidden cultivation (slash-and-burn agriculture) or the long-term fallowing system (based on plowing).[78] The dominant method for the present-day territory of Slovakia seems to have been the latter. Slash-and-burn agriculture (cutting, stumping and burning of the forest to obtain new fields), if practiced at all, was probably secondary. Plowing is mentioned, beginning with the 11th century, in written sources from Hungary, which refer to plowmen as *aratores*.[79] Written reports show that oxen were the primary draught animals in Hungary, often in direct association with plowing (*boves arararatores, boves ad aratrum*).[80] Zooarchaeological analyses have demonstrated that the pathological deformations of some parts of the animal skeletons are related to draught/plowing.[81] The ratio of cattle in faunal assemblages of both agrarian settlements and central places confirms those conclusions. Cattle bones appear more frequently in the hinterland of the central places, no doubt because of being the main draught force.[82]

Sowing is also a matter of scholarly dispute. In this case, the debate is about whether more than one sowing of cereals took place during the year.[83] Needless to say, alternating winter and spring crops, or the practice of sowing cereals several times per year depended upon the climate and the social needs.[84] The presence of both spring and winter crops can be detected by means of specific field weeds, some germinating in spring, others in autumn.[85] Paleobotanical samples from sites in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin (Nitra Castle and Mužla-Čenkov), as well as from Moravia (Mikulčice) clearly indicate that in the 9th century, at least, there was more than one sowing of cereals per year in the area.[86] Wheat and rye were sown as winter crops, while barley, oats, millet and legumes were sown as spring crops. It is important to note that until the 10th century, paleobotanical samples are dominated by seeds of weeds most typical for the spring sowing of cereals, while after that time the ratio of weeds associated with spring and winter sowing, respectively, begins to balance. This has rightly been interpreted as an indication of a three-field rotation system in the later periods of the Middle Ages.[87] By contrast, there is evidence from the earlier period of monoculture, typically associated with sowing by scattering, not in rows. The seeds were then spread out more evenly by harrowing.[88] Moreover, soil nitrogen analyses indicate the use of manuring, a conclusion confirmed by paleoecological analyses of plant species from such sites as Nitra Castle and Mikulčice, where soils were apparently artificially enriched.[89]

Little is known about average yields, but a few indications in the written sources suggest that they were modest. Before the 14th century, no direct reports exist on harvesting.[90] Scholars dealing with the early Middle Ages in East Central Europe typically rely on much later visual sources, such as the illuminations of the Velislav Bible (1340) or of the Breviary in the Convent of St. George in Prague (ca. 1400).[91] On the basis of those sources, they assume that cereals were harvested by sickle, with which stems were cut relatively high above the ground.[92] However, paleobotany has proved wrong such assumptions. A careful study of various species of flowering and climbing plants, as well as of the spectrum of weeds with respect to general height and height of inflorescence can be of great assistance in reconstructing harvesting methods and the height at which stems were cut. For example, such an analysis of paleobotanical samples from Mikulčice has demonstrated that cereals were cut both higher

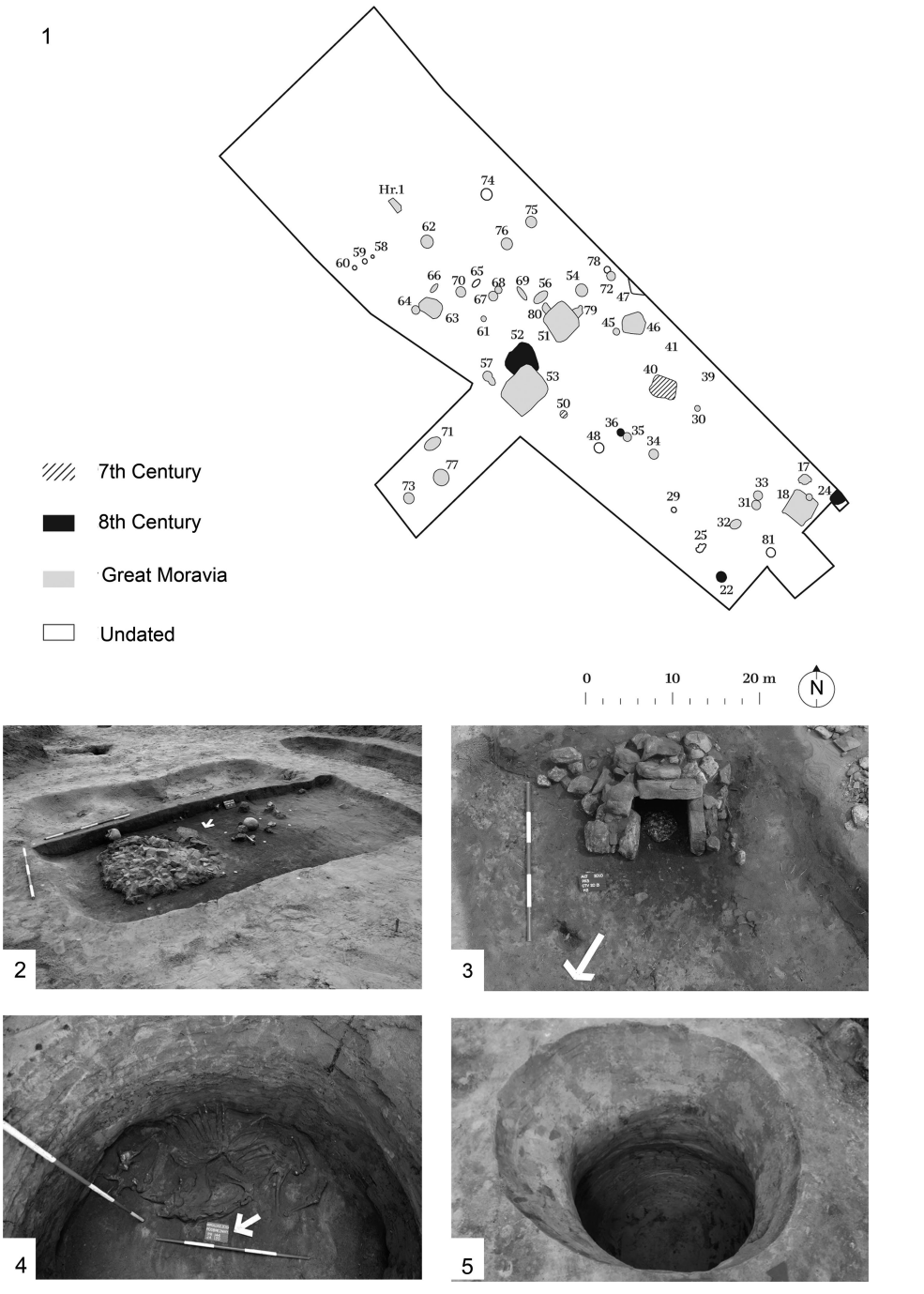

Figure 12.1 Mikulčice-Podbrežník, general plan of the settlement with 20 silos (1), with the remains of a 9th-century house (2) and of silos, one of which contains a horse skeleton (4, 5). Mikulčice-Trapíkov, a stone oven in the corner of a 9th-century house discovered in the settlement (3). Photos by Marek Hladík and Jaroslav Škojec

above the ground and just above it.[93] Varying harvesting heights were also documented in paleobotanical samples from Slovakia.[94]

There are very few archaeological and paleobotanical traces of threshing. Early medieval flails or other threshing tools have not survived. Much archaeological evidence for threshing comes from Bohemia, in the form of outdoor surfaces paved with stone slabs, which have been interpreted as threshing floors.[95] Equally absent from the archaeological record is the evidence of winnowing, coarse and fine sifting and manual cleaning, all operations taking place before grinding.[96] Similarly, only rarely have archaeologists stumbled upon evidence of fruit tree or vine cultivation, and even less of how such plants as hemp or flax were grown. Nonetheless, recent research in the Morava riverbed at Mikulčice in relation to the remains of a 9th-century timber produced paleobotanical samples as well.[97] The most surprising detail about the latter is the unusually large number of water-preserved seeds of hemp, a plant clearly grown locally for a variety of needs, such as textiles, ropes or oil. The medical and hallucinogenic properties of cannabis were known in the early Middle Ages.[98] That such a large number of hemp seeds have been found in the riverbed may indicate that was where hemp was retted. This was indeed a shallow part of the riverbed and a large number of damaged millstones found at its bottom may have served as weights for keeping bunches of hemp stalks under the water, in order to soak them and to remove the fiber.

An important category of the archaeological evidence pertaining to agriculture in the early Middle Ages is settlement features related to storage. Granaries (silos) were used for more permanent storage of food, especially cereals. Those are pits of circular ground plan that were dug into the dry loess subsoil between one and 3.5 m deep. The section of such silos is often pot-, amphora- or egg-shaped, and the volume of one of those granaries ranges between 132 and 1,057 gallons (0.5 to 4 cubic meters).[99] Some of the excavated silos still contained remains of wheat, oats, barley, lentils and other legumes.[100] One cannot discount the possibility that such pits were also used for the storage of dried meat or fish.[101] It is also necessary to consider the possibility of above-ground granaries, especially in areas with unsuitable subsoils.[102] Such may have been the case at Mikulčice, a settlement complex located in the floodplain of the river Morava. Not a single silo has been found in more than 50 years of archaeological excavations on the site. However, dozens of silos are known from open settlements in the hinterland of the stronghold, which were located at a distance from the floodplain, a few miles away from Mikulčice (Figure 12.1).[103] Ceramic containers, wicker baskets, chests or bags may have also been used for storage. Such a method of storing cereals must be taken into consideration for Mikulčice, in addition to above-ground granaries. The archaeological evidence of above-ground silos in the Carpathian Basin is equally slim, and the earliest information about them in the written sources cannot be dated before 1200.[104]

Stock breeding and hunting

Written sources are also poor in information about animal breeding. The *Strategikon* mentions the "huge number of horses" that the Avars took along with them on military campaigns.[105] Ibn Rusta, in a passage seemingly referring to Great Moravia, mentions "riding animals" as being the privilege of "the distinguished man," who is supposedly either Svatopluk or the Moravian aristocrat, in general.[106] There is no mention in any written source of who owned the livestock. That one could safely assume individual or, at least, family ownership of the livestock results from the deposition of meat in Avar-age graves. This of course says nothing about who disposed of large herds, whether they were collective or individual

property and who tended to them.[107] Animal bones were also found in the 9th-century graves. At Prušánky, in the hinterland of the Mikulčice stronghold, the most common were fowl bones.[108] The predominant character of poultry is surprising, given the spectrum of animal species in the Mikulčice stronghold, where fowl represents only 0.5 percent of all faunal assemblages.[109] It is very likely that the deposition of fowl bones (and eggs) in graves is not a direct reflection of the subsistence strategy in place, but rather of the funerary (and religious) symbolism.[110]

Issues of ownership, tending the livestock and animal use for work or for food cannot be solved without zooarchaeological studies of faunal assemblages from settlements, either open or strongholds. Most studies in that vein that have been so far published rely on assemblages from individual settlements.[111] Several have focused on Mikulčice and its economic hinterland.[112] Most animals represented in faunal assemblages (97 percent of all bones) from Mikulčice and the neighboring settlements are of domesticated species. Pigs dominate, followed by cattle. Sheep and goats are not as well represented.[113] The same is true for Pohansko.[114] Horses, dogs, chicken and geese are also represented in faunal assemblages from central places. Within the subgroup of fish bones, carp is predominant.[115] Among wild animals represented in faunal assemblages from the central places in Moravia and pointing to the modest significance of hunting (only 2 percent of all animal bones), the most important are wild boar, deer and hare.[116]

When compared to faunal assemblages from central places, those of open settlements in the hinterland look very different, especially in the ranking of species. Unlike open settlements, in strongholds there are far more bones of pigs than of cattle, sheep and goats.[117] This has rightly been interpreted as a sign of preferential consumption, with higher quality portions of meat, especially pork, being shipped from the economic hinterland to the center for elite consumption.[118] Meanwhile, on open settlements in the hinterland of the strongholds, there are more bones of cattle than of pig, which points not only to a lower level of pork consumption (a meat category reserved for central places), but also to the role of cattle as the main draught animals. Moreover, on agrarian settlements in the hinterland, wild species represent up to 16 percent of all animal bones in faunal assemblages, while in strongholds, their presence does not exceed 3 percent.[119]

Such observations are confirmed by the analysis of open settlements, the existence of which stretched over more than one century on either side of the period of Great Moravia. For example, at Bajč (near Komárno, in the Nitra region of Slovakia), a settlement dated between the 7th and the 11th centuries, 10 domesticated species represent 90 percent of all animal bones, while only 8 percent include 29 wild species.[120] The dominant species were cattle (35 percent) and small ruminants (21 percent, primarily sheep). Horse and dog occupy 12 percent each from the entire bone assemblage. Pigs take 9 percent, and poultry (chicken and geese) only 2. Within the large variety of wild species, deer, hare and wild boar are the commonest, but the inhabitants of Bajč also hunted urus and roe deer, most likely for meat, as well as beavers, wolves, foxes, badgers, otters and polecats for fur.[121] Those percentages, however, do not reflect the dynamics of animal breeding on the site. While there is a general decline in the number of cattle throughout the history of the settlement, the percentage for sheep and goats increases, reaching 34 percent in the 9th century. On the contrary, the proportion of horse increases significantly after that century, a period for which the consumption of horse meat consumption is well documented elsewhere in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.[122] The small number of pig bones found in Bajč, on the contrary, correlates well with the conclusions drawn on the basis of animal bone assemblages in Moravia, according to which pork was the preferred meat in strongholds.

In general, it looks like cattle prevailed over pig breeding at the beginning of the early Middle Ages.[123] The change in consumption pattern may have something to do with the decreasing availability of good pasture land, probably because of the intensification of agriculture that required more fields for cultivation.[124] Judging from pollen diagrams, there were oak forests around Mikulčice and Pohansko, which could be used for grazing pigs.[125] Moreover, the increasing number of cattle slaughtered at a young age, both on stronghold (e.g., Pohansko) and on open settlement sites (e. g., Bajč), signals the decreasing importance of milk and dairy products in the diet.[126] Such observations correlate well with those pertaining to the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin.[127]

Tools

Open settlements excavated in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin or in the Morava region are typically small, with a few houses, outdoor installations (such as baking ovens), silos and other facilities (Figure 12.2).[128] Most of them were as close to a water source as possible.[129] However, next to nothing is known about the proximity of settlements to the cultivated fields. Several works on early medieval agriculture in East Central Europe insist upon the significant technological progress-taking place in the 9th century, largely because of the asymmetrical plowshare.[130] While the asymmetrical plowshare was definitely an early medieval innovation, no dramatic changes in agriculture may be associated with either the shape or the size of any tools.[131] The only agricultural tool known from 6th- to 7th-century sites in the Carpathian Basin and the Morava region is the sickle.[132] Judging by their deposition in graves, the number of sickles increased in the Carpathian Basin during the Late Avar age (ca. 680 to ca. 820). During this time, the symmetrical plowshare and the slightly bent colter made their appearance for the first time.[133] Hoes, shears and spades are also known from this period.[134]

Around 800, there is a sudden increase both in the number and in the variety of tools: plowshares, colters, socketed tools for digging, hoes, spades, sickles, scythes, bill knives and shears. One of the major innovations of this period is a new type of reaping tool, the short scythe, used for mowing grass in the summer for direct feeding of cattle or for winter stock of hay.[135] Finds of water-preserved wooden implements (shovels, ladles and spoons) suggest that the range of agricultural tools was even wider. Exactly why this increase and diversification happened in the first place remains unclear, but the 9th century is undoubtedly a crucial period in the history of agriculture in East Central Europe.[136] Unlike most tilling and harvesting tools, for manual, rotary mills were known since the beginning of the (early) Middle Ages.[137] Hundreds of quern stones made of mica-slate, rhyolite or sandstone are known from central places in Moravia, with more than 700 found in Mikulčice.[138] No certain evidence of (water) mills exists before the 12th century.[139]

Conclusion

The study of the agrarian economy provides a wide range of theoretical foundations for the reconstruction of early medieval political and social systems. Because of that, scholars have long been interested in the relationship between the central places in Moravia and the rural settlements.[140] Did central places depend economically upon their agrarian surroundings? To what extent did those settlement agglomerations depend on each other? Were economic relations in the 9th century centrally organized?

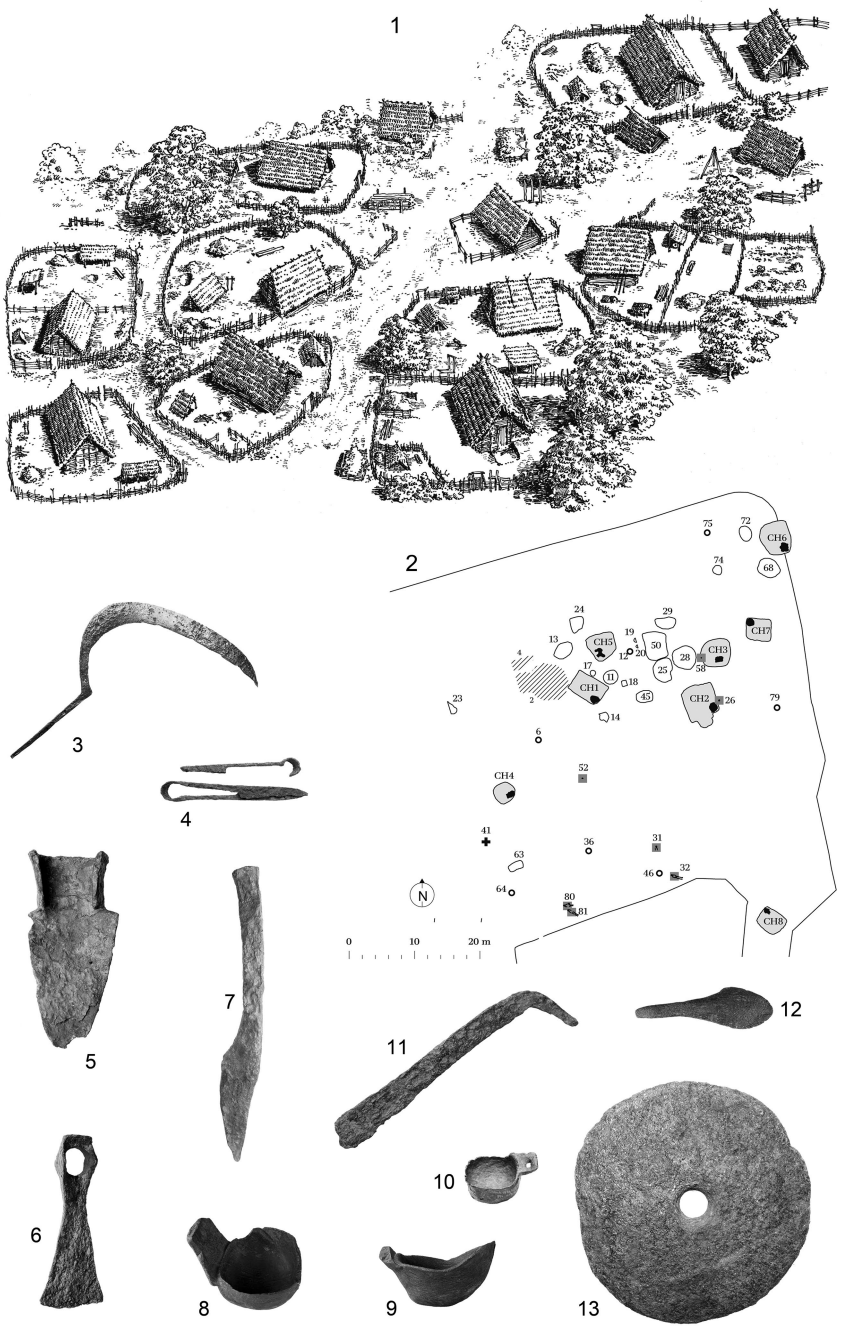

Figure 12.2 An ideal reconstruction (1) and the plan (2) of the 9th-century, open settlement in Mikulčice-Trapíkov, with a number of agricultural tools and other implements from the neighboring stronghold at Mikulčice-Valy: sickle (3), shears (4), plowshare (5), hoe (6), colter (7), wooden ladles (8–10) and spoon (12), scythe (11) and quern stone (13). After Hladík, Mazuch and Poláček, *Zázemí hradiště*, p. 76; Látková, *Rostliny*, p. 101. Drawing by Rostislav Skopal

Three models have so far been put forward to answer those and other related questions. They are largely based on research on Mikulčice and Pohansko.[141] Some have proposed that Pohansko was completely self-sufficient economically.[142] Others assume some degree of dependence of Pohansko upon its economic hinterland.[143] Somewhere between those opposite positions, a third model based on data from Mikulčice favors the idea of cooperation between people in the central place and those in the hinterland.[144] The two sites upon which those models are based operated as central places of a much larger network, which most likely had specific functions in the system of economy, as well as the management and use of the landscape in Great Moravia.[145] It is just as possible that the organization of relations with the hinterland was different for each one of those sites, as it is that at the basic level of subsistence, both agglomerations operated in the same way. At any rate, given the current state of research, it is safe to assume the existence of a developed economic hinterland in the vicinity of any Great Moravian center (Figure 12.3).

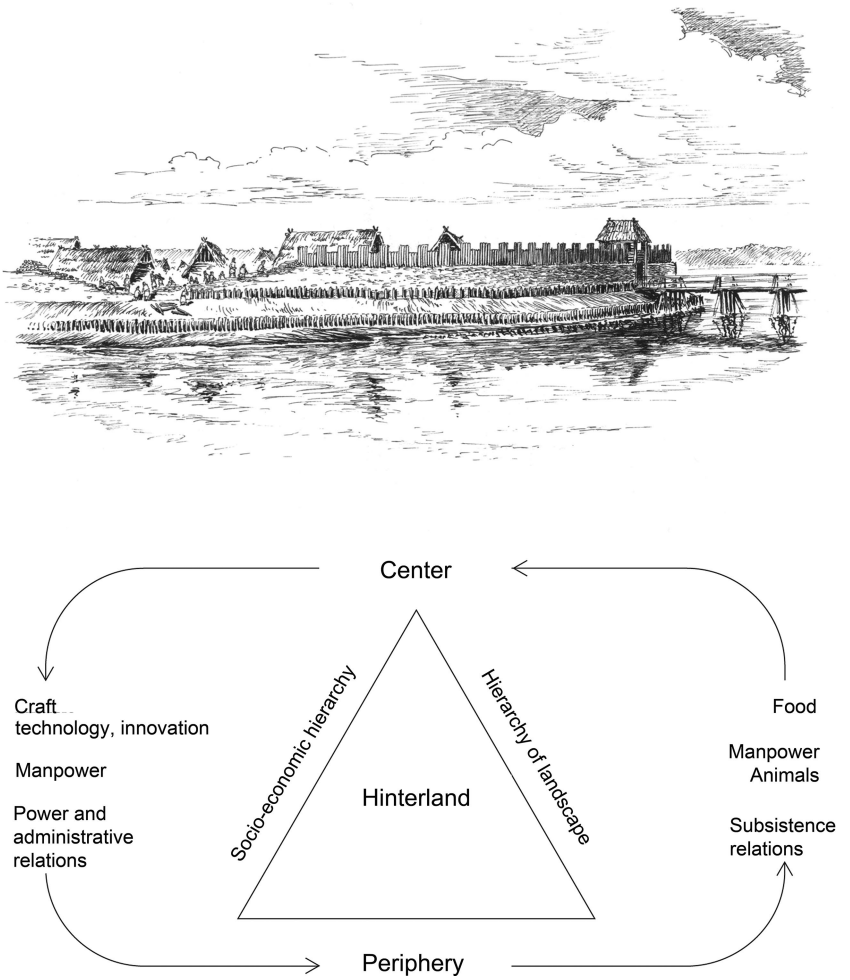

Figure 12.3 An ideal reconstruction of a Great Moravian stronghold (based on the Mikulčice-Valy) and a graphic representation of the social and economic relations of an early medieval center place with its agrarian hinterland. Drawing by Jan Knýbel

High-quality handcrafted products flowed from the centers to the hinterland, and strongholds also provided protection for their surroundings. What had rural settlements to offer in exchange? Although one cannot exclude that some manufactured products and raw materials moved from the hinterland to the center, agricultural products were the most important goods reaching the center from the surrounding settlements. Services may have also been required from the inhabitants of the settlements, as suggested by the size of the fortifications and the considerable amount of labor involved in their construction and maintenance.[146] Each center may have had a specific function.[147] However, not all of them had fully developed, economic hinterlands. Centers with more specific functions must have therefore depended economically upon those larger ones that had fully developed economic hinterlands. If so, then the economic production in Great Moravia must have been centrally organized. The whole social and economic system had a complex hierarchy and the agricultural or craft production in rural settlements was directed toward places of consumption. A more precise description of the principles of those interactions (local markets, payment of the tribute, barter, etc.) is one of the primary goals of the future research.

Notes

1 The research resulting in this chapter benefitted from the institutional support of the grant RVO: 68081758 from the Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Brno v.v.i.

2 Christopher P. Garraty, "Investigating market exchange in ancient societies: A theoretical review," in *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*, edited by Christopher P. Garraty and Barbara Stark (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), pp. 3–32.

3 Marek Hladík, "Výskum sídelných štruktúr v zázemí včasnostredovekého hradu v Mikulčiciach" [Research into settlement structures in the hinterland of the early medieval stronghold in Mikulčice], in *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem. Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátelé, kolegové a žáci*, edited by Jiří Doležel, Martin Wihoda (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie Věd ČR Brno, 2012), 111–135; Marek Hladík, Marian Mazuch, and Michaela Látková, *Great Moravian Settlement in the Trapíkov and Economic Hinterland of the Mikulčice* (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie Věd ČR Brno, 2021), forthcoming.

4 Marek Hladík, "On theoretical pragmatism in archaeology," *Musaica archaeologica* 4 (2019), no. 2, 195–213.

5 Sheila Kohring and Stephanie Wynne-Jones, *Socialising Complexity. Structure, Interaction and Power in Archaeological Discourse* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).

6 From a rather limited geographical perspective, see the remarks of Jaroslav Tejral, "K současnému stavu archeologického i historického bádání o nejčasnějším středověku na Moravě" [To the present state of archaeological and historical research on the early Middle Ages in Moravia], in *Mezi raným a vrcholným středověkem. Pavlu Kouřilovi k šedesátým narozeninám přátelé, kolegové a žáci*, edited by Jiří Doležel and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, Brno, v.v.i., 2012), pp. 29–68; Florin Curta, *The Long Sixth Century in Eastern Europe* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021), is limited chronologically to almost two centuries, but covers the entire area of the continent defined as East Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe.

7 It is of course impossible to deal with the rural economy of all East Central and Eastern Europe between ca. 500 and ca. 1300. I chose an in-depth analysis of a particular area over a generalizing survey of the entire region, primarily because the area in question is one of the best studied from the point of view of this chapter. For similar efforts to reconstruct the rural economy of particular areas of Eastern Europe only on the basis of the archaeological evidence, see N. A. Kir'ianova, *Sel'skokhoziaistvennye kul'tury i sistemy zemledeliia v lesnoi zone Rusi XI–XV vv.* [Rural cultures and agricultural systems in the forest belt of 11th- to 15th-century Rus'] (Moscow: Institut Arkheologii RAN, 1992); Vladimir V. Koloda and Sergei A. Gorbanenko, *Agriculture in the Forest-Steppe Region of Khazaria* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2020). I also chose to focus on the 9th, instead of any other subsequent century, primarily because of the richness of detail provided by the archaeological research. The study of the rural economy in later centuries, while relying much more on the written sources, lacks the high resolution made possible by archaeology. See,

for example, Zoran M. Njegovan and Mirjana Pantelić, *Agriculture of Medieval Serbia* (Belgrade: Economics Institute, 1998).

8 Jiří Macháček, "Disputes over Great Moravia: chiefdom or state? The Morava or the Tisza river?" *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 248–67; Ivo Štefan, "Great Moravia, statehood and archaeology. The 'decline and fall' of one early medieval polity," in *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa. Internationale Konferenz und Kolleg der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung zum 50. Jahrestag des Beginns archäologischer Ausgrabungen in Pohansko bei Břeclav, 5.–9.10.2009, Břeclav, Tschechische Republik*, edited by Jiří Macháček and Šimon Ungerman (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2011), pp. 333–54; Jiří Macháček, "'Great Moravian state' – a controversy in Central European medieval studies" *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* (2012), no. 1, 5–26; Denis E. Alimov, "'Afrikanskii sposob proizvodstva' v Velikoi Moravii? (zametk na poliakh stat'i Ivo Shtefana)" [The "African mode of production" in Moravia? (Marginal notes on Ivo Štefan's article)], *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* (2012), no. 1, 183–96; Ivo Štefan, "Mocní náčelníci od řeky Moravy? Pozámky ke struktuře raných států" (Powerful chieftains from the Morava river? Notes on the structure of early states), *Archeologické rozhledy* 46 (2014), 141–76; David Kalhous, "Some observations on the social structure of Great Moravia," in *The Cyril and Methodius Mission and Europe. 1150 Years Since the Arrival of the Thessaloniki Brothers in Great Moravia*, edited by Zdenka Kosarová and Jana Gryc (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2014), pp. 40–47.

9 For the last salvo in the debate, see Jiří Macháček, "O Velké Moravě, archeologii raného středověku i o nás samých" [On the subject of Great Moravia, early medieval archaeology, and archaeologists in general], *Archeologické rozhledy* 67 (2015), 464–94, here 468.

10 The source of inspiration for neo-evolutionism in medieval archaeology remains Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. The Origins of Town and Trade, AD 600–1000* (London/New York: Duckworth/St. Martin's Press, 1982); see also Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. A New Audit* (London: Duckworth, 2007).

11 Hladík, "On theoretical pragmatism."

12 *Exotic No More. Anthropology on the Front Lines*, edited by Jeremy MacClancy and Gillian Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

13 Hladík, "On theoretical pragmatism."

14 Michelle Hegmon, "Setting theoretical egos aside: Issues and theory in North American archaeology," *American Antiquity* 68 (2003), no. 2, 213–43; Kristian Kristiansen, "Towards a new paradigm? The third science revolution and its possible consequences in archaeology," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 22 (2014), 11–34; Hladík, "On theoretical pragmatism."

15 Věra Čulíková, "Rostlinné makrozbytky z raně středověkého hradu Stará Boleslav" [Plant macrofossils from the early medieval stronghold Stará Boleslav], in *Stará Boleslav. Přemyslovský hrad v raném středověku.*, edited by Ivana Boháčová (Prague: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2003), pp. 367–79; Petr Kočař, Petr Čech, Radka Kozáková, and Romana Kočárová, "Environment and economy of the early medieval settlement in Žatec," *Interdisciplinaria archaeologica* 1 (2010), no. 1–2, 45–60; Vlasta Jankovská, "The Middle Ages in pollen-analytical research on the territory of the Czech Republic," *Bulletin of Geography. Physical Geography Series* 4 (2011), 47–69; Michaela Látková, *The Archaeobotany of Mikulčice. Food Supply to the Early Medieval Stronghold* (Brno: Archeologický ústav Akademie Věd ČR Brno, 2017); Silva Kaupová, Petr Velemínský, Estelle Herrscher, Vladimír Sládek, Jiří Macháček, Lumír Poláček, and Jaroslav Brůžek, "Diet in transitory society: Isotopic analysis of medieval population of Central Europe (ninth–eleventh century AD, Czech Republic),"*Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 10 (2018), 923–42; Marek Hladík, *Mikulčice and its Hinterland. An Archaeological Model for Medieval Settlement Patterns on the Middle Course of the Morava River (7th to Mid-13th Centuries)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2020); Hladík, Mazuch, and Látková, *Great Moravian Settlement*. For Slovakia, see Silvia Bodoriková, Michaela Dörnhöferová, Eva Neščáková, Stanislav Katina, Michal Takács, Jozef Urminský, and Mária Fuchsová, "Stroncium a zinok ako ukazatele potravných zvyklostí u jedincov z pohrebiska Gáň (9.-10. stor. n. l., okr. Galanta, Slovensko)" [Strontium and zinc as the indicators of diet strategies in individuals from the cemetery of Gáň (9th–10th c. AD, Galanta district, Slovakia)], *Česká antropologie* 63 (2013), no. 1, 4–8; Jana Hlavatá, "Archeobotanické nálezy rastlín a ich vypovedacia schopnosť vo vzťahu k poľnohospodárstvu včasného stredoveku" [Archaeobotanical finds of plant remains and the predictive capacity in relation to early medieval farming], in *Interdisciplinárne o poľnohospodárstve včasného stredoveku*, edited by Zuzana Borzová (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantina Filozofa v Nitre, 2015), pp. 9–46.

For Hungary, see Ferenc Gyulai, *Archaeobotany in Hungary. Seed, Fruit, Food and Beverage Remains in the Carpathian Basin from the Neolithic to the Late Middle Ages* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2010); Ákos Pető, Árpád Kenéz, Orsolya Herendi, and Ferenc Gyulai, "A késő avar kor növényhasznosítási és tájgazdálkodási potenciáljának értékelése egy dél-alföldi telepen végzett mikro- és makro archaeobotanikai vizsgálat tükrében" [Assessment of potential plant exploitation and land use of the Late Avar period in the light of micro- and macro-archaeobotanical analyses of an archaeological site in Southeastern Hungary], in *Környezet-ember-kultúra. A természettudományok és a régészet párbeszéde. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi Központ 2010. október 6–8-án megrendezett konferenciájának tanulmánykötete*, edited by Attila Kreiter, Ákos Pető and Beáta Tugya (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Nemzei Örökségvédelmi Központ, 2012), pp. 181–94. For Poland, see Monika Badura, "Źródła archeobotaniczne do studiów nad gospodarską roślinną w strefie pogranicza polsko-pruskiego - wstępne wyniki badań" [Paleobotanical sources for the study of agriculture in the Polish-Prussian borderlands - preliminary results], in *Acta Archaeologica Pomoranica III. XVI Sesja Pomorzoznawcza, Szczecin 22–24 listopada 2007 r. Część I. Pamięci Antoniego Pawłowskiego i Wojciecha Szulty*, edited by Andrzej Janowski, Krzysztof Maciej Kowalski and Sławomir Słowiński (Szczecin: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, Oddział w Szczecine, 2009), pp. 403–10; Rafał Fetner, "Dieta i status we wczesnośredniowiecznej Polsce: analiza izotopów trwałych kolagenu kostnego" [Diet and status in early medieval Poland: The analysis of stable isotopes in bone collagen], in *Budowa fizyczna człowieka na ziemiach polskich wczoraj i dziś*, edited by Michał Kopczyński and Anna Siniarski (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2017), pp. 147–59; Laurie Reitsema and Dariusz Błaszczyk, "Dieta w świetle badań izotopowych węgla i azotu" [Diet in the light of the carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis], in *Ciepłe. Elitarna nekropola wczesnośredniowieczna na Pomorzu Wschodnim*, edited by Sławomir Wadyl (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, 2019), pp. 425–38.

16 Eva Benková, "Rastlinná produkcia včasnostredovekého poľnohospodárstva na Slovensku v písomných prameňoch" [Crop production in the early medieval farming in Slovakia according to the written sources], in *Interdisciplinárne o poľnohospodárstve včasného stredoveku*, edited by Zuzana Borzová (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2015), pp. 47–60, here p. 47.

17 Benková, "Rastlinná produkcia," p. 47.

18 Kaupová et al., "Diet"; Bodoriková et al., "Stroncium"; Fetner, "Dieta"; Reitsema and Błaszczyk, "Dieta." For similar conclusions based on earlier material, see Kurt W. Alt, Christiane Müller, and Petra Held, "Ernährungsrekonstruktion anhand stabiler Isotope von Kohlenstoff und Stickstoff an frühmittelalterlichen Bestattungen der Gräberfelder von Tauberbischofsheim-Dittigheim und Szólád," in *Lebenswelten zwischen Archäologie und Geschichte. Festschrift für Falko Daim zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Jörg Drauschke, Ewald Kislinger, Karin Kühtreiber, Thomas Kühtreiber, Gabriele Scharrer-Liška and Tivadar Vida (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2018), pp. 869–86.

19 Walter Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), p. 245.

20 Jiří Macháček, *The Rise of Medieval Towns and States in East Central Europe. Early Medieval Centres as Social and Economic Systems* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2010); Petr Dresler, *Břeclav-Pohansko VIII. Hospodářské zázemí centra nebo jen osady v blízkosti centra?* [Břeclav-Pohansko VIII. Economic hinterland of a centre, or merely settlements in a centre's vicinity?] (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2016); Marek Hladík, *Mikulčice and Its Hinterland. An Archaeological Model for Medieval Settlement Patterns on the Middle Course of the Morava River (7th to Mid-13th Centuries)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2020). See also Eva Hajnalová and Mária Hajnalová, "Der Nitraer Burgberg und sein Hinterland im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. Die angebauten Pflanzen, die Orte ihrer Produktion und ihres Konsums," in *Das wirtschäftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, edited by Lumír Polaček (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2008), pp. 355–82; Tatiana Štefanovičová, "Die Bratislaver Burg mit ihrem näheren und weiteren Siedlungshinterland," in *Das wirtschäftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, edited by Lumír Polaček (Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2008), pp. 383–88.

21 Petra Havelková, Sébastien Villotte, Petr Velemínský, Lumír Poláček, and Miluše Dobisíková, "Enthesopathies and activity patterns in the early medieval Great Moravian population: Evidence of division of labour," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 21 (2011), 487–504; Petra Havelková, Marek Hladík, and Petr Velemínský, "Entheseal changes: Do they reflect socioeconomic status in the early medieval Central European population? (Mikulčice – Klášteřisko, Great Moravian

Empire, 9th–10th century)," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 23 (2013), 237–51. The skeletal remains that were analyzed were from the cemetery next to the basilica (church III) on the "acropolis" of Mikulčice, from the cemetery in the bailey at Tešický les and from two cemeteries in the hinterland of Mikulčice, at Prušánky-Podsedky and Josefov-Záhumenica.

22 Havelková, Hladík, and Velemínský, "Entheseal changes."

23 Havelková et al., "Enthesopathies."

24 Radoslav Beňuš and Soňa Masnicová, "Možnosť rekonštrukcie fyzickej aktivity na základe analýzy kostrových pozostatkov s prihliadnutím na poľnohospodárstvo (na príklade dvoch devínskych populácií zo včasného stredoveku)" [Reconstruction of physical activity based on an analysis of skeletal remains in regard to farming (on the model of two early medieval populations in Devín)], in *Interdisciplinárne o poľnohospodárstve včasného stredoveku*, edited by Zuzana Borzová (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2015), pp. 61–81.

25 Beňuš and Masnicová, "Možnosť," pp. 74–75.

26 Látková, *The Archaeobotany.*

27 Látková, *The Archaeobotany*, pp. 87–106.

28 Jiří Macháček, Nela Doláková, Petr Dresler, Pavel Havlíček, Šárka Hladilová, Antonín Přichystal, Alena Roszková, and Libuše Smolíková, "Raně středověké centrum na Pohansku u Břeclavi a jeho přírodní prostředí" [An early medieval center at Pohansko near Břeclav and its natural environment], *Archeologické rozhledy* 59 (2007), 278–314.

29 Macháček et al., "Raně středověké centrum," p. 307.

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13

CRAFTS, COINS AND TRADE (900–1300)

Dariusz Adamczyk

The exploitation of the rich resources of silver from the mines in Islamic Central Asia had a considerable effect on Eastern and Northern Europe. Nearly 400,000 Arabic coins have so far been found in several hundred hoards from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Germany and Scandinavia (Figure 13.1). If one adds numerous pieces of jewelry and ingots made of melted dirhams also discovered in Eastern Europe, one can safely assume that the actual number of such coins was far higher, probably in the order of millions. As a matter of fact, Thomas S. Noonan has estimated that between 100 and 200 million dirhams, the equivalent of 300–600 tons of silver, were moved from the Islamic world to the European Russia and the Baltic. About 80 percent of those coins were struck in the name of Samanid rulers in Central Asia and could be directly associated with the 10th-century trade.[1]

This raises several questions. Why did such large quantities of dirhams flow to the Russian interior, to Poland and to the southern Baltic? Who moved the coins around? Were these people with commercial interests—traders and jewelers—or slavers, chieftains and warlords who gained silver through looting and tribute? Did both motives perhaps intersect? How did those people obtain the goods they needed to trade for dirhams? Last but not least, what was the impact of the influx of Arabic silver on the economic and political developments of 10th-century Eastern Europe?

Dirhams flowed into Europe because of the strong political position of the Samanid dynasty in Central Asia and in the Middle East. The Samanids controlled all important silver mines in Western Eurasia, especially those of Panjhir in the Hindu Kush, and supported trade, above all in slaves. Arab merchants imported attractive furs of beaver, black fox, sable and ermine, which served as prestige goods. In the Middle East, slaves from Eastern Europe, mostly female, were used in households, frequently for prostitution. In contrast to the Middle East and Central Asia, in Al-Andalus (Arabic Spain), several thousand slaves from Eastern Europe lived—especially under Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) —in the palace city of Madinat al-Zahra as domestic servants and members of the top echelons of the administration and of the bodyguard units.[2] Therefore, the demand for slaves and furs in the Islamic world was the prime mover for commercial contacts with the "barbarians."

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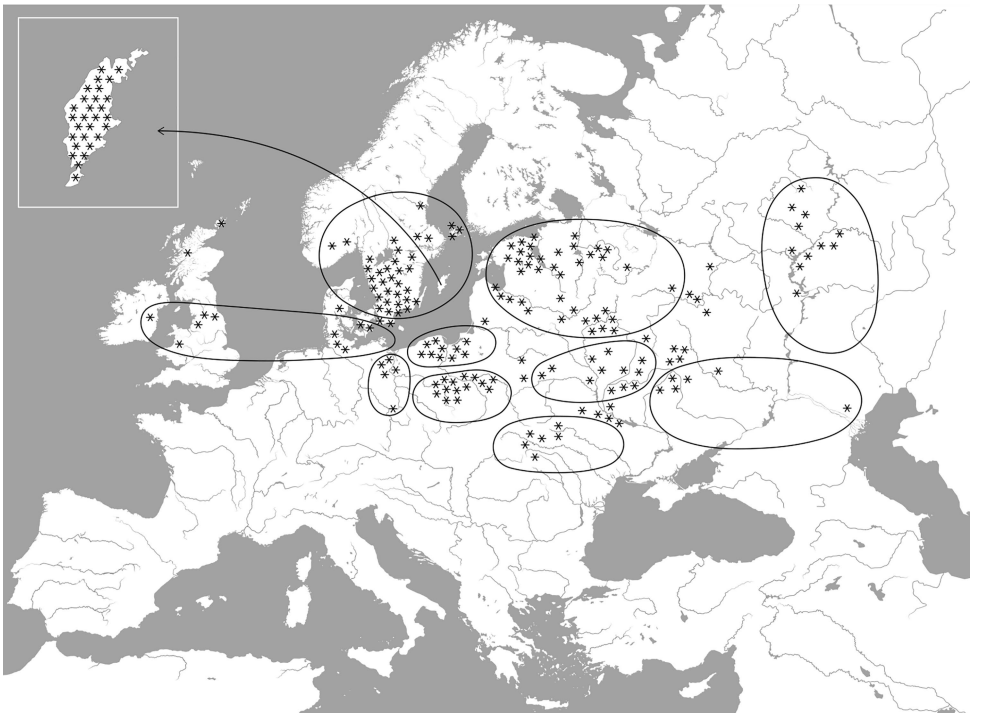

Figure 13.1 Dirham networks in the tenth century (asterisks: hoards of at least ten coins). Map drawn by Lech Rowiński. After Dariusz Adamczyk, *Monetarisierungsmomente, Kommerzialisierungszonen oder fiskalische Währungslandschaften? Edelmetalle, Silberverteilungsnetzwerke und Gesellschaften in Ostmitteleuropa (800–1200)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2020), p. 46

The Khazars and the Volga Bulgars as the go-between of the intercontinental trade

According to Thomas S. Noonan, some 90 percent of the 10th-century imports from Samanid Central Asia came to Eastern Europe via Volga Bulgharia, while the remaining 10 percent passed through Khazaria. If in the 9th century, the revenue the Khagan was able to extract from tolls and tariffs on the trade crossing Khazaria amounted to between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 dirhams, by the 10th century, the amount diminished drastically to only 400,000–800,000 coins. Khazar trade revenues therefore declined sharply after 900.[3] Those are of course rough estimates, and the basis upon which they were obtained may be disputed.[4] On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence of trade between Samanid Central Asia and Volga Bulgharia. First, Ibn Fadlan's account clearly shows that caravans traveled regularly from Khwarazm to Volga Bulgharia, some of them with 3,000 pack animals and 5,000 men.[5] If among those 5,000 men, one can count on 1,500 to 2,000 merchants, and each one of them brought at least 1,000 dirhams into the Bulgar lands, the amount of silver imported would have been between 1.5 and 2 million dirhams. A range of settlements and forts constituted a commercial network along the Volga and Kama rivers. In Biliar, for example, a caravanserai has been unearthed.[6]

Dirham hoards are another body of important information about trade with the Samanids. Arabic coins flowed into Volga Bulgharia from the early 10th to the 11th century.

Moreover, the recent numismatic research has identified at least two basic stages in the development of the Volga Bulgar coinage. The first occurred by the 930s when the Bulgars began imitating dirhams struck by the Samanids in Central Asia. During the second stage, from the 950s to the 970s, they struck their own coins. However, most such coins have been found in Sweden, while Scandinavian artifacts and burial customs have been identified in the cemetery excavated in Balymer, on the left bank of the Middle Volga in the present-day Republic of Tatarstan. This suggests that Norsemen coming from Sweden were not only traders, but also mercenaries in Bulgaria, who were paid in silver.[7] Glass beads have also been used to track commercial relations. Numerous glass beads have been found in cemeteries in the Middle Volga region, which may be dated from the 9th to the early 11th century. Of particular interest for the purpose of this chapter are the sites at Tankeevka (in the vicinity of Balymer, next to the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers) with no less than 10,000 specimens, and Tol'enskoe (on the upper Chapetsk river, in Udmurtia), where 1,900 glass beads have been discovered.[8] According to Ibn Fadlan, they were extremely popular among the "barbarians," and a green glass bead was worth one dirham in Bolgar.[9] This confirms the conclusion drawn on the basis of the numismatic data, namely that Volga Bulgharia was a nodal point of the long-distance, intercontinental trade network.

Despite significant losses caused by the shift of commerce around 900, some dirhams still reached the Slavic and Finno-Ugric interiors through Khazaria along the Don, Donets and Oskol rivers. Evidence for that caravan trade consists of camel bones found on two Slavic fortified settlements immediately to the north from the Mayaki site, at Titchikha and Bol'shoe Borshevo, both dated from the 8th to the 10th century. Two small hoards are known from the vicinity. In addition, a large hoard of 1,092 dirhams came to light in Bezliudovka (on the southern outskirts of the modern city of Kharkiv, in Ukraine), about 120 km farther to the east from Titchikha and Bol'shoe Borshevo. With a *terminus post quem* of 935/36, the Bezliudovka hoard was discovered in the immediate hinterland of the fort at Dmitrievskoe.[10] Furthermore, the Vyatichi mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle as living along the Upper Oka by 964 paid tribute to the Khazars in the form of "a silver piece per plowshare."[11] The word employed for "silver piece" by the medieval chronicler is *shchliag*, the Slavicized name for shilling, itself derived from the Norse term *skillingr*, which means "coin," in general, but also "a monetary unit of 20 g of silver," the equivalent of about seven dirhams. Several other sources mention 10th-century taxes paid in shillings. For example, Helmold of Bosau reports that in the 960s and 970s, the Slavic tribes in the southwestern Baltic region paid 13 coins as tithe to the bishop of Oldenburg and to the tax collector.[12] If those coins were likely Saxon deniers, then the tithe would have been in the amount of ca. 20 g of silver. Furthermore, the 937 agreement between Olaf, the Viking warlord of Dublin, and the English king, Æthelstan, mentions ransom in the form of "a silver shilling per plowshare from the whole kingdom."[13]

During the first half of the 10th century, Khazar, Jewish and Arab merchants used the caravan route along the Don and Donets rivers. They brought dirhams to the local Slavic and Finno-Ugrian tribes, and exchanged them for squirrel, beaver, marten or fox furs. The inhabitants of the forest steppe and forest zone may have collected some of the dirhams to pay tribute. In this way, the commercial logic intersected with a fiscal logic. The Khazars, as well as the Oghuz and the Burtas, invaded the Pecheneg lands in search of slaves, who could then be sold in Itil, the capital of the Khaganate on the Lower Volga. Conversely, the Pechenegs are said to have possessed much silver, gold and expensive vessels, which they may have obtained either through plunder or through trade.[14] In other words, no group of population in the steppe belt and within the Khazar Khaganate was left untouched by predatory interests and the far-reaching tentacles of commerce.

Nonetheless, there are several indications of an economic disintegration of Khazaria at some point during the first half or in the middle of the 10th century. The archeological evidence suggests that several forts were abandoned. Both the open settlement and the stronghold excavated in Verkhnyi Saltiv on the Donets have produced traces of fire and destruction. The Slavic hillfort at Supruty on the Upa River—a right-hand tributary of the Oka—was destroyed in the first quarter of the 10th century. The material culture remains of the last phase of occupation consist of a small hoard of dirhams, five fragments of scales, 23 weights, a neckring of the Perm' type, and various dress accessories of Khazar, Finno-Ugrian, Baltic, Moravian and Scandinavian origins. Supruty was a trading station connecting the Don with the Oka region.[15] Unfortunately, it is not at all clear what exactly caused the demise of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture—the Pecheneg raids after 900, the Rus' attacks ca. 965 or a combination of both. Some have even blamed climate change.[16]

The networks of Kievan, Baltic and Volga Rus'

According to al-Istakhri's account (which refers to the situation in the 930s), the Rus' were made up of three tribes—*Kuyaba*, *Salawiya* and *Arthaniya*.[17] There has been much discussion among historians about the location of those groups of Rus'.[18] Archeologists, on the other hand, have identified several large settlements dated to the first half or the mid-10th century: Kiev and Chernihiv (with the site at Shestovytsia) in the Middle Dnieper region; Gnezdovo on the upper course of that river; Rurik's Stronghold, Novgorod and Staraia Ladoga on the southern shore of Lake Ladoga and along the Volkhov River in northwestern Russia; and Timerevo on the Upper Volga.

One of the most important settlements was Kiev. Dirhams reached the Middle Dnieper region via the Khazar forts along the Don or from Bolgar along the Oka. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, during the 880s Oleg, a Rus' warlord from northern Rus' conquered Kiev and forced various East Slavic tribes from Left- and Right-Bank Ukraine to pay him tribute.[19] There is abundant archeological evidence showing that the settlement at Kiev underwent radical changes from the last decade of the 9th through the first half of the 10th century. At least three hills inside the Kiev area were fortified, and an open settlement of craftsmen and traders grew along the bank of the river Dnieper, within the modern-day residential quarter of Podil. The population was mixed, with various local and outside elements, but the evidence for an early presence of Norsemen is poor—graves with Scandinavian artifacts appear only in the second half of the 10th century.[20] The numismatic evidence suggests the existence of political and commercial structures. Two dirham hoards have been found in Kiev with the *termini post quem* in 905/906 and 906/907, respectively. The first hoard has 529 coins, the other 2,930 dirhams, in addition to six gold armrings. The latter have good analogies in Peenemünde (Usedom), as well as in Gotland.[21] They suggest the participation of Scandinavian warlords in activities taking place in the Middle Dnieper region. The importance of bracelets and neckrings is clearly reflected in the account of Ahmed Ibn Fadlan, who, on his way to the Volga Bulgars in 921/922, met with a party of Rus' on the banks of the Volga:

> Around their necks they wear bands of gold and silver. Whenever a man's wealth reaches ten thousand dirhams, he has a band made for his wife; if it reaches twenty thousand dirhams, he has two bands made for her – for every ten thousand more, he gives another band to his wife. Sometimes one woman may wear many bands around her neck.[22]

This passage shows that dirhams were available in Rus' society in the early 10th century, not necessarily as money on the markets, but as badges of social prestige and as bullion for jewelry, which was a sign of elevated social status as well. The redistribution of valuable goods was a fundamental principle of Viking-age societies, which allowed for a consolidation of social bonds by means of silver moving between kin groups and kinships and their members. Gift-giving was a social strategy for acquiring prestige and for creating solid social bonds. In the case of gifts given by warlords, chieftains and kings, those were primarily means of securing the loyalty of members of the retinue, and of creating the symbolic capital necessary for the reproduction of power. Through the redistribution of precious metals, prestige and authority could thus be consolidated.[23]

How did the Rus' of Kiev obtain dirhams? First, several tribes, who lived along the Desna, the Seim, the Psel, the Sula, the Vorskla and the Sozh, paid tribute in the form of shillings—silver coins. This implies that, like the Radimichi in 885, those tribes participated in the trade through Khazar or Volga Bulgar networks, and exchanged furs for dirhams, which they then used, among others, to pay tribute to the Rus'. Second, according to the Russian Primary Chronicle, in 883, the Rus' forced the Derevlians, who lived along the Pripet River, to pay a tribute of "a black marten-skin apiece."[24] Tribute-collecting expeditions, called *poliudia*, provided probably also an opportunity for trading for furs, which were not part of the tribute. The Rus' then exchanged those furs, alongside wax, honey and slaves for silver.

However, Kiev was not the only Rus' center in the Middle Dnieper region. Other bands of foreigners settled in Chernihiv. This site allowed the control of tribes in the region of the Lower Desna and the Seim rivers. A cluster of dirham hoards with the most recent coins struck in the 950s to the 970s appears in the area between the Seim and the Desna, especially near the modern city of Kursk. Some of the ten hoards known from that area have over 1,000 dirhams each. The chronology of several finds coincides with the last phase of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture.[25]

During the 10th century, new settlements emerged in northcentral and northwestern Russia. One of the largest was Gnezdovo near modern Smolensk. Its location on the upper course of the river Dnieper suggests an important function in long-distance trade, and the archeological evidence indicates that Slavs, Balts and Norsemen lived there. Craftsmen may have come from Uppland (Central Sweden), Denmark, Gotland, and perhaps even Khazaria. The material culture clearly shows strong similarities with the Viking-age emporium at Birka in Uppland. A range of hoards were found in or around Gnezdovo, underscoring modest wealth. The oldest were hidden in the 920s and 930s, but most other finds may be dated between ca. 950 and the early 960s. In addition, more than 400 single coins are known from the settlement and the associated cemetery. Out of all those coins, 308 coins and coin fragments, particularly dirhams, were found inside the emporium suggesting that they were circulated as money and were used for commercial purpose (for, in contrast to hoards, they were simply lost, not intentionally buried). Moreover, excavations on the site produced many other luxury goods, such as glass, carnelian and amber beads, jewelry, as well as weights and so-called Frankish swords.[26] Judging from the archeological record, Gnezdovo must have been one of the most important trading and power centers of the mid-10th-century Rus'.

Another second significant cluster of silver emerged around Novgorod, on the Upper Volkhov. At least six hoards are known from that area, dated between the 930s and the 970s.[27] According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, in 947, Olga, the princess of Kiev "went to Novgorod, and along the Msta, she established trading posts and collected tribute. She also collected imposts and tribute along the Luga."[28]

In the region of the Msta and the Luga, the two rivers connecting Novgorod with the Upper Volga as well as with the Baltic region, archeologists have discovered several settlements and hillforts. Single dirham finds, glass and carnelian beads, weights and scales found on those sites indicate that the commercial logic of long-distance and regional trade intersected with the logic of collecting tribute in the form of such commodities as furs and honey, which were then traded for dirhams.[29] To be sure, beginning with the 930s and through the early 11th century, glass beads were produced at Staraia Ladoga, the Rus' settlement which had been established on the Lower Volkhov in the mid-8th century. More than 4,660 glass beads, at least 200 pieces of slag, and 47 crucibles found on the site have been dated to the 10th and the 11th century. Some of those beads were made from raw material imported in the form of rods from the Muslim world.[30]

Dirhams appeared also farther to the east, in the Upper Volga region, at Timerevo, as well as at smaller centers in the Oka Basin, near Suzdal' and Vladimir. The settlement excavated at Ves' (near Suzdal, in the Vladimir province of Russia) produced 14 coins dated between the 8th and the early 11th centuries. Dirhams have also been found at Shekshovo, in the neighboring province of Ivanovo, 9 of them in the settlement, and the other 28 in the cemetery. Those are mostly 10th-century coins. There can be no doubt that the Finno-Ugrian people between the Volga and the Oka were able to amass large quantities of silver. The hoard found in Murom (with a *terminus post quem* of 939/940) contained over 11,000 dirhams alongside bullion, for a total of 40 kg of silver.[31] Finally, dirhams also reached deep into northeastern Russia. As far as 500 km to the north of Vladimir, there was a settlement at Krutik near Beloozero on Lake Beloe. Both the settlement and the cemetery excavated there produced 70 dirhams, 73 percent of them dated to the 10th century.[32]

The Rus' imposed the payment of tribute on the Derevlians, who lived in Right-Bank Ukraine. After collecting the tribute, the Rus' moved on along the Pripet to the region of the Western Bug, in search of new furs and slaves. That is how dirhams began to flow into eastern Poland in the early 10th century.

The networks of the Piasts and the Pomeranians

The analysis of the chronological structure of several hoards from Greater Poland shows that dirhams came to the region, at least in part, from the east. That Arabic silver played a crucial role in the formation of the early Piast realm results from the account of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub:

> [Mieszko] levies tribute in the form of *mathāqīl al-marqatīyya*, which he uses to pay his retinue; every month each of them [his followers] gets a certain sum of them. He has 3,000 shield-bearers, of every hundred of them as worth as a thousand others.[33]

The word *mathāqīl* refers to a monetary unit equal to 4.23 g gold, but ibn Ya'qub may have had in mind not gold, but fragmented silver being weighed.[34] Mieszko appears to have imposed tribute upon some groups in central and eastern Poland, and paid his retinue in hack-silver by weight. Moreover, the Piast elite could have obtained dirhams not only through tribute, but also through exchange, namely by selling slaves and furs to Rus' traders.

Four hoards from the core area of the Piast power are very large, but consist primarily of fragmented silver: Poznań (with the last coin struck in 961), Zalesie (with the last coin struck in 976), Kąpiel (with the last coin struck in 985) and Dzierżnica II (with the last coin struck between 980/981 and 989/990).[35] There are some 21,000 coins in the Dzierżnica II hoard, almost all fragmented dirhams, in addition to over 1,000 pieces of jewelry, which are also

fragmented. The total amount of silver reaches 15.6 kg, which would have been sufficient to purchase between 50 and 80 slaves. The hoard was found only 2 km away from Giecz, one of the most important Piast strongholds. If some of the tribute collected by Mieszko or his predecessors came from Mazovia, this would mean the inhabitants of eastern Poland had been incorporated into the Piast dirham networks. The hoards may well have been the property of the Piasts or of their followers, but it is equally possible that those burying them were the craftsmen who fashioned armrings, necklaces or earrings out of hacksilver. Be that as it may, neither hacksilver nor the associated weights and scales can directly reflect the commercial logic of silver use. The strongholds in Greater Poland may have concomitantly served as centers of tribute collection for the Piasts, and as sites for various forms of exchange, including retinue payments and (ceremonial) gift-giving. This may explain why both jewelry and dirhams found in hoards were fragmented—to serve a fiscal and social prestige purpose, for which weighing was sufficient; they were not necessarily currency for commercial purpose. Several fragments of dirhams and silver jewelry are minuscule (sometimes less than 1 g, even 0.1 g). This suggests prestige and ritual functions, of a kind associated with potlach-like ceremonies. During such ceremonies, members of the elite redistributed or destroyed their property in order to maintain or strengthen their social status. The redistribution was meant to strengthen symbolic and political ties with the retinue. In addition, silver may have been a significant mechanism for regulating and a universal medium for influencing political relationships between the elites of Mieszko's polity, on one hand, and various local clans or groups in adjacent areas, such as Silesia, on the other hand.

Another reason for rejecting the idea that silver served as a means of exchange on local markets is the surprisingly small number of dirham finds on contemporary stronghold sites. In Giecz, for example, out of 500 coins resulting from the excavation of the site, which could be dated between the 10th and the early 12th centuries, only 50 are dirham fragments, and the chronology spans the period between 893/894–901/902 and 970/971–977/978. The contrast to the quantity of silver in the Dzierżnica II is striking. Furthermore, only a few of the mid- to late-tenth-century hoards have been found inside the strongholds, for example Grzybowo-Rabieżyce (with a *terminus post quem* of 952/953) and Ostrów Lednicki (with a *terminus post quem* of 985). The vast majority of those hoards originate in the hinterland.[36]

Judging by the chronology and structure of hoards, dirhams were transported to Greater Poland not only from the east, but also from the north, notably through Wolin in Western Pomerania. The settlement emerged and grew markedly on the island of Wolin from the early 10th century onward, at the same time as the inflow of Arabic silver. Several hoards have been found not only inside the emporium, but also in the region between the present-day cities of Kamień Pomorski and Szczecin, some 20 km to the northeast and 80 km to the south of Wolin, respectively. Some finds suggest prestige and gift-giving. For example, hoard Wolin XVII, which is dated to the 10th and 11th centuries, includes 99 pieces of jewelry, ingots and silver wires, mostly in fragments. There is also a so-called Thor hammer pendant. Hoard Wolin XXII (with a *terminus post quem* of 982), which was found on the so-called Silver Hill, consists of 120–150 coins and only five pieces of jewelry. Several hoards from the hinterland include jewelry as well: there are 588 fragmented armrings, neckrings and earrings, together with 20 fragmented ingots, in the hoard from Dramino (with the last coin struck in 949/950).[37] There are of course many possible explanations for the use of hacksilver in Pomerania, other than commercial. Wolin may have served both as a center for tribute collection by the local elite and as a place for various forms of exchange. Some of the hacked coins and rings could have been gifts to express friendship and ensure political

alliances. "Baugbroti" (ring-breaker) is the name used in the sagas for the chieftains and kings generously giving (pieces of) armrings to their followers.[38]

In Wolin, archeologists found workshops for glass-, amber-, metal- and antler-working. Intensive contacts with the Muslim world (through the networks of Gotlanders, Svear and Baltic Rus') are attested not only by numerous hoards of dirham found in and around Wolin, but also by single finds of dirhams in the emporium, in addition to cowrie shells from the Indian Ocean, glass beads from Syria and Egypt, and silk from Central Asia. One of the main commodities intended for export was amber—more than 270,000 pieces have been found in Wolin.[39] Besides the large number of dirhams, mostly fragmented, finds of more than 40 weights and balances point to the importance of weighing the silver for both regional and long-distance commercial exchanges. Wolinian chieftains may have paid in precious metal for slaves, furs and possibly timber supplied by inland groups, and it is no coincidence that during the first half of the 10th century, high-quality pottery from Western Pomerania appears in Greater Poland. As Błażej M. Stanisławski has put, an "ideological revolution" seems to have taken place among Wolinians during that century, as indicated by the growth of the settlement, the emergence of new elites and the appearance of dirham hoards—all phenomena known in Greater Poland as well.[40]

Western Pomerania served as the conduit for the flow of dirhams to the Danes and the Elbe (Polabian) Slavs. However, a fundamental transformation was taking place at that same time in the lands to the west from Wolin in this period. Between 928 and 934, Henry I the Fowler, the king of Eastern Francia (919–936), imposed tribute upon all the Elbe Slavs, as well as the Bohemians, and captured the important emporium at Hedeby. A huge area was thus brought under Saxon control—from the Baltic rim in the north to Prague in the south, and from the Elbe in the west to the Oder in the east. Within a short period of time, Henry took over the entire network for dirham redistribution in the lands to the west from Wolin. Some of the tribute that was paid to him may have been in the form of silver coming from the Arab world.

The Magyar networks between the Dniester River and Prague

According to Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub,

> the Rus' and the Saqaliba [Slavs] go there [to Prague] from Karaku [Cracow] with commodities, while from the country of the Turks [Magyars] and of the Muslims come to them Jews and Turks with commodities and *mathāqīl al-marqatīyya* and carry away slaves, tin, and various furs.[41]

This account indicates two cross- and intercontinental trade routes on the southern axis: the first through Hungary and the second through Lesser Poland. The archeological evidence confirms the presence of Magyars in the first half of the 10th century at such sites as Krylos (near Ivano-Frankivs'k, in Western Ukraine), Sudova Vyshnia (near Lviv, next to the Polish–Ukrainian border) and Przemyśl (in southeastern Poland, about 50 km to the west from Sudova Vyshnia). On all three sites, cemeteries have been excavated that include burials of warriors, women and children.[42] On the other hand, there is a cluster of dirham hoards in Western Ukraine, specifically in the region of the upper courses of the Southern Bug, the Dniester and the Tisza. No less than six hoards are known from that region. Two of them were found in the vicinity of Vinnytsia, about 270 km to the west from Kiev. The hoard from Raihorodok (near Berdychiv, in the Vinnytsia province of Ukraine) had a *terminus*

post quem of 941, while that found in Kopiivka (near Haisyn, in the Vinnytsia province of Ukraine) has a *terminus post quem* of 955/956. Both hoards include coins, as well as jewelry. 350 km to the west from Vinnytsia, another cluster of hoards appears in the region of the Upper Dniester: Hrabovets' (with the last coin struck in 919/20) and Nyzhniv (with the last coin struck in 925/926), both near Ivano-Frankivs'k, and Krylos, near Halych. The latter is a very large hoard with 1,110 dirhams, in addition to bracelets and neckrings. Its *terminus post quem* is 935/936. Another hoard was found on the upper Tisza, near the Hungarian–Romanian–Ukrainian border, 200 km to the west of Halych, across the Carpathian Mountains. The hoard from Khust, in the northern part of the Maramureş region (now in Ukraine), consists of 371 dirhams, 34 percent of which are imitations struck in Volga Bulgharia or Khazaria, and the *terminus post quem* is 934/935. Furthermore, to the north of the Carpathian Mountains, a 10th-century hoard of 700 dirhams is known from Przemyśl, unfortunately without a precise *terminus post quem*.[43] The silver coins and jewelry in the region of the upper courses of the Southern Bug, the Dniester and the Tisza rivers may be regarded as a by-product of the Magyar "transit" networks spreading from the Middle Volga through Kievan Rus' to Hungary.

To be sure, unlike Western Ukraine, there are only a few coin hoards in Hungary. A small deposit of ten dirhams (the last one struck in 918/919) was found in a grave of the cemetery excavated in Sárospatak (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, near the Hungarian–Slovak border), about 160 km to the west from Khust. Furthermore, only 67 single finds of dirhams have so far been found in 10th-century cemeteries in Hungary. The majority of those coins have been struck in the early 10th century. The small number of surviving coins suggests that dirhams were melted down and used as bullion for making jewelry. Dress accessories of Magyar origins illustrate the movement from the valley of the Kama through Chernihiv and Kiev to Krylos and Przemyśl, and then to Hungary.[44]

North of the Carpathian Mountains, in Poland, a hoard was found inside the early medieval stronghold of Zawada Lanckorońska (near Tarnów), some 200 km to the west from Przemyśl. There are 49 glass and 30 silver beads or earrings in the hoard.[45] They belong to the Gnezdovo, Trnovec and Břeclav-Pohansko types, all dated probably to the first half of the 10th century, and underscore interactions or cultural influences engaging societies between the Upper Dnieper and the Lower Morava. The find-spot of the hoard lay on the commercial route to Prague. From Prague, merchants went along the Elbe River to various Slavic communities in what is today Germany and western Poland, or further to the west into Bavaria, France and finally Al-Andalus, Ibrahim Ibn Ya'qub's homeland.

Beyond dirhams: commercial "worlds" between the 10th and the 12th centuries

With increasing fluctuations of the dirham flow, the Kievan Rus' tried to compensate losses that they would have incurred by establishing close ties with Byzantium. If the Russian Primary Chronicle is to be trusted on this matter, the Rus' attacks on Byzantium in 911, 941 and 944 resulted in two treaties which granted the Rus' rights to trade in Constantinople.[46] The Rus' brought furs and slaves, as well as wax and honey on the market in Byzantine capital city, and exchanged them for silk, glass, wine and sometimes coins. Byzantine imports are in fact well documented archeologically primarily in three areas—Kiev in the south, and Novgorod in the north and in the Oka-Volga region of Central Russia.[47] Furthermore, around AD 1000, the Rus' princes—first Vladimir the Great, then his son, Yaroslav the Wise—began to mint their own coins, *srebrenniki* (silver) and *zolotniki* (gold).[48] Judging from

hoards, the coin stock at that time in Rus' consisted of dirhams alongside some German deniers and Anglo-Saxon pennies, as well as Byzantine miliaresia. This suggests that the "native" coins struck by Vladimir and Yaroslav had an ideological and fiscal, and not necessarily (or exclusively) economic role. Domestic coins played no role whatsoever even later, during the 12th and 13th centuries, a period of economic prosperity. According to Abu Hamid al-Gharnati, who visited Kiev in the mid-12th century, the monetary units employed on were old, worn-out squirrel furs.[49]

Until the Mongol invasion of 1237–1241, the vast river system crisscrossing the lands of Kievan Rus' facilitated trade contacts. Major towns along those rivers were important nodal points for commerce, as well as fiscal centers where tribute from subject people was collected. The archeological evidence of the 11th and 12th centuries is very clear in that respect. For example, excavations in Novgorod in northern Rus' produced glass from Byzantium, glazed wares made in Syria and Iran, boxwood from Caucasus, and silverware from the Middle East.[50] From Germany came coins (until the early 12th century) and ingots. The hoard found in Arkhangelsk at the mouth of the Northern Dvina, about 745 miles (1,200 km) to the northeast from Novgorod, shows that, through the Novgorod trade networks, deniers reached the White Sea shore. The hoard was buried at some point after 1125 and contained about 1,900 coins, of which 1,800 were struck in Germany, together with jewelry and hack-silver.[51] According to the First Chronicle of Novgorod, the Rus' acquired furs by means of commercial exchanges, as well as tribute imposed on the native people.[52] Moreover, pottery imitating Byzantine wares have been found at Sigtuna (Central Sweden) and Lund (now in southern Sweden, at that time in Denmark). Those wares have been brought to the territory of modern Sweden during the first half of the 12th century.[53] Silk from Byzantium or the Islamic world was also re-exported to Western Europe, where it passed for "Russian" silk.[54] Largely because of the expansion of trade relations, the domestic craft production of jewelry and glass, blacksmithing, carpentry, pottery production and stone carving expanded greatly. By 1100, Kievan Rus' was no periphery of the Byzantine civilization, but a commercial hub of great importance in Western Eurasia.

On any distribution map of the dirhams found in early medieval Europe, the Balkan Peninsula is devoid of any finds. Nevertheless, the Russian Primary Chronicle clearly shows the importance of early medieval Bulgaria for cross-continental trade. In 969, Sviatoslav, the ruler of Kievan Rus', intended to relocate the "capital" of his realm to Pereyaslavets on the Danube, "where all riches are concentrated: gold, silks, wine and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus' furs, wax, honey and slaves."[55]

There is abundant archeological evidence regarding the contacts between Byzantium and Bulgaria. Most impressive in that respect are about 200 coins found in the settlement complex at Preslav.[56] Much like elsewhere in Europe, precious metals served as prestige goods. A hoard from Kastana, near Preslav, includes 150 pieces of gold and enamel, silver objects, ancient gems and 15 coins struck ca. 959. Some of the jewelry pieces suggest close relationships between Byzantine and Bulgar elites.[57] Furthermore, Preslav was an important center of fine-quality ceramics, kaolin and glazed wares. Similarly, at Tărnovo in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, the residential quarter was transformed into a craft production area to meet the demand of the local elites. In contrast to silver and gold products, a few Byzantine copper coins excavated at several rural sites in northwestern and northeastern Bulgaria suggest some rudimentary forms of monetization.[58] However, more archeological data are needed to verify or falsify the hypotheses that have been put forward in order to explain the division of labor between strongholds and service settlements.

Tenth-century hoards of silver jewelry with strong Byzantine influences appear also in Croatia. However, artifacts found in burial assemblages may have been produced locally in such centers as Dubrovnik, Otok, Nin-Žminj, Mogorjelo or Žitomislići. Written sources mention that the Croats exchanged with Byzantium and Venice salt, wax, textiles, furs, gold and slaves.[59] Judging by what the Venitians levied from the area during the 11th century, some communities had accumulated considerable wealth. For example, the inhabitants of the islands Rab and Krk on the Adriatic coast paid their taxes in silk and gold.[60]

Beginning with the early 12th century, the number of hoards in the Balkans increased significantly, although it remained far smaller than in the 11th-century North. In contrast to earlier finds consisting of jewelry, the "new" hoards contain primarily Byzantine coins. Several deniers struck for Ladislas I (1077–1095), the king of Hungary, and his successors, which were found in graves and settlements in Transylvania, may have been acquired by means of the trade with salt.[61]

Demand for silver, mainly elite-driven, was the prime mover of dirham circulation in Eastern Europe. Islamic coins made a significant contribution to state formation and, ironically, to the establishment of Christian kingdoms in that part of Europe (as well as of the Muslim realm of Volga Bulgharia). However, an examination of the structure of hoards clearly shows that dirhams struck after 1000 hardly appear in Eastern Europe. Instead, there were many more West European coins, first during the 970s and 980s. Those were especially Bavarian deniers as well as silver pennies struck for Otto III and Adelheid. The silver mines in the Harz Mountains started operations ca. 970, and within a decade or two after that millions of cross-deniers were struck, which were meant for long-distance trade with the Slavs. Moreover, by 1000, Anglo-Saxon coins appeared in hoards. To date, some 400,000 German and Anglo-Saxon deniers are known from Eastern Europe.[62] However, more than 60,000 English pennies that have been found in the eastern Baltic region make up only a fraction of the tributes that the Anglo-Saxons paid to Danish and Norwegian kings (ca. 250,000 pounds of silver, the equivalent of about 60,000,000 coins).

One can assume that, from the late 10th to the early 12th centuries, German coins also circulated in millions of specimens. Moreover, the rulers of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary struck their own deniers. The numismatic evidence from Kostice, a marketplace situated at the intersection point between *Ostarrichi* (The Eastern Mark, Austria), Moravia and Hungary, shows that during the 11th century, local coins supplanted foreign coins. The latter, particularly late-10th-century Bavarian deniers, as well as coins struck in Austria between 1108–1127 and 1210–1230, made up only a small part of the nearly 200 strong coins stock. By contrast, coins struck for the Hungarian kings Stephen I (997–1038) and Andrew I (1046–1060), as well as Moravian coins prevailed from the later 11th to the 12th centuries. Fragments of scales and spherical weights found in Kostice confirm the commercial function of the settlement complex along the cross-continental routes in the east-west, as well as north-south directions.[63]

Cross-deniers from Saxony still flowed to the Piast realm, Pomerania and the Elbe Slav area until 1100 or 1120. To the Polish interior, they were transported by Saxon and Jewish merchants, who used the overland routes. Alternatively, German and Frisian coins were sent to Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and then re-exported by Slavic traders to Mazovia, to the eastern parts of the Piast realm. Imitations of various deniers struck possibly in Starigard, Old Lübeck and Kołobrzeg-Budzistowo indicate the existence of such networks.[64] In contrast to the Piasts, the Přemyslids and the Arpadians, the Pomeranians and the Elbe Slavs did not produce their own "official" coins, but instead struck imitations of various German

and other West European pennies. Were deniers (and their imitations) meant to meet the demand of cash on domestic markets? Clusters of stray finds and weights appear particularly in 11th-century emporia or central places participating in the long-distance trade, for example at Arkona on the island of Rügen and at Kałdus on the Lower Vistula, 140 km south from Gdańsk. Archeologists have found more than 120 coins, 188 weights and at least 20 scales, alongside 420 carnelian or rock crystal beads in the trading settlement of Parchim-Löddigsee, 70 km south from the Baltic shore. Furthermore, there is a conspicuous presence in the area of goods from various parts of Europe, notably Scandinavia, Germany and Kievan Rus'. The discovery of three shackles suggests slave trade.[65]

Were markets in the Polish interior monetized? Excavations in several strongholds and their service settlements (*podgrodzia*) have produced numerous coin finds, mainly cross-deniers dated to the second half of the 11th century. However, only a few such settlements have produced more than 100 deniers each: Tum-Łęczyca, Zgłowiączka, Kalisz and Giecz, the latter with an impressive collection of about 500 coins, notably struck between 1050 and 1100. This archeological and numismatic evidence indicates a division of labor that was rudimentarily monetized and commercialized. Thus, Piast centers fulfilled a wide range of services connecting administrative, political, fiscal and economic functions. This hybrid system may be called "stronghold economy." However, single finds of Polish coins are rare, which suggests that they served as fiscal instruments, and not as money on the local markets.

Pax Mongolica versus the "Europeanization" of East Central Europe: economic divergence in the 13th century

During the 13th century, Eastern Europe underwent a fundamental economic, social and political transformation. On one hand, the Mongol invasion of 1237–1240 resulted in the inclusion of Kievan Rus' into a huge Eurasian Empire, later within one of its successor states, the Golden Horde. On the other hand, the deep social transformation in Central Europe linked to the rural colonization brought about dramatic demographic and economic changes. Eastern Europa broke apart into two economic zones. As Balázs Nagy notes in regard to Hungary, the creation of the Latin Empire in the wake of the Fourth Crusade of 1204, as well as the Mongol invasion of 1241 "caused Hungary to move from the western periphery of the Eastern European economic region to what Jenő Szűcs described as the zone of influence of the ascending West."[66]

The Mongol onslaught was devastating, and the political consequences for the Rus' lands were immense. The Rus' now had to pay tribute to the Mongols, initially in kind, later, beginning with the early 14th century, in silver. However, long-distance trade became one of the main components of the Golden Horde economy.[67] Eastern Europe was now part of the *pax Mongolica* covering a very large area between China and the Black and Baltic Seas. The khans ruling over the Golden Horde controlled the northwestern segment of the Silk Road extending from Urgench in Central Asia through Sarai on the Volga to Tana at the mouth of the Don River, and farther to Sudak and Caffa in the Crimea. As a consequence, the "treasure of the land of darkness," primarily furs, but also slaves, honey and wax were now exchanged for silk, spices, gems, ceramics, silverware and various luxury items brought by merchant caravans from Central Asia, Constantinople and Egypt.[68] Precious metals in the form of ingots came from Western Europe through the Baltic ports.[69] Thus, although politically degraded to a peripheral status within the Golden Horde, the Rus' lands remained a commercially important link between west and east. The Mongols devastated in 1241

Hungary, Serbia and southern Poland. Nevertheless, recovery took place relatively quickly. Following that, East Central Europe witnessed a process that Robert Bartlett called "Europeanization," which included urbanization and colonization on the basis of German law, as well as the dissemination of the written word in the form of charters.[70]

In 1204, Duke Henry the Bearded issued the foundation charter for the Cistercian monastery of Trzebnica near Wrocław, in Silesia. He described all revenues for the monastery comprising labor, in-kind payments and monetary dues. The monastery received in-kind payments from 120 families, while 20 families paid them in coin, and another 10 in a mixed form. Every potter, baker and cottager, as well as all tenants in the village at Węgrzynów, who possessed two oxen or one horse, had to pay 20 deniers. Peasants, who sowed their own or other field by third parties, paid 12 coins. The highest tax amounting to 60 deniers was for fox hunters from the village of Kliszów.[71] If ordinary people in rural areas had access to coins that they had to obtain from local markets like Trzebnica, a more sophisticated division of labor must have been in existence. Consequently, the commercial integration seems to have reached a higher level than ever before. According to the numismatic data, the import of foreign coins to Poland collapsed by the early 12th century, and from that moment onward, most deniers circulating in that country had been locally minted. The increasing use of coins, particularly after 1250, was driven by the growth of local markets set up by ducal initiative and entrepreneurship.[72]

Notes

1 Thomas S. Noonan, "Some observations on the economy of the Khazar Khaganate," in *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 207–44, here p. 236.

2 Dmitrii I. Mishin, "Saqlabi servants in Islamic Spain and North Africa in the early Middle Ages," Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University (Budapest, 1999), pp. 109–10; Marek Jankowiak, "Two systems of trade in the Western Slavic lands in the 10th century", in *Economies, Monetisation and Society in West Slavic Lands AD 800–1200*, ed. Mateusz Bogucki and Marian Rębkowski (Szczecin: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2013), pp. 137–48, here p. 141.

3 Noonan, "Some observations," pp. 236–37.

4 The numbers were obtained by assuming that the Samanid dirhams, which made up about 95 percent of all 10th-century silver entering Eastern Europe came from Central Asia via Volga Bulgharia. By contrast, a few Abbasid dirhams passed through the Khazar territory. However, there is no evidence to exclude the presence of Samanid dirhams from Khazaria, and its commercial ties with Khwarezm.

5 Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1939), pp. 136–37.

6 Florin Curta, "Markets in 10th-century al-Andalus and Volga Bulghāria: contrasting views of trade in Muslim Europe," *Al-Masāq* 25 (2013), no. 3, 305–30, here 316–20.

7 Roman K. Kovalev, "Were there direct contacts between Volga Bulğāria and Sweden in the second half of the tenth century? The numismatic evidence," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 20 (2013), 67–102, here 93.

8 Svetlana I. Valiulina, "Stekliannye busy kak istochnik po mezhdunarodnym sviazam volzhskikh bulgar v VIII-nachale XIII vv." [Glass beads as a source for the international relations of the Bulgars (8th–13th cc.)], in *Slaviane, finno-ugry, skandinavy, volzhskie bulgary. Doklady Mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo simpoziuma po voprosam arkheologii i istorii, 11–14 maia 1999 g., Pushkinskie Gory*, edited by Anatolii N. Kirpichnikov, Evgenii N. Nosov and A. I. Saksa (St. Petersburg: IPK "Vesti", 2000), pp. 51–66. For Tankeevka, see Elena A. Khalikova and Evgenii P. Kazakov, "Le cimetière de Tankeevka," in *Les anciens Hongrois et les ethnies voisines l'Est*, edited by István Erdélyi (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1977), pp. 21–222. For Tol'enskoe, see V. A. Semenov, "Tol'enskii mogil'nik IX-nachala X v." [The Tol'enskoe cemetery (9th-early 10th cc.)], in *Novye issledovaniia po drevnei*

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14
TOWNS AND CITIES

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The changes taking place in tenth-century Eastern Europe had political effects, but also social and economic consequences. As trade began to intensify under the new political structures emerging in a setup that was different from past centuries and had a Byzantine or Western influence, new urban centers began to develop. Trading operations predated the tenth century and were mostly associated with Varangians seeking to create a stable link between the Baltic and the Black Sea. Political centers did of course exist in various places long before AD 900, and gathered around them small communities of merchants and craftsmen. However, it was the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity and the advent of new religious and political structures in a larger area between the Elbe and the Volga that created the right setup for towns to emerge. One faces a number of challenges when doing research on the rise and development of urban centers between the 10th and 13th centuries. Where the 10th and 11th centuries are concerned, one must rely almost exclusively on the archeological evidence, since most written sources come from outsiders with a very one-sided view. Urban history in Eastern Europe has been approached from a variety of angles, which varied through time and political context. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, national historiographies adhered to ideologically charged interpretations, as some of the countries involved were part of the Communist bloc. The tendency to look for local origins and emphasize native developments has been particularly strong in the historiography of medieval towns, but the last three decades have witnessed the serious efforts of a young generation of historians to break free from tradition, and to adopt perspectives that place urban development in a wider, regional frame of reference.

Another issue has to do with the definition of towns. The towns in question are medieval settlements, but few of them seem to fit any common definition of the term. The town is essentially a "center," be it political, religious, administrative or economical, as related to the surrounding countryside. In the Middle Ages, not all towns fit that description, but only capitals. However, even the latter term is problematic for the period covered, since in many places rulers were itinerant, traveling from one "central" place to another. A general, but by no means universal trend was for any center of power to be eventually associated with an urban settlement. There were also towns with strategic locations, in ports or on major inland roads.

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Towns of the Middle Ages had a certain degree of individuality, only found in communities who lived in those settlements, with features that varied across regions and states. Specifically, this has to do with the gradual process of obtaining legal freedom and autonomy, which began around the year 1100 in Western Europe, and was progressively adopted in the rest of the continent as well. Nevertheless, the degree of autonomy diminishes from west to east. It was practically absent in the East Slavic area, at least not present in its Western form. Only in the kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, one could find a type of autonomy similar to that in the German lands. The rest of the East European towns had relatively stable markets and had many of the trappings of urban life: they were hubs for trade and crafts, had secular and ecclesiastical administration, and were fortified.

Until AD 1000, the epitome of cities in this part of Europe was Constantinople. Built by Constantine and made inexpugnable by the following emperors, that city became the New Rome, a political, spiritual and economic beacon for Christianity, which also caught the interest of Islamic leaders and nomadic tribes. Through all the storms that lashed against it, Constantinople held fast and maintained its appeal until the early 13th century.

Further north, in the Crimea, Cherson remained the most important town of the area throughout the centuries. That ancient Greek colony by the Black Sea was ruled by the Byzantines, and witnessed periods of growth (5th–7th centuries) or decline (8th century). Throughout the second half of the ninth and during the tenth centuries, the town seemed to recover, as evidenced by the restoration of surrounding walls and churches, an increase in population and more ceramic material being produced—all this until the town was conquered and pillaged by the Rus' prince Vladimir in 988. Nevertheless, the town left its mark in the region. It had political significance, since it maintained diplomatic relations with the nomads on behalf of the imperial authorities, but was also an important center of commerce, involved in the exchange of northern furs, animals, wax and slaves for wine, olive oil, spices, ceramics and silk brought from the south.[1] However, neither Cherson nor Constantinople had any notable influence on the urban development within the territories inhabited by the Eastern Slavs. If there ever was any Byzantine influence in those lands, that was primarily political and religious. In that respect, the link between Constantinople, Cherson and Rus' was established when Vladimir converted to Christianity, an event that the Russian Primary Chronicle dates to 988/989 and places it in Cherson, whether symbolically or not.[2]

No other towns existed in the vast area stretching from the Danube Delta, north of the Black Sea, to the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov and to the Caucasus Mountains. Only political and commercial settlements were established by some of the populations that dominated the area in the Middle Ages. For instance, the Khazars had their capital somewhere in the delta of the river Volga, at Atil. The Khazar khagan ensured a level of commercial freedom that was quite remarkable for that day, and in exchange received taxes from visiting merchants, who came from Central Asia, the Near East or Eastern Europe. After 900, the Khazar capital at Atil competed with the main political center of the Volga Bulgars, Bolgar.[3] On the other hand, the Pechenegs had no power center and exchanged goods with the outside world in temporary camping grounds spread throughout their territory or in markets bordering the Rus' lands.[4] Later nomads, such as the Uzes and the Cumans, similarly had no interest in towns, even though they are known for having restored settlements in areas of contact with the Byzantines.[5] All medieval nomads of the steppe lands in Eastern Europe allowed free passage for merchants, even in times of war. In other words, trade corridors were maintained between urban centers in the north and those in the region of the Black and Caspian seas. The transcontinental routes followed rivers flowing into those seas, the Dnieper and the Volga, as well as the Don emptying into the Sea of Azov. Cherson in the

Crimea was the main terminal of those routes and remained an important interface between Byzantium and the world of the steppe.[6] Sudak (Soldaia), another important Crimean trade center, along with Saksin, on the Lower Volga (most likely, the successor of the older Itil), was dominated by the Cumans. However, like most other harbor towns, the population in each one of them was mixed, as most towns in the Black Sea region were melting pots.[7]

The towns of Rus' were located farther to the north, along the above-mentioned waterways, on sites of Viking-age power and economic centers established in the second half of the eighth century. In fact, the earliest was also one of the northernmost, the trading post of Staraya Ladoga, the beginnings of which are still unclear. A network of communication existed in the area, where furs were exchanged for metal tools. Around 780, hoards of Islamic silver coins (dirhams) were buried in the area, showing that local trade extended well beyond the region and followed long-distance routes.[8] The Vikings were quick to identify the best routes connecting the Baltic to the Caspian and Black seas, and some scholars believe that their main goal was to procure dirhams directly or, at least, as closely as possible from their source in Baghdad. In the ninth century, Scandinavians actually went all the way to the capital of the caliphate, where they traded, but also initiated excursions to Constantinople, both for plunder and for trade.[9] During the first half of the tenth century, the Volga Bulgars became the middlemen, along with the Khazars, in this trade linking the Rus' and the Arabs. Once they gained a foothold in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, the Pechenegs could control the trade routes linking the Rus' to Byzantium, via Crimea.[10] This is the backdrop for the emergence (in the ninth century) and the development (in the tenth century) of new intermediate trading posts, where furs and exchanged goods were collected. There were also service stations for merchants on the valleys of the Volga, Don, Dnieper and other major rivers under Viking control. Furthermore, those posts (most often polynuclear) also served a military purpose, defending roads. They were also power centers, from which Viking chieftains exercised domination over the Slavs. During the tenth century, Novgorod gradually eclipsed Staraia Ladoga, while farther to the south, on the right bank of the Middle Dnieper, Kiev became the main terminal for the southbound trade route known as the "road from the Varangians to the Greeks." More trading posts emerged in Smolensk, Chernigov, Polotsk, Rostov, Pereiaslavl' and other locations.[11]

Historians have long debated the rise of towns in Rus', as part of a framework of interpretation typical for Eastern Europe as a whole, and not just for Russia. Some of them supported the idea of organic and continued development, based on local centers, which had supposedly existed ever since the sixth century, but developed as soon as favorable conditions permitted. Others have pointed out the major role played by external factors, international trade and elites of other ethnicities. The two sides are hard to reconcile, but recent research, based on a combination of written and archeological evidence, offers interpretations that seem to lean toward the second, while embracing elements of the first perspective. Be that as it may, it took the Rus' princes of Kiev more than a century to enforce their control over the Eastern Slavs. They failed to do the same in the Upper Volga region, where they clashed with the Bulgars who controlled the middle and lower course of the river. The bone of contention was the fur tribute paid by the Finns in the north.[12] Under Sviatoslav, the Rus' entered the region north of the Caspian Sea and destroyed the Khazar khanate in the 960s.[13]

By the late ninth century, Kiev was the main political center of this economic network. The immense fur tribute gathered from the Slavic subjects, along with other local products and slaves, was exchanged in Byzantium for eastern goods, which brought great wealth to the Rus' princes. The conversion to Christianity was followed by the arrival of Greek artisans who built and decorated churches and introduced new technologies, gradually turning

the town of Kiev into an industrial center. From a few hundreds of inhabitants and an area of about two hectares in the ninth century, Kiev came to be home to several thousands of people, occupying around 50 hectares in the tenth century.[14] The urban layout became apparent at that time, being influenced by the specific landscape features, such as numerous hills that were thought to provide natural fortifications, and could easily be reinforced by man-made structures. Of all the settlements that grew on the hills of Kiev, the modern Starokyivs'ka Hora stands out as it was chosen for the residence of the prince (Vladimir's City). The hill was surrounded by a deep moat and palisades, with a stone building believed to be a palace, as well as the Church of the Blessed Virgin. The trade area was located downhill to the north, on the bank of the river Dnieper, in what is now the Podil residential quarter. The heyday of Kiev was under Yaroslav the Wise, who built a new defensive belt over a wider area of about 70 hectares (Iaroslav's City). The Lower City in the Podil now extended over between 180 and 200 hectares, before being included into the larger defensive system of the town.[15] Access to the Upper City was made possible through four gates, with the largest in the south (known as the Golden Gate) imitating a similar structure in Constantinople. Byzantine models are even more conspicuous in the cathedral, which was dedicated to the Wisdom of God, Hagia Sophia. The cathedrals in two other cities—Novgorod and Polotsk—received the same dedication highlighting the powerful religious, but also political message that the Orthodox conversion had brought to the Eastern Slavic world.[16] It was no accident that, until the end of the Middle Ages, religious spaces were clearly separated in those cities, much more so than in any Catholic country. In the Western urban communes, cathedrals gradually merged into public squares, and the tight relationship to the townspeople was obvious. By contrast, in Eastern Europe, cathedrals were closed off and walled in, no doubt with political support from rulers. While large churches and palatial compounds were built of stone and brick, most other buildings, including smaller churches and boyar houses, were made of timber.[17] Cities were multiethnic and included a mixture of Slavs and Scandinavians, but also Jews, merchants from Central Asia, Greeks, and later on, Cumans. From around 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants in the 11th century, the population of Kiev rose to between 36.000 and 50.000 inhabitants around 1200, which made the Rus' city the largest in Eastern Europe after Constantinople.[18]

Several other Rus' towns show a similar pattern of development and organization. Chernigov and Smolensk came into being through the amalgamation of several adjacent settlements in existence during the late ninth and tenth centuries. Of these, two had been fortified, but only one would later become the core of a future urban settlement. That core included a seat of power, as well as a low-lying trade and industrial district, often smaller than the Podil of Kiev. This model of bipartite structure (*detinets/posad*, a political and administrative center/economic center) influenced the later development of other towns in Kievan Rus'.[19] It represents the local adaptation of the model of urban development in the Middle Ages (*urbs/suburbium*) known from other parts of Europe.

Just as Kiev enjoyed its southern position, closer to the trade centers in the Crimea and to Byzantium, Novgorod became an emporium for trade with Scandinavia and Western Europe. Novgorod had a distinct position in the urban environment, because taking advantage of the power struggles in Kiev after mid-11th century, its autonomy expanded, with the city gradually gaining a high degree of freedom, with no parallel anywhere else in Eastern Europe.[20] Novgorod had several nuclei. The original one was located two kilometers south of the medieval town at a place now known as Rurik's stronghold. Two other nuclei emerged on the territory of the future town: one on the right bank of the Volkhov (Iaroslav's Court), which served as a seat for the prince and a place of reunion for the *veche* assembly

after 1136, and another on the left bank (*Detinets, Kremlin*) which had a primarily religious role (the see of the archbishop). Those centers were complemented with outer areas on both banks of the river, which grew out of trade and industrial activities.[21] As with other towns in the Rus', the beginnings of autonomy must be sought in the *posad*, in the need to manage better that economic space, to collect taxes more efficiently and to distribute justice in that diverse environment. Initially, the *posadniki* of Novgorod were agents of the grand prince of Kiev and were therefore selected from among members of his retinue (*druzhina*). Ever since Mstislav I (1088–1094), however, *posadniki* were recruited from among local boyars. By 1126, they were appointed by the *veche*. Ten years later, the town shook off any princely authority, began electing its own bishop in 1156 and its own *tysiatskii* (chiliarchs) by the end of that century. However, a certain degree of reliance on the prince of Novgorod endured. Elected from among the Rurikid princes in neighboring states, that prince exerted military dominion, held a legal position and authorized the transfer of property. Before 1300, Novgorod was ruled by a council (the future Council of Lords—*Sovet gospod*), controlled by boyars based on the town boroughs (*kontsy*) to which they belonged. If Novgorod may be regarded as an urban republic at all, then the city was dominated by a group of people, the ruling elite, who nonetheless did not exclude representatives of the other categories of free citizens, even those of modest means known as *chernie liudi*.[22] The level of literacy in Novgorod was exceptional by medieval standards, as revealed by the archeological discoveries of birch bark letters (the largest number of such written sources from any town of Rus'), which constitute a real goldmine of information about the local society and its standards.[23] The important role played by Novgorod in international trade led to an increasing number of Western traders taking residence in the city, where by the 12th century they had their own quarter known as the "German court" (*Nemetskii dvor*), which operated as a *Kontor* of the Hanseatic League.[24]

Despite new towns mushrooming in the 11th and 12th centuries, some of them around large centers, Kiev remained the most important city in Rus'. The political struggle inside the Rurikid dynasty had serious consequences on the urban evolution. Princely seats across Rus' followed the vagaries of political life. Political instability took its toll on towns. Kiev was laid to waste by the rival armies of Mstislav Iziaslavich, by princes coming from Smolensk, Chernigov and Suzdal, all towns jealous on the thriving commerce, trade routes and the religious splendor of the great Kiev.[25] There is clear evidence that both Chernigov and Halych witnessed substantial growth at that time, with the former overtaking Kiev in size and, perhaps, population by the early 13th century.[26] Many, if not all, of those towns suffered considerable destruction at the time of the Mongol invasion of 1240, which is in fact a turning point in the evolution of urban centers in Eastern Europe, as discussed below.

The rise of towns in East Central Europe is an altogether different matter. There is still an ongoing controversy about that in Polish historiography, with some advocating the *Burgstadt* model for the early towns and others favoring the notion of polynuclear settlement units. There are scholars who believe that self-organization, with elements of autonomy, was in existence in Polish towns before the German settlers arrived, while other historians maintain the idea of a radical change in urban development via *locatio civitatis*. As elsewhere, the paucity of sources is partly responsible for the controversy, with historians and archeologists often in opposite camps.

The explosion of archeological research after World War II provided evidence of settlements in Gniezno, Poznań, Giecz, Szczecin, Wolin, Gdańsk, Wrocław, Opole, Cracow, Sandomierz, Płock and Kalisz before the rise of the Piast state. An earlier generation of scholars believed those settlements to have emerged between the eighth and the ninth centuries, and interpreted them as political centers, specifically as the seats of power for tribal

chieftains. Erected next to river fords or crossroads, those centers were timber-and-earth strongholds, only rarely provided with stone ramparts.[27] This theory, however, has recently lost ground in some cases (Gniezno, Poznań, Wrocław and Cracow), while in others, the interpretation has changed dramatically. The pre-Piast strongholds of Poland have also been viewed as stopover posts for the slave trade, shelter for herds of cattle, as well as cult or refuge sites. Only settlements on the Baltic coast, such as Wolin and Truso, most certainly served as trade centers (emporia) during the Viking age, although some of them yielded to neighboring settlements in later times (e.g., Gdańsk, which took over the nodal function of Truso).[28] The elimination of Avar rule and the vast political and economic changes taking place at the time of Carolingian and Ottonian encroachment from the west, with the arrival of the Magyar polity farther south, and the Rus' expansion from the east, triggered major shifts in East Central Europe. The transformation of the local society was primarily driven by the stabilization of the early Piast state, a decrease in population mobility, and the advances made by Christianity.

Around 1000, Gniezno, Poznań and Cracow were settlements that displayed pre-urban features, with fortifications and public squares, palatial compounds built in stone, and episcopal sees. When more seats of power were created by the Piasts, a network of control emerged and created a new nexus of political, military, social and economic relations. The new elite that settled in those centers of power demanded luxury goods, which in turn attracted craftsmen and traders. Other important settlements coalesced into urban communities only in the 12th century, with settlements with distinct function and status being gathered together, although spreading on a relatively large area.[29] They were tied together by means of a fortification (*gród*) with political, military, administrative and religious functions, as well as one or more markets in a suburb (*podgrodzie*). As markets gained significance and became linked to hinterland settlements, taxes were levied there, with rulers taking an interest in developing such settlements.[30] By the 12th century, therefore, there were about 250 such communities in the Polish lands.[31] Some believe that their inhabitants, as well as visitors, received some kind of benefits based on a law of the market (*mir* = "peace"), issued by the duke. One argument in favor of this incipient autonomy is supposedly represented by tax exemptions (*forum liberum*), as well as by commercial and legal privileges (*ius fori*) granted to the marketplace, but not to the settlement as a whole. This, of course, is no self-governance.[32] This theory was challenged by historians who associate the first level of legal differentiation in favor of townspeople with the grant of autonomy to foreigners settling in large trading centers. The latter is known as *locatio civitatis* and is now regarded as crucial for the evolution of medieval towns in East Central Europe.[33] The expansion of "German law" was thus an important step toward the integration of the Polish lands into the urban culture of Western Europe. While elites may have been already integrated at the time of the Christianization under the influence of Rome, all other social strata underwent transformation at the time of the *locatio*.[34] Moreover, the granting of urban autonomy coincides with and was directly tied to a much broader economic transformation known as *melioratio terrae*.[35] This latter transformation involved middlemen, entrepreneurs, usually foreigners (*locatores*), who brought in "guests," outlined new settlements, created and divided plots, and established new markets.[36] The immigrants enjoyed personal freedom and the right to self-government within their communities, were tax exempt, but performed various duties for the ruler.[37]

In Poland, most immigrants were German, but Walloons, French and Italians were also present. In addition, Polish towns had sizable Jewish communities.[38] In the early 13th century, Henry the Bearded, Duke of Silesia (1201–1238), attempted to adapt the new legal and administrative system to the settlements he had created, with both social and economic

(fiscal) purposes in mind. The immigrants introduced new ways of land management, and new ideas in economy and building. The resulting arrangements benefited from fewer and more specific taxes, unlike the many previous duties and tolls in both money and labor. Wichmann, Archbishop of Magdeburg (1152–1192), was believed by many to be the most important driving force behind the 12th-century colonization. Based on his expertise, Duke Henry granted settlers in Złotoryja, a mining center, a charter of privileges (ca. 1211), which was modeled after that granted to Magdeburg in 1188. That model was subsequently applied to other new settlements in Silesia, as well as in Lesser Poland: Wrocław (1211 and 1232), Lwówek (1217), Nysa (before 1223) and Legnica (ca 1241). Soon, the idea was adopted by other Polish dukes as well, who applied it to settlers in their own towns. By 1234 or 1235, Duke Barnim I followed the model for Prenzlau, and, in 1237–1243, for Szczecin. The process gradually expanded west- and eastward, with the "Magdeburg Law" becoming the blueprint for the organization of an ever-increasing number of Polish towns. Local versions of that law were also in use, for example that of Środa (*ius Novi Fori Sredense*) and that Chełmno (*ius Culmense*). The latter was favored in Mazovia. Some towns on the Baltic Sea coast resisted the new trend, especially Gdańsk and some towns in Pomerania, which, under Hanseatic influence, initially preferred the Lübeck Law. The Teutonic Knights, who had meanwhile conquered Prussia, created their own towns which adopted the Chełmno version: Toruń in 1233 and Malbork (Marienburg, the capital of the Teutonic state) in 1286.[39]

In a scenario reminiscent of Kievan Rus', the Mongols devastated many settlements in Silesia and Lesser Poland during the invasion of 1241. They returned in 1259, and scorched Lublin, Sandomierz and Cracow, and again in 1287, when the well-fortified towns of Sandomierz and Cracow held them at bay. None of these attacks slowed down the process of urbanization. On the contrary, they sped up the development of new settlements. In Cracow, sources suggest the existence of a *locatio* around 1220, which was confirmed in 1257, under Bolesław the Chaste. The same period witnessed the granting of privileges to Poznań (1253), Bochnia (1253), Kalisz (1253–1260), Płock (1257), Sandomierz (1286) and Warsaw (before 1300).[40] However, the grant of those liberties did not always or even necessarily confer complete self-determination to the respective urban communities.

Where demography is concerned, only a few centers in Poland had a substantial population. In the 12th century, only Cracow, Gniezno, Poznań and Wrocław had between 3,000 and 5,000 inhabitants, while Wrocław and Gdańsk exceeded 10,000 people only after 1300.[41] Large centers such as Cracow, Wrocław, Poznań, Toruń and Gdańsk were involved in regional and international trades. All trade routes from the Baltic Sea converged on Cracow: one started in Gdańsk, via Toruń, and another in Szczecin, via Poznań. This was also the road to Buda, via Bardejov, Prešov and Košice. Another important trade route was the Vistula, which was navigable downstream from Cracow and served for the transportation of heavier goods, such as timber, salt and copper to the Baltic. Gdańsk, along with Szczecin and Malbork, was part of the Hansa, which also included Cracow and Wrocław, even though neither had access to the sea (a *sine-qua-non* for Hansa membership). Another trade route, which linked Germany and Silesia to Rus', passed through Cracow as well. It is no accident, therefore, that Cracow becomes the most important city in medieval Poland—*totius Poloniae urbs celeberrima*.[42]

Farther to northeast, the situation is again different from both Kievan Rus' and Poland. Several conditions led to a late appearance of towns, mainly because the ancient tribal system continued well after the year 1000, and the conversion of the region to Christianity began only in the 12th and lasted until the 14th centuries. Responsible for the resulting changes were many Western structures, such as the Catholic Church (especially the archbishops of

Bremen and Magdeburg), the monastic-military orders, particularly the Teutonic and Livonian Orders, the king of Denmark and the Hanseatic League. This is the background against which towns inhabited by German settlers emerged in the shadow of castles erected by the crusaders. They were created in the 13th century to provide security in a very unstable political environment. Both castles and towns often sat atop earlier, native settlements, in which some inhabitants had been traders. This was definitely the case of Riga. Between the 10th and the 12th centuries, its favorable location, not far from the mouth of the Western Dvina, made possible a profitable connection to the trade routes between the Varangians and the Greeks. It was only after Pope Innocent III declared the crusade that the conversion made any notable progress, with Bishop Albert settling in Riga in 1201, along with the colonists that founded the town.[43] The Germans who settled there were soon given the privilege to manage themselves and were relieved from taxes, while Riga became a member of the Hanseatic League in 1282. Other German towns emerged under similar conditions, and they too joined the Hansa (e.g., Reval/Tallin), with only a few going their separate way (Narva).[44] Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and Memel (Klaipėda) were founded by the Teutonic Knights in the latter half of the 13th century. Several other towns emerged at that time in Lithuania, such as Vilnius, Kernavė, Aukaimis or Lida, with Kaunas documented only after 1300. Of all those towns, Vilnius—the site of a major settlement dated before AD 1000—became the seat of power for the Lithuanian duke (*civitas regia* in 1323).[45]

Farther to the south, in Bohemia, the proximity of the Frankish realm led to the early rise of urban settlements. Prague came into being on the basis of several nuclei. In the 10th century, Hradčany was a distinctly fortified center surrounded by a suburb. The town is mentioned by Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub in 965 or 966 as quite large, with stone buildings and merchants coming in from neighboring areas, as well as from Spain and Central Asia. Another seat of power may be dated to the 11th century. Vyšehrad, on the opposite bank of the Vltava, was built for King Vratislav II (1061–1092). Another settlement developed downstream on the same bank, in front of a ford, and is dated tentatively between the 10th and the 11th centuries. By the 12th century (at the latest), a settlement of Germans grew nearby, and their move (sometime before 1217) to a marketplace known as Staré Město was a decisive contribution to the new legal ground for the creation of the medieval town in the 1230s.[46] The second privilege was granted to the newly planned town south of the Prague Castle (Malá Strana). Over the following century, the New Town (Nové Město) founded in 1348 emerged outside the walls surrounding the Old Town. This concluded the process of creation of the medieval city.[47] Towns appeared also in Moravia—Brno, Břeclav, Hodonín and Olomouc—around castles built by the Přemyslids to reinforce their power in the region. Many had roots in earlier strongholds built either on the same spot or close by, but like other urban centers in East Central Europe, they were rebuilt anew in the 13th century, a time of an urban explosion. Much like in Poland, the process of *locatio* contributed to the mushrooming of small market towns in Bohemia and Moravia, while, during the second half of the 13th century, German settlers created mining towns at Jihlava and Kutná Hora.[48]

Paradoxically, although exposed to early Frankish encroachment and influence, the lands farther to the southeast in present-day Hungary did not witness the rise of urban-like settlements until the High Middle Ages.[49] The sedentization and conversion of the Magyars around the turn of the millennium was not immediately followed by urban development.

To a certain extent, the development of medieval towns in Hungary was similar to that in Poland. Some settlements had manifested pre-urban features well before the 13th century, when elements specific to the "German model" were taken over. More stable settlements emerged in the Carolingian age as administrative and military centers. The Hungarian

invasion of the late 9th century destroyed the weak Carolingian marches. The emergence of the Kingdom of Hungary and the advent of more stable political and economic circumstances led to the development of royal seats, which were later fortified, near Buda (at Óbuda), as well as in Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and Veszprém. Shortly afterward, they were compounded by border strongholds, and some, such as Sopron, were fairly large. Next to the seats of royal agents or to new sees, groups of merchants and artisans took residence and brought basic supplies. Research has shown that, in many cases, these groups did not mix, even though they communicated with each other. Each occupied a certain area based on its origin or occupation, so that in Hungary, one can easily recognize the multinuclear profile of pre-urban settlements known from other parts of the continent.[50] Many Western or Eastern travelers who passed through Hungary in the 12th century, such Odo of Deuil, Otto of Freising or Abu Hamid, mention unfortified centers, which actively traded livestock, fur, slaves, metal and clothing.[51] Before 1200, there were over 100 such settlements, but only a few later turned into towns.

During the 12th century, following their own economic and military agenda, Hungarian kings attracted Western and Central European settlers to their kingdom. Initially, privileges were granted to foreign monks founding abbeys, and then naturally transferred to the first settlers, but also to foreign peoples who pledged allegiance to the king (Cumans, Jassy).[52] Sources mention "guests" building permanent settlements (*vici Latinorum*) around the royal seats at Esztergom and Székesfehérvár. Walloon colonists in Székesfehérvár walled in their *vicus Latinorum* and were granted privileges by Stephen III (1162–1172). In 1181, in Pécs, both *hospites* and *maior hospitum* were summoned as witnesses, a sign that colonization had slowly but steadily become common.[53]

Before the reign of Andrew II (1205–1235), Jewish and Muslim merchants played a major part in Hungary's foreign trade, especially with Kievan Rus' and Constantinople. Under King Andrew, however, the religious intolerance enacted by the canons of the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) excluded Jews or Muslims from trade, and their place was taken by Germans.[54] The Mongol invasion of 1241 left its conspicuous mark on the kingdom's towns.[55] King Béla IV was defeated at Muhi and fled to Dalmatia. Numerous urban and rural settlements were entirely destroyed, with Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and several forts still standing. During the second half of the 13th century, Hungarian kings embraced an even more open policy toward towns, whose economic and strategic weight had increased. In other words, instead of curbing the process of urbanization, the Mongol invasion actually stimulated and accelerated it.[56] As trade with Constantinople decreased after the Fourth Crusade, and the previously active trade with Kiev similarly declined after the Mongol destruction of the city, links to Germany (via Vienna or Prague), Italy (through Venice) and Poland (through Košice and Cracow) started to take precedence, with Hungary at the heart of a new economic network. Settlements mushroomed along the routes that tied the kingdom to those regions of Europe, and they greatly benefited from royal support, as Hungarian kings wished to make the western parts richer and more populous, as well as better defended for conflicts with Austria and Bohemia.[57]

Beginning with the mid-13th century, the number of grants of privileges increased considerably: Zagreb (1242), Nitra (1248), Komárno (1265), Győr (1271), Sopron (1277), Bratislava (1291), Prešov (1299) and others. Before 1300, no less than 32 such grants are known. Some towns lost their privileges, such as Nitra, the bishop of which received a grant in 1288. Foreign settlers continued to play an important role in the urbanization process. Whereas townspeople were formerly referred as *cives* in documents, the designation *hospites* was added during the second half of the 13th century, an indication of the origin of those

new categories in urban society. The phrase *cives et hospites* is particularly common in documents regarding towns in the kingdom that were mostly populated with Germans. In Transylvania and the Northern Carpathians, locals opened up mines, and rural migration was also an important factor. As everywhere in Central Europe, settlers were brought in and managed by entrepreneurs (*locatores*), who later became the leaders of the newly formed communities (*scultetus, advocatus*).[58]

While in Poland and Bohemia, towns adopted the Nuremberg, Magdeburg or Lübeck laws, in Hungary, the common model was that initially introduced by Walloons at Székesfehérvár. The Magdeburg Law was eventually adopted in Banská Štiavnica and only partially in Buda—later on, the law into force in Buda gained prominence.[59] The rights granted included the self-governing of the community (*universitas*). Specific to privileged towns in Hungary was their right to elect parish priests, a feature that is rare elsewhere in Europe.[60]

The economic importance of urban centers in Hungary was only regional. The Angevin kings of the 14th century sought to attract to Hungary tradesmen from Western and Eastern Europe, and reached Vienna, Cracow and Brno. In order to support towns on the most important trade routes, kings granted or confirmed staple rights (*ius stapuli*). Esztergom, Buda, Győr and probably Košice acquired that right before 1300 from Árpádian rulers, while Bratislava, Sopron and some towns in Transylvania received it only after 1300.[61]

Of all towns in the Hungarian kingdom, Buda was the most developed. The town grew next to an important ford across the Danube, out of several cores: Óbuda, near the old Aquincum, on the right bank of the river; Pest, on the left bank, where German settlers came between 1218 and 1225, before being granted privileges in 1231; and a new core built with Béla IV's assistance on the right bank, after Pest was ravaged by the Mongols. The strategic location and the privilege assigned in 1244 provided a very favorable context for the third core, which soon took the lead in the process of urbanization. During the second half of the 13th century, a royal seat was established in Buda, to which Charles Robert referred in 1308 as *civitates nostram principalem*.[62] Like other major Hungarian towns, Buda was primarily populated and administered by Germans. To be sure, there were small Hungarian and Jewish quarters, and even a group of houses belonging to wealthy Italian merchants, who controlled the trade in spices and silk.[63]

The development of towns in the kingdom of Hungary was not uniform. Some of the constituent parts of the kingdom enjoyed a large degree of autonomy, which explains the prominence of local features. To be sure, towns in peripheral regions were not essentially different from those in the center of the kingdom. In Slavonia, Croatia, Upper Hungary (modern Slovakia) and Transylvania, larger towns were inhabited by German settlers, along with some Croats (in Slavonia and Croatia) and Hungarians (in Upper Hungary and Transylvania). A greater degree of ethnic variety may be seen in suburbs and smaller market towns (Hungarians, Croats, Romanians, Serbs and Ruthenians).

Large, fortified settlements existed in western Slovakia even before 900: Devín (near Pressburg/Bratislava), Nitra, Bojná and Pobedim. There are indications that at Pobedim the initial settlement may be dated to the 8th century. In the following century, the settlement had gained a pre-urban character, had expanded and included several residential and religious buildings within its bounds.[64] The urban evolution in present-day Slovakia was not different from that in the core areas of the Hungarian kingdom. In the 11th and the 12th centuries, a series of castles were built to serve royal power, such as those in Bratislava, Nitra and Tekov. German settlers came and populated the suburbs outside their walls, and were soon granted privileges. Trnava was one of the first to receive a charter (1238), followed by (Starý) Tekov in 1240. After the Mongol invasion, which was not as destructive in Upper Hungary as in the central and eastern parts of the kingdom, urbanization picked up pace,

with seven communities receiving urban rights within three decades: Zvolen (probably confirmed, 1243), Krupina (probably confirmed, 1244), Košice (1247 or 1248), Nitra (1248), Banská Štiavnica (before 1255), Banská Bystrica (1255) and Komárno (1265). Some of those settlements were mining towns. The settlement developing near the royal castle in Bratislava received a charter of freedoms from King Andrew III in 1291.[65]

Similarly, there are clear indications in Transylvania (the eastern part of the kingdom) of early fortified sites at Morisena-Cenad, Biharea, Cuvin, Dăbâca, Breaza, Alba Iulia, Cluj-Mănăştur and Oradea. Some have even claimed that market towns existed before the 12th century, with German settlers building towns in their stead. A few sites were seats of counties or episcopal sees. After the 13th century, some became towns, while others sank to the status of simple villages owned by the nobility.[66] The arrival of *hospites* after 1150 spurred the economy of the region and led to advances in urbanization. The colonists are also linked to the creation of new fortifications, since some of them were placed in border areas, where the newcomers had military duties.[67] They were protected by royal privilege and could be found in the areas surrounding the future towns of Sibiu, Orăştie, Sebeş, Sighişoara, Mediaş, Braşov and Bistriţa. The first major document regulating the relations between Germans (later called "Saxons") and the king was the diploma known as the *Andreanum* (1224), which was a grant of a considerable degree of autonomy.[68] Sibiu appeared as the most important settlement, and the town was declared a seat of the Saxon *comes*. In the late 13th century, the settlement already displayed the markings of a specifically urban institutional structure (1292), and it was designated as *civitas* in 1326.[69] On the other side of the Carpathian Mountains, to the east and to the south, pre-urban settlements appeared only after the Mongol invasion at Cetăţeni, Argeş, Severin and Câmpulung, all of them under Hungarian influence.[70]

In southern Hungary, new settlements appeared especially after 1241, at Križevci, Koprivnica, Varaždin, Vukovar or Samobor, but only a few of them were granted privileges.[71] The most important town in Slavonia was Zagreb. Following the incorporation of Croatia into the kingdom of Hungary in the late 11th century, Zagreb became an episcopal see in 1094 or 1095, with a settlement growing nearby (Kaptol). In 1198, Andrew, the Duke of Dalmatia and Croatia (and the future king Andrew II), granted a privilege to the bishop, and thereby confirmed his authority over the inhabitants of Kaptol—Hungarians, "Latins" (most likely settlers of Italian origin) and Slavs. The three ethnic groups, along with German settlers, also appear in the trading suburbs that quickly grew nearby. Gradec (*Grech*) received a privilege from Béla IV in 1242.[72]

Towns in Dalmatia (on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea) were nominally under Byzantine rule until the 11th century, but were administered by Venice, and at the same time paid tribute to local Croat leaders. By the early 12th century, the authority of the Byzantine emperor was replaced with that of the Hungarian king, who nonetheless preferred to leave things as they had been for a long while, and only requested taxes and revenues. Those were the circumstances under which the urban communities of Zadar, Trogir and Split received their respective charters of privileges and gradually began to create communes, the organization of which drew inspiration from Italy, not from the German lands.[73] Venice took advantage of the political situation, expanded its influence and then established control over cities like Zadar (intermittently after 1202).[74] Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) had a similar fate, with the city rising under Byzantine control, then Venetian.[75]

A different picture emerges from the examination of the central and eastern Balkans. This territory was at least in part included into early medieval Bulgaria.[76] The Bulgars converted to Christianity in the 860s, but engaged in a long series of wars with Byzantium, which

ended with the demise of Bulgaria, and its conquest by Emperor Basil II in 1018. With that victory, the power of Byzantium returned to the Lower Danube. In that area, no ancient towns had endured, but Byzantine outposts or episcopal sees operated on the western coast of the Black Sea and in eastern Thrace. The return of the Byzantine army and administration led to a rebound of urban life in the central and northern Balkans. Belgrade was built upon the site of ancient Singidunum, Braničevo upon Viminacium, Niš upon Naissus and Skopje upon the site of ancient Scupi.[77] A reuse of the ancient Roman sites has not so far been confirmed for Western Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. Instead, new administrative structures were set up, while towns became seats of *strategoi*, commanders of the recently formed themes. Urbanization, however, was uneven, and most towns were little more than political centers with garrisons, occasional religious and economic functions. The uneven distribution of towns is particularly clear from such documents as the chryosbulls of Emperor Basil II for the archbishopric of Ohrid (1018 and 1020): most suffragan sees mentioned in them were located in monasteries, and not in towns, with a few exceptions, such as Ras.[78] Where towns were in operation, their evolution was influenced by political changes. After the Great Schism of 1054, local rulers outside direct Byzantine authority had to choose between Rome and Constantinople, with the Hungarians later taking control, especially over the Western Balkans. A number of princes (*župans*), who were nominally subjects of Byzantium, emerged in southern Serbia and sought to profit from the conflicts between the empire and Hungary, constantly seeking to expand their authority. Ras now stood out. Not much is known about the beginnings of the town, but it certainly became a mainstay of grand *župan* power. During the last quarter of the 12th century, Serbia expanded to the south and to the west, and a new power emerged in the eastern Balkans following the anti-Byzantine uprising in Bulgaria (1185) and the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204. Pre-urban settlements had meanwhile appeared in the suburbs of the fortifications of the Serbian grand *župans* and later kings of the Nemanjid dynasty, for example in Zvečan.[79]

There is an egregious lack of sources pertaining to the early days of towns in Western Serbia and in Bosnia. Most settlements in that part of the Balkan Peninsula appear in sources during the second half of the 13th century. New settlers are mentioned—Slavs, Vlachs, Albanians and even Armenians, likely brought in by the Byzantine authorities. An intensive use of agricultural land increased trade with products such as honey, wax, wine and cattle, but also furs and salt.[80] The development of towns was driven by the arrival during the reign of Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276) of "guests" (*gosti*), primarily miners of German origin from Slovakia or Transylvania. They are first mentioned in 1254, as settlers in Brskovo (near Mojkovac, in Montenegro). Soon after that, communities of miners are also mentioned in Novo Brdo, Srebrenica, Rudnik and other places, with a total of 30 mining towns before 1300.[81] Mining developed in these areas as the extraction of ore throughout Europe had entered a crisis. The land had depleted its resources, mines were flooded and the production of silver had reached a major low even in well-known mines, such as those in Freiburg.[82] In the Balkans, Germans introduced efficient mining techniques, as well as a legal system which protected the autonomy of the newly formed communities. None of those mining centers grew into a developed urban community, despite obviously distinct organization and structure, when compared to surrounding settlements.[83]

In Macedonia, towns based on the Byzantine model, different from the urban centers mentioned above, endured. Unlike Central and Western Europe, where privileged community developed in towns, state centralization did not allow for that to take place in Byzantium. When the first changes appeared, it was already too late. Byzantine centers were fortified and had citadels, with garrisons headed by agents of the emperor, later of the king (*kefalija*). Such

towns had little, if any economic, special roles such as that of the mining settlements. There are also no institutions associated with local autonomy, besides those related to the Church. Byzantine cities did not receive any privileges before the late 13th century. For example, the townspeople of Monemvasia had their tax exemptions confirmed in 1284 and 1316, while those of Ioannina were even granted legal privileges, with the right to elect their own representatives (1319). Such developments were abruptly stopped by the Ottoman conquest.[84]

The diversity of urban-type settlements encountered in Serbia, Bosnia or Dalmatia may be explained in terms of the political evolution of the region. Serbian rulers attempted to bring the Western side of the Balkans under their rule in the 13th and 14th centuries. They neither succeeded, nor attempted to centralize the already existing system of towns, which had evolved in different ways and under various influences. The Serbian kings could only acknowledge the status quo, so as not to compromise the fragile stability of the state.[85]

In Bulgaria, the most important non-rural, fortified settlements were political centers—Pliska and Preslav. Pre-urban settlements of craftsmen and merchants developed near those settlements (in the so-called outer towns away from the palatial compounds of the "inner towns"). Although large (Preslav stretched over about 3.5 square kilometers), such settlements never grew into rivals of Byzantine cities.[86] The Russian Primary Chronicle mentions 80 towns (*goroda*) in the Lower Danube region that became subject to the prince of Kiev, Sviatoslav, during his campaign in Bulgaria in the late 960s.[87] Although shrinking to diminutive dimensions, the late antique towns of the western coast of the Black Sea survived into the early Middle Ages, when some were briefly controlled by the Bulgars. After 1018, they were under direct Byzantine control. Varna, a town established near the ancient Odessos, grew quickly as an important port of the Byzantine navy. Urban growth is also visible archeologically and documented in the written and sigillographic sources from Anchialos, Mesembria, Sozopol, Serdica, Dorostolon and Philippopolis.[88]

The rebellion of the Vlach brothers Peter and Asen (1185) led to the revival of Bulgarian statehood (the so-called Second Bulgarian Empire). The new political context encouraged the rise of many urban settlements along the banks of the Danube, at Vidin, Lom, Nikopol, Svishtov, Novgrad and Ruse. Others flourished on the Black Sea coast, and among them Mesembria and Anchialos were only temporarily under Bulgarian rule. Some of those towns continued the earlier Byzantine centers of the 11th and 12th centuries, a clear indication that in the eastern Balkans, political changes had little impact on urbanization. New towns appeared in Cherven, Lovech and Provadiia.[89] Historians believe that the Bulgarian emperor, much like the one in Constantinople, exercised authority in towns through his agents yielding relatively significant power.[90]

Before 1300, the most prominent urban center was at Tărnovo, the capital of medieval Bulgaria. The town had several nuclei: the political and religious core was on the Tsarevets and Trapezitsa hills, while Novi Grad (Assenova Makhala) was in the valley of the river Yantra, with the Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs, civil buildings and workshops. Foreign merchants had their own area (later called Frenk Hisar). Finally, the core at Devingrad included a more modest community of craftsmen and farmers.[91] Tărnovo had a mixed population of between 12,000 and 15,000 people—Bulgarians, Jews, Armenians, Ragusans and Italians.[92] The internal strife within the Bulgarian state and the early Ottoman conquest abruptly stopped the development of this remarkable urban center of the northern Balkans. There is no indication that the town had a single urban community, much less autonomy defined by imperial charter.

To be sure, Bulgaria was strategically located between Central Europe and Byzantium, which encouraged the growth of trade. Italian merchants sought the protection and the

support of Bulgarian emperors to safeguard their privileged positions in the regional trade. Access to the Black Sea paved the way for the development of the port towns of Varna, Sozopol, Mesembria or Anchialos, which appear in Italian portolans. For the most part, Venice made its entrance after the Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople to the "Latins" (1204). Genoa took the Black Sea market by storm after the restoration of Byzantium, under conditions spelled out in the Treaty of Nymphaion (1261), which allowed Genoese merchants complete freedom of trade beyond the Straits. The Venetians retaliated by entering a privileged relation with Bulgaria. The main ports in their routes were Varna and Mesembria, where the Venetians established major colonies,[93] a consulate being set up in Varna.[94] By contrast, the Genovese used their own colonies in the centers controlled by Mongols after 1241, at the mouth of the Danube, in Vicina, Licostomo and Chilia—all led by a consul.[95]

The urban landscape in medieval Eastern Europe was very complex. Whereas occupation of some urban sites in the Balkans and in the Crimea continued without interruption from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, most other towns in this large part of the European continent were established only in the Middle Ages. It is obvious that many non-rural settlements appeared next to strongholds, but the path to urbanization was tortuous, and not all such settlements turned into towns. Between the 10th and the 12th centuries, a pattern may be distinguished, with several nuclei in operation in each case. Such cores had different functions (political, military, economic and religious) and were inhabited by groups of people from all walks of life and all ethnicities. The medieval town grew out of a core dominated by those who followed pursuits in trade and crafts, which may or may not have integrated the stronghold. Support from the central authority was often decisive. The 13th century was the watershed of urbanization, with rulers in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary applying a model of Central European origin to their own realms, and in the process creating or recreating urban settlements on new, privileged terms. The social landscape was home to communities of *hospites*, who enjoyed extended privileges and had different conditions for urban development—tax exemptions, marketplaces and pre-planned street grid. The Mongol invasion of 1241 swept through Eastern Europe, and many towns suffered in the process. However, the invasion was ultimately an indirect incentive to urbanization, at least in the western half of the region under consideration. In Rus', towns recovered much more slowly, with some old centers falling to ruin, and new ones rising in their stead.

Notes

1 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), pp. 48–53 and 258–87; see Stefan Albrecht, "Cherson als Zentralort auf der südwestlichen Krim (6.-10. Jahrhundert)," in *GrenzÜbergänge. Spätrömisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau. Akten des 27. internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum, Ruma, 4.-7.11.2015*, edited by Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, Vujadin Ivanišević and Daniel Syrbe (Remshalden: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 2016), pp. 355–84. See also Constantine Zuckerman, "The Khazars and Byzantium—the first encounter," in *The World of the Khazars, New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 399–432, here 431–32; Thomas S. Noonan, "Rus', Pechenegs and Polovtsy: economic interaction along the steppe frontier in the pre-Mongol era," *Russian History* 19, no. 1–4 (1992), 301–26, here 306–09 and 314–17.

2 *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, edited by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), p. 113. Dimitri Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Cherson in the tenth century," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 108–13. See also Andrzej Poppe, "The Christianization and ecclesiastical structure of Kyivan Rus' to 1300," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21 (1997), nos. 3–4, 320–31.

3 For Bolgar (named Itil by Ibn Faḍlān) and the relations between Khazars and Bulgars, see *Mission to the Volga by Aḥmad Ibn Faḍlān*, translated by James E. Montgomery (New York: New York University Press, 2017), pp. 58, 61, 64, 78; Thomas S. Noonan, "Some observations on the economy of the Khazar khaganate," in *The World of the Khazars, New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 210–33. See also R. Z. Makhmutov, "Drevnii Bolgar kak vazhnyi torgovyi centr na Velikom Volzhskoi puti" [Old Bolgar as an important commercial center on the Great Volga Route], in *Velikii volzhskii put'. Materialy II-go etapa mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferencii "Velikii Volzhskii put'", Sankt-Petersburg, Stockholm, Sankt Petersburg, 5–14 avgusta 2002 g.*, edited by R. N. Musina (Kazan': Institut istorii Akademii Nauk Respubliki Tatarstane, 2003), pp. 96–102.

4 Noonan, "Rus', Pechenegs and Polovtsy," p. 313.

5 The Rus' annals occasionally mention Cuman strongholds, but those were most likely winter settlements (temporarily) fortified for the occasion. In addition, the Rus' sources mention three "cities"—Sharukan, Sugrov and Balin. None of them has so far been identified. See Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 206–12; Oleg B. Bubenok, "Sharukan', Sugrov, Balin—poseleniia gorodskogo tipa na polovecko-russkom pogranich'e" [Sharukan, Sugrov and Balin—urban settlements on the Cuman-Rus' frontier] *Vostochnaia Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* 31 (2019), 28–32.

6 Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, translated by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (New York: Kegan Paul, 2003), p. 169.

7 Cuman control over those urban centers ended abruptly with the Mongol invasion. However, after 1260, Soldaia became the most important commercial center in the region of the northern of Black Sea coast. See Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 141–55; Evgenii Khalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region. Evolution and Transformation* (New York/London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 61 and 63.

8 Søren M. Sindbæk, "A site of intersection: Staraya Ladoga, eastern silver and long-distance communication networks in early medieval Europe," in *Identity Formation and Diversity in the Early Medieval Baltic and Beyond: Communicators and Communication*, edited by Johan Callmer, Ingrid Gustin and Mats Roslund (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 76–86. See also Sergei L. Kuz'min, "Ladoga, le premier centre proto-urbain russe," in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, edited by Michel Kazanski, Anne Nercessian and Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2000), pp. 123–42.

9 For the role played by dirhams in the trade between the Vikings, the Volga Bulgars, the Khazars and the East, see the many studies published by Thomas S. Noonan listed in Roman K. Kovalev, "Bibliography of Thomas S. Noonan," *Russian History* 28 (2001), nos. 1–4, 7–28. For the influence of that trade on the rise of urban centers, see Thomas S. Noonan, "Coins, trade and the origins of the ninth-century Rus' towns," in *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress. Berlin 1997 (Akten—Proceedings—Actes)*, edited by Bernd Kluge and Bernhard Weisser, vol. 2 (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2000), pp. 934–42.

10 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, pp. 61–63; Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, "Khazaria and Rus: an examination of their historical relations," in *The World of the Khazars, New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 245–68, here 257–58.

11 *Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 60 and 64.

12 *Mission to the Volga by Aḥmad Ibn Faḍlān*, pp. 61 and 65.

13 *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 84. See Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, "Transkontinental'nye sviazi Drevnei Rusi i pokhod Sviatoslava na khazar" [The transcontinental relations of Rus' and

Sviatoslav's campaign against the Khazars], in *Problemy davn'orus'koi ta seredn'ovichnoi arkheologii*, edited by Glib Iu. Ivakin (Kiev: Instytut arkheologii NAN Ukrainy, 2010), pp. 522–28.

14 Johan Callmer, "The archaeology of Kiev ca A.D. 500–1000. A survey," in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance): Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie tenu à Upsal, 20–22 avril 1979*, edited by Rudolf Zeitler (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1981), pp. 29–52, here p. 43 believes that the urban agglomeration of Kiev covered 125 ha in the tenth century.

15 Callmer, "The archaeology of Kiev," pp. 35–44; Johan Callmer, "The archaeology of Kiev to the end of the earliest urban phase," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11 (1987), nos. 3–4, 331–46; Volodymyr I. Mezentsev, "The territorial and demographic development of medieval Kiev and other major cities of Rus': a comparative analysis based on recent archaeological research," *Russian Review* 48 (1989), no. 2 , 147–60; Oleg M. Ioannisian, "Archaeological evidence for the development and urbanization of Kiev from the 8th to the 14th centuries," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, edited by David Austin and Leslie Alcock (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 288–303; Oleksyi V. Komar, "Kiev und das rechtsufrige Dneprgebiet," in *Die Rus' im 9.-10. Jahrhundert. Ein archäologisches Panorama*, edited by Nikolai A. Makarov (Mainz: Wachholtz Murmann, 2017), pp. 308–41.

16 Poppe, "The Christianization," pp. 341–42.

17 Poppe, "The Christianization," pp. 346–47.

18 Henrik Birnbaum, *Aspects of the Slavic Middle Ages and Slavic Renaissance Culture* (New York/Bern: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 223–26; Callmer, "The archaeology of Kiev to the end," pp. 339–40 and 344.

19 Callmer, "The archaeology of Kiev to the end," pp. 348–49; Mezentsev, "The territorial and demographic development," pp. 162–64.

20 A similar model of autonomy is known only for Pskov, which was initially dependent upon Novgorod. See Lawrence N. Langer, "The *posadnichestvo* of Pskov: some aspects of urban administration in medieval Russia," *Slavic Review* 43 (1984), no. 1, 46–62, here 51–60; Vladimir A. Arakcheev, "The evolution of state institutions of the Republic of Pskov and the problem of its sovereignty from the 13th to the 15th centuries," *Russian History* 41 (2014), no. 4, 423–32. For early medieval Pskov, see Elena A. Iakovleva, Elena V. Salmina and El'vira V. Koroleva. "Pskov," in *Die Rus' im 9.-10. Jahrhundert. Ein archäologisches Panorama*, edited by Nikolai A. Makarov (Mainz: Wachholtz Murmann, 2017), pp. 146–69.

21 V. L. Ianin, "The archaeological study of Novgorod: an historical perspective," in *The Archaeology of Novgorod, Russia. Recent Results from the Town and Its Hinterland*, edited by Mark A. Brisbane (Lincoln: Society for Mediaeval Archaeology, 1992), pp. 67–106, here 84–90.

22 Pavel V. Lukin, "The veche and the 'council of lords' in medieval Novgorod: Hanseatic and Russian data," *Russian History* 41 (2014), no. 4, 493–501. The institution of the *veche* still raises many questions: Edward L. Keenan, "Veche," *Russian History* 34 (2007), nos. 1–4, 83–99.

23 Up to 2006, no less than 960 birch bark letters were known from Novgorod, dated between the 11th and the 15th centuries. By contrast, excavations in Staraya Russa produced only 40 birch bark letters, the second largest corpus from any town in Rus'. The greater survival rate in Novgorod may be explained in terms of the clayey soil, which prevents the decomposition of organic materials. See Valentin L. Ianin, "Les récentes découvertes archéologiques à Novgorod," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64 (2009), no. 3, 615–30, here 615–16.

24 Philippe Dolinger, *The German Hansa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 26–27; Ferdinand Feldbrugge, *Law in Medieval Russia* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 267–78.

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15
LORDS, PEASANTS AND SLAVES

Cameron Sutt

The social organization of East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages has been a favorite subject with many historians ever since the 19th century.[1] While lordship and the rise of nobility (aristocracy) received much attention in the recent decades, research on the medieval peasants (free or dependent) and slaves has made only a few notable steps beyond the stage at which it remained in the last quarter of the 20th century. The reason for this lack of interest is largely the absence of a substantial body of written sources for many areas in East-Central and Eastern Europe. In that respect, Hungary is in a privileged position: although not abundant, the material is sufficient and relatively well distributed chronologically for a diachronic approach to the problem. Much like elsewhere, historians have debated the nature of servility in the Kingdom of Hungary under the Árpádian dynasty (1000–1301) since the 19th century. Each period saw the discussion directed by that era's dominant school of thought. Early thought was heavily influenced by Christianity. Later Marxist thought was bounded by its rigid historical developmental periodization. The explanations of each system proved incomplete, and more recent theories have sought to deny the existence of slavery in the medieval world altogether. Perhaps, the best way forward is to view slavery in Árpádian Hungary as part of broader strategies by the elites to control their land and protect their power. In this way, we see that enslavement existed in different modes from before the existence of the Árpádian dynasty until well after its very end.

Beginning with Remig Békefi (1858–1924), the author of the first monograph on this topic, appropriately entitled *Slavery in Hungary*, scholars of the first half of the 20th century recognized the existence of slavery in the Kingdom of Hungary under the Árpádian dynasty. The source material was replete with references to the classical Latin term for "slave"—*servus*. Moreover, there is no chronological cluster, as the term appears constantly throughout the Árpádian age (ca. 1000 to ca. 1300). Approximately 23 percent of the Laws of Stephen I (c. 1000–1038) contain references to *servi*, and numerous *capitula* have *servi* as their sole subject. *Servi* are plentiful in charters, and at first glance, all those *servi* look like slaves in the classical sense of that word, namely as items bought and sold at the will of their owner. For Békefi, there was therefore no doubt that *servus* in the sources meant "slave" in the classical sense. They were a reified item of human property. Charters listed them alongside other properties, both moveable and immovable, and (so Békefi) they had no right to property or legal marriage.[2]

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Many followed Békefi's lead, and no one questioned the existence of slavery in Hungary, only its extent. Bálint Hóman (1885–1951), Mária Gáspár and Károlyi Tagányi (1858–1924) all regarded *servi* in the sources simply as slaves. The only debate was whether other groups appearing in the sources could likewise be considered slaves. Moreover, the question was why slavery suddenly disappeared in the early 14th century as indicated by the disappearance of *servi* from the records. On the first question, Hóman divided the Árpádian society into seven strata, and he considered only the bottom level, the *servi*, to be slaves. At the top were the free, while in between were various groupings of semi-free owing different types of services. Károly Tagányi, on the other hand, argued that other groupings should be considered slaves. These were the *udvornici* and *cives* mentioned on records for royal properties. In Tagányi's view, the *cives* found on county land were not partially free but slaves and the *udvornici* remained in the royal court and were obligated to perform whatever task the king required from them. In this manner, *udvornici* were the king's general-purpose slaves.[3]

The one exception to this loose consensus was the great historian of the Abbey of Pannonhalma, László Gyula Erdélyi (1868–1947). At the beginning of World War I, Erdélyi wrote an article in which he argued not only that Hóman was correct in placing the royal dependents in the partially free category, but also that *servi* did not fit so cleanly into the slave-free binary of both Hóman and Tagányi. Through his careful reading of the records of the Abbey of Pannonhalma, Erdélyi noticed that not all *servi* on the abbey's estates behaved according to the classical definition of a slave. Some seemed to have control over their own home, time, work and even their family and children.[4] These *servi* contrasted sharply with others owned by the abbey, who were called "true *servi*" (*veri servi*). Only this latter group, according to Erdélyi, should be considered slaves, and all of these true *servi* seemed to have been recently purchased by the abbey. Over the next two years, the argument raged on the pages of the *Történelmi Szemle* with a vituperation that provides a splendid example of how *not* to do history.[5]

Though not nearly as contentiously, opinions were divided on why slavery seemed to vanish with the end of the Árpádian dynasty. *Servi* all but disappear from the sources around the year 1300, roughly corresponding to the end of the Árpádian dynasty. Békefi, a member of the Cistercian order, attributed the end of slavery to the teachings of the church, and a straightforward reading of the sources seemed to confirm his views. While few manumission charters have survived, those that did almost exclusively record the handing of *servi* over to the service of an ecclesiastical institution with some prescribed service. Since the charters invariably explained the manumission in terms of the manumitter's salvation, Békefi believed that the teachings of Christianity were the prime mover in the liberation of slaves.[6] Mária Gáspár did not deny the possibility of pious motives, but she pointed to the fact that manumissions typically came with a payment to the owners, who therefore must have had a financial reason for freeing their slaves.[7] Hóman argued that the impetus for manumission came from the founder of the dynasty, Stephen I, when he liberated what were to become the *udvornici* from their servile status to positions of partial freedom so that they could serve the needs of royal estates. Most of those *udvornici* were plowmen or herdsmen, but some served in royal residences as cooks, stablemen or the like. Both the Latin word *udvornici* and the modern Hungarian word *udvornik* stem from the Slavic word for court, *dvor*, indicating that the expectations of service at the royal court were part of the status of those individuals.[8] Erdélyi's position on the manumission of slaves, like that of the status of all *servi*, was against the consensus. His position was also quite ahead of its time. Erdélyi posited that the acquisition of plots of land provided the primary impetus for the manumission of *servi*. Once they obtained a permanent home, they controlled their labor and became serfs. This partial

independence eventually became part of the customary and even of the written law.[9] Again, Károly Tagányi vehemently disagreed and maintained that even on the plots, *servi* continued to be slaves.[10]

After World War I, the issue of the social organization in Árpádian Hungarian disappeared from the radar of the historical research. It reemerged only after the Communist takeover in Hungary, when slavery once again became an important historiographic topic. During the first decade or so of the Communist regime, the Marxist paradigm based on the succession of modes of production was imposed without much regard for historical circumstances or even the evidence. For example, in 1953, a university textbook relied upon a strictly Marxist timeline, according to which feudalism followed immediately upon the end of slavery, and therefore once the medieval, "feudal" system took hold in Hungary, there was no room left for slavery.[11] The most significant historian of this school of thought was Emma Léderer (1897–1977) and her work was important despite its doctrinaire Marxist underpinning.[12] While refusing to acknowledge the coexistence of slavery and "feudalism" (never defined, of course), Léderer saw sharply what László Gyula Erdélyi had only viewed dimly, namely that in Hungary, the type of landowner had a profound effect upon the way in which the land was organized. In other words, royal, ecclesiastical and lay estates were shaped by very different organizational imperatives.[13] In Léderer's estimation, royal and ecclesiastical estates were much more advanced and therefore they progressed quickly to the feudal mode of production, while the lay estates remained "primitive" for a long time. Slavery, in Marxist terms, was a more "primitive" mode of production, and Léderer discovered that slaves existed in large numbers in charters related to those lay estates. That way, she was able to explain how most of the kingdom had advanced to the "feudal" mode of production on ecclesiastical and royal estates, while slavery still provided the primary force of production on those backward, "private" estates.[14]

Despite the ideological motivations behind Léderer's arguments for the variation among the three types of estate, her idea was confirmed by later research. In his seminal study of medieval farmsteads (*praedia*) mentioned in charters, the settlement historian István Szabó (1898–1969) argued that slaves were the main labor force on those *praedia*. Of 118 farmsteads for which sufficient evidence exists for analysis, 45 percent of their inhabitants were designated with some word referring to slaves (*servus, mancipium, vernulus, ancilla, pedisequa*); another 18 percent called "freed slaves" (*libertinus, libertus, exequialis, manumissus*).[15] In sum, according to Szabó, 63 percent of the population of all *praedia* carried the status of slave or freedman, which indicates that the estates of lay lords used the slave mode of production just as Emma Léderer had contended.[16] Her view of a tripartite division of landholdings in Árpádian Hungary received a further boost with the research of Ilona Bolla (1927–1980). Her work on serfdom published in the year of her death was pioneering in many ways.[17] Over the course of the 14th century, the non-noble elements of society became generally uniform in legal status—essentially peasant cultivators, who were legally free but under the authority of their lords. Called "serf" (*jobbágy*) in the Hungarian scholarship, the peasant cultivator lived on his "serf-plot" (*jobbágytelkek*) over which they had *de facto* control including rights of inheritance, but for which he owed labor and/or money dues.[18] With the exception of Slavonia, such peasants were free to move. Before ca. 1300, the records indicate a very different social situation, with a confusing variety of social stations and legal conditions. Bolla tried to explain how the transition took place, and in the process, she explored the variety of land use and organization throughout the kingdom. Her conclusions coincided with those of Léderer. Each of the three forms of landholder—royal, ecclesiastical and nonroyal laymen—developed along different paths in terms of land use and strategies of social control.

According to Bolla, the conditions on both royal and church estates quickly altered the conditions of their servile populations. While in both cases the populations of the estates remained the property of their lords, the conditions of their existence changed dramatically. On royal estates, they came to have services or payments in kind that were limited by custom to suit the needs of the royal organization. Similarly, on church properties, *servi* came increasingly to enjoy restrictions on the labor obligations required from them. In fact, in most instances, labor dues were minimal, with services owed only a few weeks per year. In the sources, these subjects came increasingly to be termed *conditionarii*, reflecting the fact that conditions were placed upon their otherwise free status. Similarly, servants of various royal residences (*curiae*), the *udvornik* (*udvornici*), who appear to have been the most numerous inhabitants of royal estates, quickly became peasants. They lived on plots that they controlled, and their main obligation was to supply payments in kind.[19]

At this point in time, the historiographical discussion got even more complicated by that is often termed as "service people" (in German, *Dienstleute*; in Hungarian *szolgálónépek*) on royal estates in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Serbia and Bulgaria. The theory has its roots in the mid-19th-century Czech historiography when linguistically minded scholars noticed that many villages bore names derived from professions, such as "smith," "beekeeper," "potter" and the like.[20] Czech and Polish scholars rushed to explain such place names as indicating the presence of a central authority organizing its servile people around residences or castles. The central authority was often identified with the Piasts or the Přemyslids, but the Hungarian Gusztáv Heckenast (1922–1999) even claimed that the institution had been invented by the Magyars.[21] Meanwhile, György Györffy's widely read biography of Stephen I popularized the notion of *Dienstleute* in the Realm of St. Stephen.[22] The *Dienstleute* theory is now generally rejected for several important reasons. First, it is impossible to draw any sort of chronology from the place names alone, and in fact, many of the place-name designations are frequently very tenuous.[23] Second, anthropological models explain the phenomenon of occupational place names much more readily than do theories of strong centralized authorities.[24]

Since the collapse of the socialist systems in Eastern Europe (1989), western research has increasingly influenced Hungarian scholarship. Two trends have been particularly important in the study of slavery and serfdom in Hungary. The first takes into account that in western sources for the earlier medieval period, for which the existence of slavery is admitted, there is considerable variation regarding the conditions of the lowest social stratum. Often the difference is between the image of *servi* and *mancipia* in the Germanic law codes and that seen in other contemporary evidence. For example, legal historians such as Hermann Nehlsen argued from the Germanic law codes that in the Carolingian period *servi* were slaves no different from those of classical antiquity.[25] Hans-Werner Goetz found much more ambiguity in the same laws.[26] Goetz also argued that Frankish capitularies made it even more clear that *servi* and *mancipia* were treated more like peasants than slaves.[27] Doubts about the existence of slavery in the West have more recently even been extended back into the Merovingian period, for which it used to be commonplace to speak and write of large estates worked by slaves. Now, Chris Wickham and others argue that such large slave-worked plantations were extremely rare if they even existed at all.[28] The second trend is to question the notion of slavery in the context of medieval Europe. The problem, in this case, is that the construct of slavery relies too much upon modern definitions that focus on the opposition of freedom to the lack thereof. However, since there was no concept of ultimate freedom as conceived in modern times, it makes little sense to discuss the existence of slavery on that basis.[29]

How do those trends affect the research on slavery in medieval Hungary? Regarding the first objection to the use of the term "slave," it is true that there is some variation in the conditions under which *servi* lived in Árpádian Hungary. However, those variations exist mostly along the lines of different forms of ownership, as Emma Léderer and Ilona Bolla have demonstrated. In other words, the conditions of *servi*, and in fact even the use of the term, varied significantly depending upon the kind of property on which they lived. In fact, dependent laborers on royal estates quickly became relatively independent peasants. Each one of those subject inhabitants of royal estates is most often listed as *civis* or *castrensis*, and his obligations consisted mostly in paying rents in money for the upkeep of a royal *curia*. *Servi* also existed on those royal estates but in much smaller numbers. They seem to have originated in the servile mode as on private estates but quickly came to owe dues just like the *cives/castrenses*. At times, those dues could be quite heavy, but by the last quarter of the 13th century, their labor dues were becoming converted into cash payments.[30] Though similar, *servi* on ecclesiastical estates had a greater variety of work obligations. In the overwhelming majority of cases, *servi* on estates owned by the church lived relatively independent lives, although, as part of the church's *familia*, they were considered the church's "property" (*proprius*). In several instances, freemen (*liberi*) had heavier labor obligations than the *servi*.[31] For example, *liberi* of the great abbey at Pannonhalma, much like the *servi*, had to plow two days and reap one day annually, while carrying hay and wine to the monastery.[32]

In contrast to the *servi* on ecclesiastical and royal properties, the *servi* on estates owned by laymen lived in very different conditions. Just as Emma Léderer and Ilona Bolla have shown and as I have confirmed through my own work, *servi* on nonroyal, nonecclesiastical properties were very much reified entities.[33] It is true that church and royal *servi* were considered the property of their lords, but they were never bought, traded, pawned or inherited apart from the land on which they were working, as were the laymen's *servi*. Private charters listed *servi* (and their female counterpart, *ancillae*) along with other items called "movables" in the same charters. Those *servi* had no customary limitations to the labor required from them, a fact explicitly mentioned in several charters. Those *servi* performed whatever task, at any time, as demanded by their lords. They also had no rights of patrimony, no claim (even customary) to the land they worked. Marriages between *servi* and *ancillae* existed in a state of insecurity as the evidence clearly demonstrates that they depended upon the will of their lords and could be dissolved if they wished so.

As for the objection based on variations in the terminology employed in the early Hungarian law codes, those are often the result of confusion as to what enslavement actually entails. For example, several scholars have noted that in the Laws of Stephen (c. 1000–1038), when a *servus* is caught stealing, he is to pay five steers for each offense or face a series of physical mutilations.[34] The implication, so the argument goes, is that a true slave could not own property to make such a compensation; therefore, *servi* must, in some instances, have existed in a condition of semifreedom.[35] Similarly, canon 40 of the Synod of Szabolcs (1092) stipulated that a *servus* who had his own domicile had to pay tithe from his possessions.[36] How, scholars ask in puzzlement, could a slave own possessions such that they would pay the tithe?[37] However, such problems result primarily from an inadequate study of how slave systems operate, in particular from a blatant neglect of the fact that all slave systems allow slaves' property that is theoretically not their own, but in practice exists under the sole ownership of the enslaved. This is the practice of *peculium* and the laws set out ways in which the freemen could access a slave's *peculium*, either through criminal justice or through the church's tithe collection.[38]

The argument against using the category of "slave" for the Middle Ages is also misplaced. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, refusing to speak in binary terms about slavery and free is mistaken for three reasons. First, it is clear that humans use the cognitive process of labeling to make sense of the world, and the label of a slave is a nearly universal one, appearing in cultural landscapes throughout human culture with incredible variation. In other words, the concept of an enslaved person is something of a universal category, irrespective of the actual conditions under which any particular society holds the enslaved. Such universality results, for example, from the fact that slaves are often readily transferred between cultures with very "different idealized cognitive models of slavery."[39] Whether or not a pure form of freedom (whatever that might mean) existed to oppose a concept of slavery is beside the point. Moreover, even if "enslaved" and "free" as ideal forms did not exist in the past, the notion of "slave" was not foreign to the medieval mind, and this is particularly true of Árpádian Hungary. In the Pannonhalma charter mentioned above in the discussion of Erdelyi's argument, the abbot made the clear distinction between those *servi* of the church (*servi ecclesiae*) who were more normative for the abbey's properties and the "true *servi*" (*veri servi*) whom the abbey had recently purchased.[40] A number of 13th-century charters reference classical arguments to explain the existence of slaves, and contemporaries regarded the servile status as a sort of ultimate category. The best example is a charter of 1250, which explains the origins of the servile condition in the kingdom as a result of sin, which resulted in enslavement through the "law of nations" (*ius gencium*).[41] The idea that enslavement was the result of the effect of sin on human laws goes back to the early Church Fathers. Basil the Great, Augustine and Gregory the Great and all made similar arguments, and the fact that the charter of 1250 related the situation of a vintner to the ideas of the Church Fathers shows, at the very least, that the two forms of servitude were regarded as equal. Similarly, Simon de Kéza, writing a few decades later, attributed the origins of unfreedom in the Hungarian kingdom to their enslavement as a result of the Magyar conquest of the land.[42] The idea that slavery was the result of conquest, as the "custom of nations" (*mos gentium*), derived from Roman law. In the Árpádian kingdom, Hungarians recognized the existence of slavery and used ancient explanations for its origins and applied those ideas to their own context. If one denies the existence of slaves in the Kingdom of Hungary under the Árpádian dynasty, then one has to explain why contemporaries thought slaves did exist and why they needed to explain their existence.

In my earlier study on the Hungarian society during the Árpádian age, I juxtaposed the Hungarian evidence with that of the Carolingian age and examined the legitimacy of the terms for "slave" in both periods, using a set of minimum criteria that were both historically and anthropologically valid. Such an approach may, unfortunately, lead to excessive rigidity in categorization. Fortunately, however, Alice Rio has provided a profitable corrective in her 2017 study of the servile in the Frankish documentary evidence. In her estimation, the contradictory evidence for slavery in the earlier Frankish evidence resulted from a continual process of negotiation and experimentation by landlords with their subject population in order to maximize the labor pool. Thus, lords experimented with various forms of manumission in order to create strong ties to their dependent population, which was particularly true for large ecclesiastical institutions as they tried to maintain control over the mobility of their younger workforce and improve the management of their large estates. According to Rio, therefore, slavery, freedom and the multitude of variations of both terms are simply strategies that landlords employed to make the most of the production on their estates.[43] Rio's remarks on the process of continual adjustment and experimentation through which the elites attempted to maximize control find a perfect illustration in the Hungarian relationship

of freedom to enslavement. Society in Hungary went through a massive transformation from the so-called Age of Conquest (late 9th and 10th century) to the end of the Árpádian dynasty shortly before 1300. Viewed in light of adjustment and experimentation, Hungarian elites dealt with their environment and with their servile populations in specific ways. Unfortunately, it is impossible to explore in detail how things were done at the beginning of the period under consideration in this chapter, simply because there is not sufficient source material. However, the later period toward the end of the Árpádian age provides useful data allowing a detailed examination of lordly strategies.

Debate surrounds almost every element of Hungarian history prior to the Conquest. The most significant for our purpose is the debate surrounding the lifestyle of the Magyars: nomads or seminomads? Historians now agree that the Magyars were seminomads who traveled between summer and winter camps. Summer camps were ephemeral affairs in grazing areas while the winter camps served as more stable homes to the less mobile—women, children, and the elderly. It is next to the winter camps that the Magyars practiced limited forms of agriculture.[44] The issue of winter camps is important for the purpose of this chapter because the earliest written records indicate that the Magyars had slaves of Slavic origin (*ṣaqāliba*) who worked in the fields and supplied food to them.[45] This information suggests that the Magyars exploited slave labor for agriculture even before the Conquest. However, ibn Rusta and, after him, Gardīzī, mention that the Magyars sold their slaves (whom they had captured after raiding the Slavs) in "Karkh," a Byzantine port, possibly Cherson.[46] In other words, the texts from the Jayhānī tradition reflected in al-Marwazī, ibn Rusta and Gardīzī show that the Magyars were involved in the slave trade long before the Conquest. All three mention them taking captives among the Slavs and bringing them to "Rūm" (Byzantium) for sale.[47] Even after their settlement in the Carpathian Basin, Byzantium remained an important outlet for the captives of the Magyars. According to the continuator of George Hamartolos, who was writing at some point between the 920s and the 940s, following their invasion of Symeon's Bulgaria in the early 10th century, the Magyars sold their captives to the "Romans."[48] Moreover, the slave trade remained a major source of revenue long after the Conquest. Both Cosmas of Prague and Abū Ḥāmid mentioned Hungary as a destination of slave merchants in the 12th century. People selling *servi* and *ancillae* are mentioned in tolls for the market at Esztergom in the 13th century.[49]

The Magyars continued to trade in slaves long after the Conquest, but they also began the transition from nomadism to agriculture. The process of sedentization was long in some places, and written sources indicate that the elites continued to herd horses and live peripatetic lifestyles well into the 12th century. For example, Otto of Freising reported in 1147 that Hungarians spent most of the summer and fall in tents.[50] As ownership of land became the primary expression of wealth and power in the newly established Hungarian kingdom, the elites gradually shifted from large herds to the control of agricultural production, including control of the labor force. This process remains largely unknown, but a few sources offer some hints. The foundation charter of the Greek-rite monastery at Veszprémvölgy issued around 1018 demanded that anyone who did not want to live under the control of the monastery clear off its property, while a donation to the monastery at Százd in 1067 declared that those who wanted to maintain their freedom had to move off the land of the abbey.[51]

The period of transition during which the new landed aristocracy was established was chaotic, exacerbated by political instability (including seven civil wars), three invasions by German emperors, another invasion from the steppes and two so-called "pagan uprisings" against the new Christian monarchy. Some of that confusion is evident in the so-called Laws of Ladislas dated to the second half of the 11th century. Most *decreta* in that collection

deal with property crimes and control over people. Royal officials called "goods collectors" were responsible for returning "stray things," including men, to royal bailiffs, and the laws specifically allowed men to search for their own fugitives.[52] The laws mention another group of people known as *üzbeg* who were also to be returned to the king if found.[53] There is some disagreement over who these *üzbeg* were. The word itself is of Slavic origin and means "refugee" or "runaway," but it is not at all clear who or what caused those people to run away. György Györffy thought that they were Slavs fleeing to the Hungarian kingdom, who were thus put under the authority of the king. Gyula Kristó noted that while the word may well be of Slavic origin, it does not exist in any Slavic language spoken in the countries surrounding Hungary; it must therefore have been a word from the language spoken by the Slavic population of the Carpathian Basin. In other words, *üzbeg* was a Slavic word in existence before the Conquest.[54] If Kristó is correct and I find his explanation plausible, then the *üzbeg* are either people displaced as a result of the Magyar Conquest or runaways from new institutions and estates created by the Hungarian elites. It may not be an accident that in every instance of runaway or fugitive men, the response prescribed by law for the landowner was to search for them and forcibly return them to his own estate.

By the 12th century, definitely during the reign of King Coloman (1095–1116), the situation had stabilized. The king was far and away from the greatest landowner, and he is thought to have held between 70 and 85 percent of the land in the kingdom.[55] The royal land was organized around the royal residences or courts (*curiae*), in order to respond to their needs, as well as to those of the army. Udvornici worked on their own plots from which they supplied courts with what they needed—particularly victuals and drink—through rents in kind. For example, the udvornici mentioned in the great Albeus Inventory of the Pannonhalma Abbey owed standard rents of set amounts of wheat flour, rye and oats as well as fixed numbers of eggs, chickens, geese and sheep every year.[56] In terms of the army, the royal lands were organized in such a manner as to support a network of castles. Each castle had lands designated for its upkeep, but so-called "castle lands" were rarely next to the castle.[57] The inhabitants on those castle lands were called *castrensis* and they worked on their own plots to supply the castle and its garrison with food—fish, wine, grain and the like. The *castrensis* was often categorized in the sources according to the form of their rents, e.g., vintners and fishermen.[58]

The second-largest landholder in the early Árpádian kingdom was the Church, with about 10 percent of all the lands. The holdings of the ecclesiastical institutions were quite dispersed, with each possessing properties spread throughout the kingdom. For example, the priory at Arad had groups of properties in four separate counties, and even the property in one and the same county consisted of scattered estates. Likewise, the Greek-rite monastery at Szávaszentdemeter (now Sremska Mitrovica, in northern Serbia) had 31 separate properties as far apart as Pest and Szerém Counties.[59] The organization of those church properties was unique in two ways. First, they were often organized by manses, a practice which seems to owe much to western influences. The most-clear example of that organization is the priory at Arad, all the dependents of which were listed according to their manses, which had become fixed and could not be modified either by addition or by division.[60] Second, the obligations of the dependents on church properties varied significantly with a few *servi* owing very heavy obligations of seemingly unrestricted labor and the others owing restricted labor services or rents in kind. Part of this variation stemmed from the nature of the donations that the ecclesiastical institutions received. Dependents kept whatever service they owed their previous lord (either king or layman) unless the ecclesiastical institution deemed it necessary to change the initial arrangement. However, the determining factor in those obligations

seems to have been the distance at which each *servus* lived from the center of the church property. The prime example is the priory at Dömös as seen in its inventory charter dating from 1138. Those *servi* living within a few kilometers from the priory owed unspecified services of plowing while those living at a distance owed specified dues.[61]

Lay lords owned by far the smallest part of the land in the kingdom, at least until the mid-12th century—merely 1 percent of all landholdings.[62] Royal grants under the Árpádian kings were rare and typically small, at least until the reform attempts of King Andrew II (1205–1235). However, they were also unrestricted. The result was that individuals or clans that owned land usually held them as allods without any service requirements attached.[63] As a consequence, most private holdings appear to have been small, often little more than farmsteads with their surrounding lands. Those are the *praedia* that István Szabó had examined in great detail. Some individuals or clans could cobble together several holdings, but they were often little more than collections of villages or farmsteads. Those farmsteads appear frequently in the sources and they were usually organized around the landlord's residence (*curia*). Unlike either royal or ecclesiastical estates, those farmsteads were populated almost exclusively by *servi* who had no restrictions upon their labor.[64] The typically small size of those farmsteads implies that, with rare exceptions, they were worked through the direct exploitation of the land by the servile workers for the lord and his *curia*.

Though the picture offered here for the 12th and early 13th centuries may seem like a static snapshot, there were, even in this period of relative social stability, some dynamic elements. Perhaps the most dynamic was the church. The church appears to have been relatively flexible in the way in which its estates were organized. Part of that flexibility may be attributed to outside influences. All early churchmen were westerners, and they must have brought with them the structures of estate management with which they were familiar.[65] The best example is, again, the priory of Arad. Its lands were organized around the indivisible *sors* or manse, which, as far as I know, was unique in Hungary at that time. Ecclesiastical institutions took donations and incorporated them into their holdings in a manner that was most appropriate for their circumstances and in light of their previous experiences, which meant that the church was relatively dynamic in its organizational strategies.

The late 13th century was by far the most dynamic period, given the stabilization of the regime, and the royal court was the driving factor behind the social transformations that occurred. First, kings began inviting western settlers into the kingdom in order to bring under cultivation much of the unsettled land.[66] These settlers came from as far away as the Italian and French regions, but the great majority of them arrived from German areas. Royal agents were given contracts to bring in the settlers in exchange for land, tax exemptions and a large degree of internal autonomy. Soon, lay lords followed suit and invited both foreign and internal immigrants to settle on their wastelands. In the case of both royal agents and internally organized immigration, the newly established settlements resembled the conditions that the foreign settlers had brought with them. In practice, that meant that the "guest" (*hospes*) settlements were arranged in village communities based upon the communal planning of labor and the serf-plot. Like the *sors* at the Arad priory, the serf-plot allowed its owner a stable land that he could buy, sell or transfer to his children. In exchange, "guests" owed the lord various payments, initially in kind but gradually in coin as well. Since those new settlements of *hospites* were on heretofore unproductive royal lands, most of them existed largely as separate from the small farmsteads of the private, lay landowner worked by *servi*.

A separate royal initiative soon brought together both worlds—the layman's farmstead and the "guest" settlements. The occasion was the introduction of the so-called "new institutions" of King Andrew II. Probably inspired by the reforms of King Phillip II Augustus of

France (1180–1223), King Andrew donated large land grants to his supporters in the hopes that he would make up the lost revenue through increased tolls, special taxes and farming out the royal mint.[67] In the end, Andrew's reforms were a complete failure: the special revenue could in no way compensate for the loss in land revenue, and the "new institutions" produced immensely powerful barons almost overnight. The significant point for the purpose of this chapter is that laymen now came into control of immense territories, including numerous settlements of *hospites*.[68] The evidence is clear that communities responded to those new settlements in a couple of radical ways. In some instances, whole communities pressured their lords for conditions similar to those of the guest settlements. They pressed for serf-plot protections and limited payments; they pressed for "the liberty of the *hospites* living in the kingdom," as one charter put it.[69]

Lords were very often more than willing to give those communities what they wanted, for two reasons. First, communities of *hospites* collected taxes based upon the serf-plot, and they paid their lord as a community in coin. Prior to the 13th century, the kingdom of Hungary had very little coins in circulation, but this was changing. By the middle of the century, the new territorial lords were in desperate need of coins. With money, lords could more easily acquire more property through outright purchase, something that was very difficult in the preceding century. Perhaps more importantly, those new barons could also buy mercenaries with which they could fend off later royal attempts at reversing the effects of Andrew II's "new institutions." The other reason for which lords were willing to give to their dependents the same privileges that *hospites* enjoyed was the attempt to prevent their *servi* from fleeing to better conditions. While the flight of *servi* was common throughout the Árpádian era, the evidence is very clear that the problem became endemic through the 13th century. New settlements with their favorable conditions were advertised in markets throughout the realm, attracting large numbers of immigrants. The men receiving those immigrants seem to have often ignored the immigrants' status. The register of court cases in the diocese of Arad for the first part of the 13th century records numerous instances of *servi* fleeing to another lord, who had evidently previously encouraged them to come or had at the very least turned a blind eye to the original, servile status of the *servus*. Several charters from the period indicate that lords would entice another's dependents "with smooth words," and one charter tells of six enterprising *servi* who had obtained a forged manumission charter in order to escape to more pleasant conditions.[70]

Landowners used various strategies to deal with the increasing numbers of runaway *servi* going to the new settlements and to the lands of others, who lured them with better conditions. Some lords, such as the archbishop of Esztergom tried to force the *servi* to return, but most applied a more efficient tactic—manumission. The number of "freedmen" (*libertini*) appearing on farmsteads surged through the 13th century while the proportion of *servi* declined just as dramatically. The manumission of a *servus* to the status of a freedman carried several advantages for a lord. A freedman was still be bound to the lord in significant ways. Freedmen and freedwomen were still considered items of property and could be transferred to others at the will of their lords, so they were tightly bound to their owners. However, unlike the *servus*, the freedmen had strictly defined work obligations or payment requirements. Significantly, many freedmen, especially in the western regions of the kingdom, owed only annual rents in coin to their lords. Rents paid in coin benefitted the money-hungry lords of the time, and the lighter labor obligations served to keep the *servi* from running away. In some instances, lords manumitted only part of the family of a *servus*, a move that I have described as yet another strategy to keep the labor pool from absconding, since few *servi* would relish leaving their family behind.

The process of enslavement was flexible and fluid. One does not need to deny its existence to see that it was one very prominent strategy of the elites to control the weak. The evidence for agricultural slavery among the pre-Conquest Magyars is weak, but it is beyond doubt that they used enslaved captives for sale. With the adoption of land and agriculture as the basis of power and wealth, Hungarian elites sought to control the workforce through enslavement. However, enslavement was not always necessary or even desirable for the landowning elites, and at least on royal and ecclesiastical estates, other forms of dependency developed quite early. By the end of the 13th century, even lay landlords used varying social statuses as a means to control their subject population that had found that opportunities for settlement elsewhere provided a means of escape for them. The new form of subjection, that of the freedman, gave landlords what they needed the most—cash and manpower.

Notes

1 For Bohemia, see Julius Lippert, *Social-Geschichte Böhmens in vorhussitischer Zeit* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1896); František Graus, *Dějiny venkovského lidu v Čechách v době předhusitské* [The history of the peasants in Bohemia in the pre-Hussite period] (Prague: Státní nakl. politické literatury, 1953); Tomáš Petráček, *Power and Exploitation in the Czech Lands in the 10th–12th Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017). For Poland, see Karol Buczek, *Książęca ludność służebna w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej* [Service population in medieval Poland] (Wrocław/Cracow: Ossolineum, 1958); Karol Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej* [Peasants in the Piast realm (10th to 13th cc.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987); Piotr Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland 1100–1250* (New York/London: Holmes & Meier, 1992). For Rus', see Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); Igor Ia. Froianov, *Rabstvo i dannichestvo u vostochnykh slavian (VI–X vv.)* [Slavery and tribute among the Eastern Slavs (6th–10th cc.)] (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Petersburgskogo Universiteta, 1996). For the Balkans, see Strashimir Lishev, *Za pronikvaneto i roliata na parite v feodalna Bălgariia* [On the origin and the role of the *paroikoi* in medieval Bulgaria] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1959); Alan Harvey, "Peasant categories in the 10th and 11th centuries," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1990), 250–56. The literature for Hungary is cited in the notes below.

2 Remig Békefi, *A rabszolgaság Magyarországon az Árpádok alatt* [Slavery in Hungary under the Árpádian kings] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901). For a similar approach, see also, Mária Gáspár *A rabszolgaság megszűnése hazánkban* [The end of slavery in Hungary] (Budapest: Garai Mór Könyvnyomda, 1909).

3 Károly Tagányi, "Felelet dr. Erdélyi Lászlónak 'Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk legkritikusabb kérdései'-re.' III" (Reply to Dr. László Erdélyi's 'The Most Critical Questions for the Social History of the Árpád-era.' III), *Történelmi Szemle* 5 (1916), 296–320, 409–48, and 543–608, here p. 562.

4 László Gyula Erdélyi, "Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk legkritikusabb kérdései. III" [The most critical issues of the social history of Hungary during the Árpádian age], *Történeti Szemle* 4 (1915), 202–26, here 208 and 213.

5 It must be said that Tagányi was by far the most visceral in his responses to Erdélyi.

6 Békefi, *A rabszolgaság Magyarországon*, pp. 2–4.

7 Mária Gáspár, *A rabszolgaság megszünése*, pp. 26–27.

8 Bálint Hóman, "A társalmi osztályok Szent István államában" [Social classes in the state of Saint Stephen], in *Békefi emlékkönyv.: Dolgozatok Békefi Remig egyetemi tanári működésének emlékére*, edited by Jenő Pintér (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1912), pp. 61–80, reprinted in Bálint Hóman, *Magyar középkor, 1000–1325* [The Hungarian Middle Ages, 1000–1325] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1938), pp. 50–67, here p. 59.

9 Erdélyi, "Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk," p. 213.

10 Tagányi, "Felelet."

11 Lajos Elekes, Emma Léderer, and György Székely, *Magyarország története: Az őskortól 1526-ig* [A history of Hungary from pre-history to 1526] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1953), p. 78. For the notion of feudalism in East Cetnral and Eastern Europe after World War II, see Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)*(Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 463–66.

12 Emma Léderer, *A feudalizmus kialakulása Magyarországon* [The formation of feudalism in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959).
13 In Hungarian historiography, the estates of non-royal, lay landowners are called "private" (*magánbirtok*).
14 Léderer, *A feudalizmus*, pp. 44–52.
15 István Szabó, "A prédium. Vizsgálódások a korai magyar gazdaság- és településtörténelem körében. I. rész" [The *praedium*: Studies on the economic and settlement history of early Hungary. Part 1], *Agrártörténeti szemle* 5 (1963), no. 1–2, 1–49, here 22 (I have rounded up Szabó's percentages to facilitate discussion).
16 Szabó, "A prédium, I."; István Szabó, "A prédium. Vizsgálódások a korai magyar gazdaság- és településtörténelem körében. II." [The *praedium*: Studies on the economic and settlement history of early Hungary. Part 2], *Agrártörténeti szemle* 5 (1963), no. 3. 301–27; István Szabó, "The *praedium*. Studies on the economic history and the history of settlement of early Hungary," *Agrártörténeti szemle* 5 (1963), Supplementum, 1–24.
17 Ilona Bolla, *A jogilag egységes jobbágyságról Magyarországon* [On the legally uniform serfdom in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980; reprint, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1998).
18 *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* [Studies on the history of the peasantry in Hungarian in the 14th century], edited by György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953).
19 Bolla, *A jogilag*, pp. 144–69.
20 Gusztáv Heckenast, *Fejedelmi (királyi) szolgálónépek a a korai Árpád-korban* [Princely (royal) servile people in the early Árpádian age] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), pp. 52–60; György Györffy, "Zur Frage der Herkunft der ungarländischen Dienstleute," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1976), 39–83 and 311–37. For the historiography of the problem outside Hungary, see Florin Curta, "The archaeology of early medieval service settlements in Eastern Europe," in *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. A Cultural History*, edited by Piotr Górecki and Nancy van Deusen (London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), pp. 30–41 and 221–27, here 31; David Kalhous, "Przewod, powóz, prowod… a paraveredus? K otázce údajné služebné organizace a veřejných služebností a jejich původu" [*Przewod*, *powóz*, *prowod*… and *paraveredus*? The question of the so-called service organization and of public services and their origin], in *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana, k životnímu jubileu*, edited by Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malíř, Lukáš Reitinger and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2020), pp. 121–30.
21 Heckenast, *Fejedelmi (királyi) szolgálónépek*, pp. 54–57; György Györffy, "Az Árpád-kori szolgálónépek kérdéséhez" [Questions about servile people in the Árpádian age], *Történelmi Szemle* 15 (1972), 261–342, here 261–63.
22 György Györffy, *István kiraly és műve* [King Stephen and his achievements] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), pp. 46, 426–48, 438–39. The book was translated into English as *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (Boulder/CO-Highland Lakes: Social Science Monographs/Atlantic, 1994).
23 Zoltán Kordé, "Szolgáltató nép" [Servile people], in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*, edited by Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), p. 655; Christian Lübke, *Arbeit und Wirtschaft im östlichen Mitteleuropa. Die Spezialisierung menschlicher Tätigkeit im Spiegel der hochmittelalterlichen Toponymie in den Herrschaftsgebieten von Piasten, Přemysliden und Arpaden* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), p. 12.
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26 Hans-Werner Goetz, "Serfdom and the beginnings of a 'seigneurial system' in the Carolingian period: A survey of the evidence," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993), no. 1, 29–51, here 34–35. See also Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200* (New York, Holmes & Meier, 1991), pp. 119–40.
27 Goetz, "Serfdom and the beginnings," pp. 34–39.

28 Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 262 and 282 For a critique of Wickham's tendency to minimize the role of slavery in the early medieval West, see Jairus Banaji, *Exploring the Economy of Late Antiquity. Selected Essays* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 161.
29 Joseph C. Miller, "The historical contexts of slavery in Europe," in *Slavery across Time and Space. Studies in Slavery in Medieval Europe and Africa*, edited by Per Hernaes and Tore Iversen (Trondheim: Department of History, NTNU, 2002), pp. 1–57, Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes, and Simon MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 246, and Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 15–24.
30 Ilona Bolla, "Das Dienstvolk der königlichen und kirchlichen Güter zur Zeit des frühen Feudalismus," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae: Sectio Historica* 17 (1976), 15–43, here 33–35.
31 Bolla, *A jogilag*, pp. 154–58; Bolla "Das Dienstvolk," pp. 24–25.
32 *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története. A Magyar kereszténység, királyság és Benczés-rend fönállásának kilenczszázados emlékére* [The history of the Benedictine order in Pannonhalma. In commemoration of the existence of Hungarian Christianity, of the kingdom, and of the Benedictine Order for nine centuries], edited by László Gyula Erdélyi, vol. 8 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1903), p. 269.
33 Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 109–30.
34 *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1000–1301*, edited by János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, 1989), pp. 43 and 47 (available online at https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4/, visit of February 2, 2021).
35 Györffy, *István király*, p. 478. Bak, Bónis, and Sweeney, *The Laws*, p. 47 n. 7.
36 Bak, Bónis, and Sweeney, *The Laws*, pp. 57 and 69.
37 György Bónis, *István király* (King Stephen) (Budapest: Müvelt Nép, 1956), p. 73.
38 Sutt, *Slavery*, pp. 25–29, 66–67, and 96–97.
39 Sutt, *Slavery*, pp. 22–23.
40 Erdélyi, "Árpádkori társadalomtörténetünk," p. 208.
41 Gusztáv Wenzel, *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 2 (Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1861), p. 219.
42 Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, edited and translated by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest: Central European University, 1999), p. 183.
43 Alice Rio, *Slavery after Rome, 500–1100* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
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45 *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai* [Written sources for the Age of the Conquest], edited by Gyula Kristó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), pp. 33. The key source is Ibn Rusteh, *Les tours précieux*, translated by Gaston Wiet (Cairo: Publications de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte, 1955), p. 160. See also A. P. Martinez, "Gardīzī's two chapters on the Turks," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 2 (1982), 109–217, here 161; György Györffy, *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról: Kortársak és krónikások híradásai* [The ancestors of the Hungarians and the conquest: reports of contemporaries and chronicles] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1986), p. 88; *A magyar honfoglalás*

kútfői [Sources for the Hungarian Conquest], edited by Gyula Pauler and Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900; reprint, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2000), p. 169; Mihály Kmoskó, *Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről: Földrajzi irodalom* [Muslim writings on the steppe peoples: Geographical literature], vol. 1/1 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997), p. 208; István Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources on the Magyars in the Second Half of the 9th Century. The Magyar Chapter of the Jayhānī Tradition* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 310–11.

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47 Zimonyi, *Muslim Sources*, p. 310.

48 Gyula Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai* [Byzantine sources of the Hungarian history in the Árpádian age] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), p. 63.

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52 Bak, Bónis, and Sweeney, *The Laws*, pp. 90 and 100–01.

53 Bak, Bónis, and Sweeney, *The Laws*, pp. 87 and 97.

54 Monika Jánosi, "Izbeg," in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*, p. 298; Györffy, *István király*, p. 518; Gyula Kristó, "Etnikai viszonyok Magyarországon Szent István király korában" (Ethnic relations in Hungary in the age of King Stephen), *Kisebbségkutatás* 9 (2000), no. 2, 398–407.

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56 *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története. A Magyar kereszténység, királyság és Benczés-rend fönállásának kilenczszázados emlékére* [The history of the Benedictine order in Pannonhalma. In commemoration of the existence of Hungarian Christianity, of the kingdom, and of the Benedictine Order for nine centuries], edited by László Gyula Erdélyi, vol. 1 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1901), pp. 678–79.

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60 Ferenc Maksay, "Benedekrendi gazdálkodás Tihanyban a XIII–XIV. századi struktúraváltozás idején" [The Benedictine administration at Tihany in the era of the structural changes of the 13–14th century], *Somogy megye múltjából* 3 (1972), 1–47, here 8–9; Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971; reprint, Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 2007), p. 17.

61 Sutt, *Slavery*, p. 166.

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63 György Bónis, *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban* [Vassalage and the orders in medieval Hungarian law] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos intézet, 1947), 105–10. Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és alattvalóik*, 158–59.

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65 Bolla, *A jogilag*, p. 153.

66 The process had begun in the 12th, but it expanded greatly in the course of the 13th century. See András Kubinyi, "Zur Frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200–1541)," in *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, edited by Walter Schlesinger (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1975), pp. 527–66; István Petrovics, "Together or separately: German settlers in medieval Hungary," in *Confluences. Essays Mapping the Manitoba-Szeged Partnership*, edited by Cristian M. Réka, Andrea Kökény and György E. Szőnyi (Szeged: JATE, 2017), pp. 51–60.

67 Gyula Kristó, "II. András király 'új intézkedései'" [The "new institutions" of King Andrew II], *Századok* 135 (2001), no. 2, 251–300; Gyula Kristó, "Modellváltás a 13. században" [The change of model in the 13th century], *Századok* 135 (2001), no. 2, 472–87.

68 It must also be said that lay lords were concomitantly inviting foreign *hospites* to come and settle on their lands.

69 László Solymosi, "Hospeskiváltság 1275-ből" [A *hospes* privilege from 1275], in *Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából*, edited by László Kredics (Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Levéltár, 1984), pp. 17–1000, here p. 67 ("sub libertate hospitum in regno existentium").

70 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, edited by György Fejér, vol. 4/2 (Buda: Typis typographiae regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 104, vol. 9/2 (Buda: Typis typographiae regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1833), pp. 170–71.

16
WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Sébastien Rossignol

This chapter deals with more than half of the medieval population in East-Central and Eastern Europe. First will be examined how women were imagined and idealized in myths and legends and then the conditions that shaped the stages of women's lives. This will be followed by a discussion of the roles of women in the various social categories that made up medieval societies. Finally, the lives of children will be considered with an emphasis on how the living conditions of women and children in the various regions of East-Central and Eastern Europe were different from those of the western half of the continent.

Women in mythology, origin stories and hagiography

The pagan pantheon of the Western Slavs is full of male deities, and the only goddess mentioned in the sources, with her image carried on a standard by Lutician warriors, remains anonymous. The eastern Slavs had female deities, foremost of which was Mokosh.[1] Goddesses had a more important place in the religion of the ancient Balts. According to Marija Gimbutas, the oldest layer of beliefs derived from an ancient matristic religion dominated by goddesses: female deities such as Laima and Ragana were associated with the creative energy of natural elements. The second layer shows similarities with other Indo-European mythologies and is patriarchal: gods are connected to the sky, agriculture and physical might.[2] Women play a significant role in the stories about the origins of peoples (origo gentis), which have been recorded for East-Central and Eastern Europe much like for Western Europe in Late Antiquity. The earliest is from the 7th-century chronicle of so-called Fredegar, who explains that the Wends had been under the dominion of the Avars who had forcefully taken their wives and daughters as concubines. The story has similarities to an episode in the chronicle of Nestor and might be rooted in Slavic oral tradition.[3]

In sharp contrast to stories of Germanic peoples, with their strong military ethos, the origin myths of the Czechs and the Poles showcase peaceful peasants as main characters, with female figures playing prominent roles. According to the Czech monk named Christian, who wrote in the late 10th century, and to Cosmas of Prague, who finished his chronicle shortly before 1125, in an early stage of Czech history, women fought and ruled just like

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men. Three sisters gained authority, among them the seer Lubossa, who acted successfully as a judge before giving way to a male ruler, Premyzl. At the same time, a group of young women warriors established a city and began fighting with men before being defeated. "Since that time," according to Cosmas, who was himself a married cleric and a father, "the women of our people are under the power of men."[4] Those stories present an ambiguous picture of women in a mythical past: women can play positive, inspiring roles, but always end up defeated by men.[5] In the Polish origin myth, the peasant Pazt and his wife Repca are ideals of generosity and hospitality, and they end up replacing Popel as the ruler of Gniezno. By contrast, Popel's spouse is the typically bad wife giving ill advice to her husband.[6] Vincent Kadłubek describes Vanda, the mythical princess of Cracow (who is a maiden), as an ideal ruler: beautiful, clever and effective. She is, however, unlike any historical woman and might have been meant as an allegory for Poland.[7]

Positive role models for medieval women could be found in hagiographic works. Female saints in East-Central Europe were typically members of the ruling families and foreigners. Such are the cases of Hedwig, the German noblewoman who married Henry the Bearded, Duke of Silesia (1201–1238), and convinced him to establish the convent of Trzebnica; Anna of Bohemia, daughter of Přemysl Otakar II, King of Bohemia (1253–1278) and wife of Henry II, Duke of Silesia (1238–1241), who established several monasteries in Wrocław; Salome and Kinga, who were the sister and wife, respectively, of Bolesław the Chaste of Cracow (1227–1279); and Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew II, King of Hungary (1205–1235), who became a source of inspiration for princesses across Europe. All of these women were married but lived chaste lives and established religious institutions.[8] In the lands of Rus', Olga, whose relics were kept in Kiev, has been revered since the 13th century as the patron saint of the Rurikid dynasty. Other Rus' saints, such as Euphrosyne of Polotsk, Euphrosyne of Suzdal and Anna of Kashin, were princesses or nuns. Their foremost quality was submission to Christ, and in that respect, they bore similarities to Mary.[9]

Women also had a symbolic role for the Crusaders in the Baltic region. The Virgin Mary was the patron saint of the Teutonic Order and has been compared, in the crusading context, to a war goddess whose image was painted on the banners leading armies into the battle against pagans.[10]

Female fashions

The dress represents social status. For the Avar young women, that seems to have been of paramount concern. Judging from archeological evidence, late 7th- and 8th-century burials of young females were among the best furnished. Those may have been unmarried women, whose attractiveness and importance were displayed in this way.[11] The clothing of women in Rus' symbolized social and marital status.[12] Fashion also reflects intercultural influences. Women in Lithuania dressed in a manner similar to that of women in Scandinavia. They sported imported beads, which were seen as symbols of status.[13] Similarly, the female clothing in early Novgorod was influenced by Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Baltic and Scandinavian traditions.[14] In the 13th century, the dissemination of courtly culture in Central Europe affected the ways aristocratic men and women dressed. Fancy fashions derived from French models became a popular way for those men and women to showcase their social status. This can be seen in manuscript illuminations and on seals from Poland and Bohemia. Upper-class women wore dresses imitating the avant-garde fashion of the Parisian court.[15]

Education and culture

In Byzantium and East-Central Europe, there are very few cases of female scholars or authors reputed for their intellectual or literary achievements. Special training, nonetheless, was required for those women who were entrusted with medical care based on magic beliefs or who performed abortions.[16] However, books were often associated with women as symbols of piety. The motif of a woman giving a book signaled donation for liturgical purposes. These were often German noblewomen who had married Polish husbands in the early phase of Christianization.[17] Girls learned to read in the convents.[18] Upper-class women in Poland, Serbia and elsewhere, especially those of the reigning dynasties, received an education matching their social status. Several female members of the Piast dynasty had levels of literacy perhaps higher than those of their male counterparts; they could have been in the audience for works in Latin written at the initiative of, and for the Piasts.[19] As elsewhere in Latin Europe, the psalms were popular for women, as they were recited as prayers and were used to teach Latin. Hedwig of Silesia is known to have owned a psalter. Kinga, the wife of Bolesław the Chaste, is said to have recited the psalms in Polish, perhaps with a prototype of later versions of the Polish psalms.[20] One of the earliest poems written in Czech was a prayer written on behalf of Kunigunde, daughter of Přemysl Otakar II and abbess of the Benedictine convent of St. George, in Prague.[21] At the same time, much like in western Europe, chivalric literature resonated with some aristocratic women. A tournament crown that belonged to Kinga is decorated with scenes of Erec and Enide. However, the popularity of chivalric literature is essentially a 14th-century phenomenon, so outside the chronological span covered in this book.[22]

Women also participated in the dissemination of pragmatic literacy, especially after 1200. Although scribes and notaries were invariably men, many women, particularly widows of rulers, issued documents in their own right. Issuing documents meant that women could own property and had legal rights; it also meant that their authority was sufficiently recognized by those who would keep the documents. Abbesses also issued documents on behalf of their convents.[23] In the 13th century, the Ashkenazi community expanded from the German lands to several towns in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.[24] Jewish men often went away for religious study. That possibility was not available to women, but Jewish women did receive the training necessary to be active in trade and moneylending. A few had their own seals, though Hebrew documents were normally authenticated through a signature. Some of these women were well-versed in the use of documents.[25] Inscriptions on spindle whorls and birchbark documents suggest that familiarity with writing was common in the towns of Rus' already in the 12th and 13th centuries for women of boyar families and to some extent daughters of merchants and some artisans.[26]

Marriage

Several accounts insist upon the polygamy of Western Slavic chieftains in the pagan period, a practice that was abandoned with the adoption of Christianity.[27] It is unclear if polygamy existed among Hungarians of the age of conquest.[28] Polygamy was formally forbidden by Rabbi Gershom in the 11th century, a decision that applied to Jewish communities of Central Europe as well.[29] Byzantine, Latin and Arabic sources from the 6th to the 11th century refer to the traditional, suttee-like sacrifice of the widows of Slavic chieftains at their husbands' funerals, but Ibn Fadlan also described the sacrifice of a female slave at the funeral of a Rus' chieftain in the Volga area in the early 10th century. Double burials (with a male and a female skeletons) with Scandinavian grave goods found in Russia and Ukraine have been interpreted as the result of such practices with a man and a woman buried together.[30]

In Magyar society, the fathers of the groom and of the bride negotiated the bride price to be paid by the groom's family. Abduction was also common; the consent of the woman was not always necessary.[31] Various sources suggest that in Poland, earlier forms of union included marriage with bride price and elopement to escape parental control.[32] With Christianization, attitudes toward marriage began to change in East-Central Europe. Normative texts in Old Slavonic from early medieval Moravia introduced new social norms consonant with Christian dogma. Women were bound more closely to their families and had less flexibility in their sexual and familial lives. New words reflected changing concepts regarding chastity and the relationship between husband and wife.[33] In Bulgaria, legal sources suggest changes providing better protection for women and children against the will of fathers and husbands.[34]

Since Lateran IV (1215), marriages had to be made public, in a church, with witnesses; but in Hungary, marriages that did not follow these rules were still common in the 14th century.[35] In Poland, the expectation that weddings would take place in church gradually became accepted in the course of the 13th century, at least for the upper classes, though this was still uncommon for peasants and impoverished urban dwellers.[36] In Serbia, marriage was expected to take place in the church after 1300.[37] Ancient rituals survived in Rus' for centuries after conversion to the form of Christianity favored in Byzantium. The betrothal was accompanied by a gathering at which pies and cheese were served. Before the wedding, the bride took a bath; after the ceremony, she took her husband's boots off. Virginity was not considered very important, except for a woman who married a priest.[38] On the other hand, penitential books from medieval Rus' show the attempt of the Church to regulate sexuality, especially of married couples.[39]

In East-Central Europe as everywhere else, adultery was punished more severely for women than for men, and divorce was rarely possible. In Hungary, certain circumstances allowed for separation or the dissolution of a marriage.[40] The Church of Rus' had a more permissible attitude toward divorce and divorced women could even, in certain circumstances, be allowed to remarry.[41] Divorce was also common among the Ashkenazi Jews, and it could be initiated by the woman. This resulted in part from the high social status of Jewish women and from the importance placed on personal and sexual happiness in marriage.[42]

Inheritance and property

Evidence suggests that much like in contemporary Byzantium, in Bulgaria men and women inherited equally.[43] The right of widows to count on the dowry is mentioned in the laws of King Stephen of Hungary (1000/1001–1038), and documentary evidence suggests that that right was upheld. Traditionally, dowry consisted of cattle and pelts. By the 13th century, women more commonly received a dower, which they could at least in part control themselves. Hungarian women inherited property, one-fourth of which was to be divided among the daughters. A widow also had the right to stay on her husband's land after his death, as long as she did not remarry. Women of high social status sued men in court if their rights were not respected.[44] Women in Poland enjoyed more rights of inheritance and had more access to family property than other women elsewhere at that time. Dowries were an important part of marriage arrangements, although a woman could be deprived of her dowry if she married against the will of her parents. The wife was expected to manage her dowry, and the husband could not access it without her consent. The husband could not even give or sell his own property against the will of his wife: for important transactions, the couple, children and relatives living with them had to give consent in court. Polish women also appeared in court to defend their rights. The rights of widows to keep their dowries were well-defended. Documents, urban books and court records attest to various ways in which women were involved in property transactions.[45]

Things were different in towns. The Magdeburg law that was applied in Central European towns retained the rule from Eike of Repgow's *Saxon Mirror*, according to which a woman was under the guardianship of her husband; when he died, a male relative had to take on that role. When defending themselves in courts under Magdeburg Law, married women and widows had to be formally accompanied by male guardians. To be legal, a marriage needed the consent of both man and woman. Both the *Saxon Mirror* and the Magdeburg Law stipulated the right of the woman to receive from her future husband a dower (*Morgengabe*) and a life estate (*Leibgedinge*). Both were supposed to secure her well-being in the case she would become a widow. The dower typically consisted of money and movable goods, while life estate was just that—landed property. The couple's possessions were managed by the husband during the marriage and were separated when one of them died: this aimed at strengthening the marital union. A widow thus had much more latitude to manage her property than a married woman. Inheritance normally went to the sons or other relatives, but not to the widow.[46] In Jewish communities of Central European towns, it was customary to give daughters significant dowries, which helped the young couple get started on a sound economic foothold. Those dowries contributed to giving women a high social standing in marriage.[47] In 12th-century Rus', daughters could inherit only in the absence of a male heir. In spite of the Byzantine influence, Russian law was less favorable to wives and daughters. Upon their marriage, women received various possessions, which were administered jointly by the husband and wife but were kept by widows after the death of their husbands.[48] Meanwhile, in Livonia, women at all stages of life were under the guardianship of a father, husband or male relative. They could neither take public positions nor hold properties. However, they had protected status: in cases of injuries or murder committed on a woman, the compensations that were to be paid to the family of the victim were twice those that were to be paid for a man.[49]

Women and war

Female warriors had a special place in how early medieval authors imagined the region. Jordanes made the Amazons the wives of Goths, while Paul the Deacon and the Old English Orosius located them in Central Europe.[50] Adam of Bremen moved them farther to the north, closer to the Finno-Ugrian peoples, perhaps based on rumors of women involved in metalworking and riding on horseback.[51] On the other hand, several early medieval sources describe women participating in military actions. According to Procopius, women fought in the army of the Huns and Nicephorus mentions Slavic women at the siege of Constantinople in 626. Women are also mentioned in the Bulgar army of 811, even though none is mentioned in the Bulgar inscriptions.[52] Archeologists have uncovered several graves of individuals sexed as women but buried with typically male accoutrements, including weapons.[53] In 13th-century Livonia and Estonia, some women were buried with daggers, spears and other weapons similar to those deposited in male graves.[54] Women are regularly mentioned as fighting in the context of the Baltic Crusades. Both Henry of Livonia and Peter of Dusburg describe Christian women participating in the defense of towns.[55]

Countryside and towns

For peasants in the country, the tasks performed by men and women were not necessarily different. Some activities, however, were typically performed by women—spinning and weaving.

In 13th-century Hungary, the agricultural economy was largely based on the work of slaves. Evidence suggests that female slaves were at the mercy of their masters—be they Christians or Muslims—should they request sexual favors.[56] In Rus', female slaves could work as domestic servants in the households of better-off village dwellers, while others were involved with their families in agriculture just as other peasants.[57] Bioarcheological studies have confirmed those conclusions: hard work took a heavy toll on young women and children. In Latvia, most women died at an age younger than men, and the analysis of the skeletal material from cemeteries shows that they suffered from malnutrition.[58] In addition, women were exposed to extreme dangers at childbirth; there is evidence of women who died under such circumstances.[59]

In the 13th century, many towns flourished in Central and Eastern Europe. Women in those towns were involved in trade and crafts, and many of them had a high level of autonomy.[60] Crafts were family businesses and run by couples. The rules of most guilds required that guild masters be married. Women were especially involved in bakeries, textile production and retail. During their husbands' absences, it was generally admitted that their wives would take care of the family business.[61] In Novgorod, female merchants and artisans are mentioned in birchbark letters.[62] Similarly, the Jewish women of Central European towns were heavily involved in business and moneylending. They were also more mobile than their Christian counterparts, and travel for business was accepted and considered useful by their husbands and the rabbis who advised them.[63]

Aristocratic women, queens and regents

Aristocratic women could, in principle, inherit fiefs, and many lords had female vassals. Some husbands gave fiefs to their wives as dowers. According to Eike of Repgow's *Saxon Mirror*, which was widely disseminated in East-Central Europe, women normally did not inherit a fief that involved military service, and if they did, they had to pay a special tax. When it came to other fiefs, however, Eike saw no difference between male and female vassals. Since she could not perform military service, the female vassal normally appointed a man to serve on her behalf or entrusted her fief to someone else and acted like a feudal lady. A female vassal often felt pressure to get married or remarry, but that was not formally needed.[64] Although women were theoretically barred from public office, some Hungarian women sat as judges, probably acting as regents for their underage sons.[65] In Poland, widows of castellans and other officeholders had the right to establish new villages and appoint village administrators.[66]

Through marriage, aristocratic women often contributed to cultural transformation and intercultural exchange. This was regularly the case in Central Europe between German and Slavic families. For example, young German knights hired by the 13th-century dukes of Silesia married Polish women. In the context of the growing influence of the courtly culture of West European origin, the German language rapidly spread among the Silesian aristocracy of Polish background.[67] Many Piast princesses also married away in the German lands.[68]

Few sources provide insight into how queens or female rulers thought of their own roles in East-Central and Eastern Europe. Chroniclers display the expected set of stereotypes: a queen had to be beautiful, pious, generous and faithful to her husband, and she had to protect her reputation and her chastity. Typically, negative traits included anger-prone temperament, witchcraft and immorality, especially regarding sexuality.[69] Because they had a lesser role in the transmission of power, Rus' chroniclers paid limited attention to princesses, often

without even mentioning their names. Although they did allude to their monastic foundations, Rus' chroniclers did not develop a literary model of the ideal female ruler comparable, for example, to that inspired by Esther in Western Europe.[70]

The role of the "persuading woman" (*mulier suadens*), who contributed to the introduction of Christianity by convincing her husband to convert or by building churches, was especially popular in East-Central and Eastern Europe. Ludmila, who was baptized with her husband Bořivoj, continued to promote Christianity in Bohemia as a widow. In Poland, Christianity was introduced after the wedding of the pagan Mieszko I (*c.* 960–992) with the Czech princess Doubrava, herself a descendent of Ludmila. In Rus', Olga was baptized with the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (913–959) as a sponsor at the baptismal font. Although her son Sviatoslav remained pagan, Olga's example provided a role model for Vladimir I (980–1015). The idealized figures of these women had an important ideological impact.[71]

Nonetheless, it was rare for women in medieval East-Central and Eastern Europe to rule in their own right. During the 13th-century partition of Silesia, a few widowed duchesses were given territories that they headed in a manner similar to that of their male counterparts. For example, Matilda of Głogów obtained, after the regency, the principality of Głogów as her own when the duchy was partitioned between her grown-up sons.[72] In Rus', the widow of Gleb of Minsk probably reigned on her own in the late 12th century: her relatives appear to have considered her to be the best candidate to maintain political stability.[73]

Primogeniture reinforced the importance of female rulers, as it lent crucial importance to producing legitimate heirs and opened up opportunities for widows to govern as regents. Where other systems existed for the transmission of power, the queen had a lesser role to play in dynastic continuity. Hungarian rulers adopted primogeniture in the 11th century.[74] The Rurikids followed lateral succession, which meant that in the absence of a son, the power went to the oldest male relative, usually an uncle or a nephew. A princess who did not produce a son did not bring about political volatility.[75] Because of lateral succession, widows of the Rurikids rarely acted as regents. An early exception was Olga, who governed on behalf of her underage son Sviatoslav for about 15 years. At that time (mid-10th century), the system of succession was not yet stabilized. In fact, there were several contemporary examples of widows ruling effectively as regents in Ottonian Saxony and in Byzantium.[76] By contrast, in Poland and Pomerania, if a ruler left an underage heir, the default solution was to have the widow take on the role of guardian and regent. Vincent Kadłubek recognized that, though still insisting that, female regents rule with the consensus of the élites of the realm.[77] Many women ended up effectively ruling on behalf of their young sons, especially during the Polish partitions of the 13th century. The most successful of those reigning widows were those who had effective support from a male relative or an external authority: Grzymisława of Lesser Poland in 1227 and Viola of Opole in 1230 obtained the support of their archbishop and papal protection. Those widows' right to govern as regents were not disputed and all of them managed to transmit government successfully to their respective sons.[78]

During their husbands' lifetime, Polish wives of rulers were expected to use their influence in the domestic sphere but refrain from demonstrating authority in public. For example, although little is known of her political activity from historical sources (she only issued one charter, for the nuns of Trzebnica), Hedwig of Silesia is depicted in her *vita* as influencing her husband, Duke Henry the Bearded, in private: she convinces him to establish churches, hospitals and convents and turns him toward a more religious lifestyle. However, even in the *vita,* Hedwig is not given any prominent public voice. The only exception is when Henry is held prisoner by Konrad of Mazovia: she convinces the latter to liberate her husband, which leads to a truce between them.[79] In Hungary, queens had significant possessions, often

owning entire counties and regions, in addition to other sources of revenue. However, these were, at least in part, administered by their husbands.[80] The wives of Rus' rulers owned large properties. Some princesses even owned towns that they administered themselves or through an advocate.[81] Others occasionally governed when their husbands were away.[82] Some of them wielded influence by supporting religious establishments that preserved the familial *memoria* or were to be used for family burials.[83] However, most Rus' princesses had only a ceremonial role, acting at the sides of their husbands.

As elsewhere in Europe during the Middle Ages, marriages were often meant to consolidate political alliances.[84] Byzantine ideology did not allow members of imperial dynasties to be related to peoples of a cultural background deemed inferior, as this was seen as degrading. However, rules had to be bent when Byzantine emperors were under pressure to forge alliances, especially with emerging powers. This was the case for Maria Lekapene, who married the Bulgarian emperor Peter in 927 and for Anna Porphyrogenita, who married Vladimir of Kiev in 988. Nothing is known about the wives of the Bulgar rulers before the conversion to Christianity. This changed dramatically when Maria, the wife of Peter and the granddaughter of a Byzantine emperor, brought to Bulgaria the prestige and influence which would dominate the Bulgarian court during the subsequent decades.[85] More alliances of that kind happened in the 13th century: with Constantinople occupied by the Crusaders, Byzantine imperial dynasts were desperate to find external allies. Such agreements, however, rarely had positive outcomes for Byzantine imperial politics. The Byzantine women who married abroad rarely invested significant effort into maintaining connections with their place of birth. Many of them were content with a passive role alongside their husbands. Those who pursued an active agenda and gained political influence, such as the Bulgarian empresses Irene Laskarena and Maria Palaiologina, worked for the benefit of their new country. Indeed, Maria Palaiologina, the wife of Constantine Tih, almost eclipsed her husband.[86] In the Rus' principalities, marrying a foreign princess was often a necessity in order to avoid close links of consanguinity. Rus' princes married women of German, Byzantine, Polish, Hungarian and Alan origin, and even daughters of Cuman chieftains.[87] By contrast, the Golden Horde khans rarely agreed to take wives from abroad or to give their daughters in marriage to foreign rulers.[88]

Matrimonial alliances contributed to cultural exchanges, as the princess or queen arrived in the company of an extensive retinue. Many German knights and French clerics came to Hungary in the company of a queen and lived at the royal court, to which they gave a distinctly multicultural appearance well before the 13th-century wave of migration.[89] The presence of those foreigners enlarged the gap between the royal court and the rest of society, including the traditional nobility. On the other hand, lacking their own local networks, sometimes facing suspicion, foreign princesses and queens were in a precarious position. Hungarian sources tend to depict foreign queens negatively, and one of them was murdered in a coup—Gertrude, wife of King Andrew II.[90]

Religious women

Women are conspicuously absent from medieval accounts of Baltic or Slavic pagan practices.[91] By contrast, during the Christianization period in early medieval Poland, cross-shaped pendants and encolpions are found more commonly in graves of women, as well as children.[92] On the other hand, the catalog of superstitions of Brother Rudolph mentions rituals in 13th-century Silesia that were more often than not connected to women. Some

of them involved young women interacting with trees and natural elements to restore their menstruation and thus end a pregnancy.[93]

Religious orders offered women new opportunities. As elsewhere, several women in East-Central Europe attained influential positions as abbesses or prioresses. In Poland, convents were established by magnates or the Piasts in the early 12th century.[94] The first monastic community of Bohemia was one of the women.[95] Some women retired in a convent later in life, such as Hedwig of Silesia.[96] In the 12th and 13th centuries, convents belonged to the new monastic and religious orders.[97] There were five Cistercian convents in the Kingdom of Hungary (and 25 abbeys), many of them initially established as Benedictine houses.[98] Beguine communities existed in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary.[99] The female branches of the mendicant orders established convents in many East-Central European towns, often at the instigation of princesses following the example of Elizabeth of Hungary.[100] There are even examples of recluses and mystics: Agnes, daughter of Přemysl Otakar I (1192–1230), established recluses in Bohemia.[101] The Clarisses in Wrocław are known to have possessed psalters; those of Cracow were given a book collection by Salome, sister of Bolesław the Chaste.[102]

Children

The current research on childhood in medieval societies lies in the shadow of Philippe Ariès, who argued that high mortality rates for young children in premodern societies contributed to parent–child relationships that were different from those of modern families.[103] However, historians of East-Central and Eastern Europe have found ample evidence of parents caring deeply for their children.[104] Bioarcheological research on skeletal remains from cemeteries excavated in Poland, Bulgaria and Bohemia indicates a high mortality rate of children under six years of age (especially before the second year of life), which is consistent with the European trends at that time.[105]

The education of royal children got a few mentions in the sources. Under Emperor Symeon (893–927), a textbook for the education of the heir to the throne of Bulgaria was compiled from questions and answers about Christian dogma and ethics.[106] Vladimir Monomakh, Prince of Kiev (1113–1125), wrote a letter to his children providing advice on how to be effective Christian rulers.[107] Hagiographers insist that as a child Elizabeth, daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary, learned from her mother's example to submit to the interests of her family, which resulted in marriage and multiple births at a very young age.[108] In upper-class families, it was common to entrust infants to wet nurses. Jewish tradition in Central European towns did not prevent Jewish infants from having Christian wet nurses: it only required close supervision. Canon law forbade Christian wet nurses to work for Jews, but at least in Hungary, no indication exists that the rule was upheld.[109] According to an old tradition attested in Poland through Gallus Anonymus, at age 7, boys underwent a *rite de passage* involving a haircut.[110]

In early medieval Bulgaria, the practice of selling one's children to escape poverty is well-attested in the written sources and seems to go back to the pagan period.[111] In Hungary, the law expressly forbade the kidnapping of Jewish children, presumably with the purpose of converting them to Christianity.[112] When, in the 13th century, Polish synodal statutes began to insist upon celibate priests, attention also turned to the children born out of their relations with women that were now forbidden. The children of priests were to be offered to the service of the nearest cathedral church.[113]

Unlike Western Europe, before conversion to Christianity, children were buried in the same cemetery as those used for adults, as indicated by 6th- to 12th-century cemeteries in

Lithuania and Latvia or 7th- to 8th-century cemeteries in Hungary.[114] The situation changed after conversion. For example, the earliest church graveyards of Bulgaria and Croatia include no children. After the mid-10th century, large numbers of children were buried in such graveyards, often next to the church wall, a clear indication that children had by then been accepted as members of the Christian community.[115] By the 12th century, the concept of purgatory took shape in the Latin (Catholic) parts of East-Central Europe. With that came the idea of a limbus for unbaptized children. Polish synodal statutes warned that unbaptized children would face eternal damnation. In emergency situations, children could be baptized without a priest, and priests were responsible for making sure people knew how to perform this rite.[116] The practice of burying children under the eaves of the church spread throughout East-Central Europe at that same time.[117] Beginning with the 13th century, in Poland, infants were buried in ceramic vessels at the margins of consecrated grounds; neither the reasons for this new custom nor its meaning have so far been clarified.[118]

Before the introduction of church graveyards, families in Hungary, Poland and Slovakia were typically buried within individual plots in communal cemeteries. Younger children had gender-neutral grave goods; as they grew older, they were given more typical gender markers. The change appeared around the age of three when children ceased to be breastfed.[119] Particularly rich burials of children included weapons such as arrows or stone balls for slingstones or even spears, knives or miniature axes, suggesting a social status symbolized by military activity.[120] The archeological evidence thus reveals a slow process during which attitudes toward children changed. Children were gradually integrated into society, and their relationships with others grew in importance.[121]

Notes

1 Aleksander Gieysztor, *Mitologia Słowian* (The Mythology of the Slavs) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2006), pp. 201–04; Boris Rybakov, *Le paganisme des anciens Slaves* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), pp. 15–17 and 357–61; Leszek Paweł Słupecki, "Au déclin des dieux slaves," in *Clovis. Histoire et mémoire*, edited by Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 289–314, here pp. 295–96. For the goddess whose standard the Lutici carried in battle, see Stanisław Rosik, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau). Studies on the Christian Interpretation of Pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 157–58.

2 Marija Gimbutas, "The Pre-Christian Religion of Lithuania," in *La cristianizzazione della Lituania* (Vatican City: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1989), pp. 13–25. See also Algirdas J. Greimas, *Gods and Men. Studies in Lithuanian Mythology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

3 Florin Curta, "Slavs in Fredegar: Medieval 'gens' or narrative strategy?" *Acta Historica (Szeged)* 103 (1996), 3–19.

4 Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, edited by Bertold Bretholz (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 1.9, p. 21; *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 1.9, p. 52.

5 Dušan Třeštík, *Mýty kmene čechů (7.-10. století): Tři studie ke "starým pověstem českým"* (The myths of the Czech tribes (7th to 10th cc.). Three studies on the "old Czech tales") (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2003), pp. 101–67; Patrick J. Geary, *Women at the Beginning: Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 34–42. For stories about the origin of (Slavic) peoples, see Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Slavonic *origines regni*: Hero the law-giver and founder of monarchy (introductory survey of problems)," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 69 (1989), 97–131; Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski: Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* (Gallus Anonymus' myth of how Poland came into being. A study of the historiosophy and hermeneutics of medieval historiography) (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1990).

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17

JEWS, ARMENIANS AND MUSLIMS

Boris Stojkovski

The Jews, the Armenians and the Muslims played a very specific, special role in the early medieval history of Central and Eastern Europe. From a historian's point of view, they all pose a similar problem, namely the lack of source material. The Jewish population benefited from scholarly attention in Hungary (Sámuel Kohn, Nora Berend, Géza Komoróczy), Poland (Tadeusz Lewicki, Hanna Zaremska), but there are also many works on them in the Czech historiography from the 1920s all the way to the newest works of Tamáš Visi. Lewicki and Berend dealt with both Muslims and Jews. To be sure, sources are more generous for the Hungarian Jewry. There is some evidence for Poland and Rus', and a fairly good amount of information may be found on the Bohemian Jewry. By contrast, Armenians were not that lucky. The sources for the period examined are very scarce (which is true for all three populations), but especially for the Armenian population in the region, which is known only from a couple of sources that document their existence in some communities. As for Muslims, there are a lot of works, interesting data, and sources written in Greek, Latin and Arabic, but almost all of them are about Hungary.

Such are the insurmountable problems of the historiography concerned with the early history of those populations in the region examined. All of them were movable, prone to frequent migrations and changes in their similar, yet very different position in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe. However, due to the lack of sources, a comparative approach is impossible.

Jews

Jewish presence in Central and Eastern Europe can be traced back to the Roman times, particularly on the basis of the archeological material from the Pannonian plain.[1] In the early Middle Ages, the most important trace of Jewish presence was beyond any doubt the Khazar state, the elite of which converted to Judaism. It is still a matter of scholarly discussion to what extent *all* Khazars embraced Judaism, and even how many members of the elite. Despite the presence of Hebrew sources (correspondence) pertaining to Khazar pagans and their adherence to the Jewish faith, the question of religious practice has remained open, as no remains of synagogues or other spaces of the cult have been identified within the lands of Khazaria. The conversion took place at some point between 740 and 860, and already during

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the late 9th century, there are data on Jews living within the Khazar Empire.[2] The Jews there reached as far as Kiev, and perhaps the first contacts with the Eastern Slavs and with the Magyars prior to their settlement in Pannonia were thus established.[3]

There are many theories regarding the origin of the Russian Jewry, and according to one of them, at least a part of the Jews in Russia can trace their origins back to Khazaria. There are also hypotheses that another part reached Rus' during and after the Crusades. Some Hebrew documents claim that Jews arrived from Baghdad, Byzantium and Khorasan. Furthermore, Tmutarakan and the whole Crimea were very early settled by Jews from Khazaria. Kiev had Jewish inhabitants in the 10th century, and Abbot Feodosii of the Monastery of the Caves is said to have visited Jewish homes at night in the 11th century and to have held disputations with Jews. Kozary and Zhidove were two Jewish suburbs of Kiev, and the Gate of the Jews is mentioned in 1113. Jewish quarters are also mentioned in the annals under the years 1124, 1146 and 1151. However, in the case of Kiev, the most important name is that of Rabbi Moses of Kiev, who was a very prominent Talmudist in the 12th century. He is mentioned in the *responsa* of Rabbi Meir ben Baruch, as well as in the Onyx Book (*Sefer HaShoham*). In the same book, another rabbi of Chernigov is mentioned, whose name was Yitzak. There must have been a Jewish community in that town as well. Rabbi Yitzak was known for speaking Slavonic fluently and was regarded as an authority by most Jews. Two Jewish merchants from Vladimir, Benjamin and Abraham, appear as visiting Cologne in 1171 in the work of Rabbi Ephraim from Bonn. Four years later, a prominent Jew appears at the court of Andrei Bogoliubskii in the principality of Suzdal'. The presence of Jews in Vladimir is also confirmed by Rashi, the most influential Jewish commentator of the Middle Ages, who mentioned the circumcision of nine boys in that town and listed the rabbis present, in order to confirm that that ritual was performed according to the words of the ancient wise men. Jews are also mentioned as living in Volhynia. Jews are said to have mourned the death of Vladimir (III) Vasilkovich in 1288. In *Or Zarua* of Chaim ben Yitzak, there is a *responsum* on a divorce case involving Jewish people from Vladimir in Volhynia and Holm.[4]

Rabbi Petachia, originally from Regensburg, lived in Prague for ten years, most probably between 1170 and 1180. He set out on a travel from that city and went to Kiev. He mentioned the land of Kedar (most probably Rus') and Khazaria. In Kedar, according to Petachia, only heretics (Karaites) lived, with which he had theological disputes on disrespecting the words of sages, certain references to the Midrash or the Talmud, for which the Karaites had no consideration.[5] Jews were involved in the slave trade, as indicated in the Khazar Jewish sources, and confirmed by other sources up to the 13th century.[6]

Nevertheless, there is no direct connection between that Jewish population and the Jews of late medieval Hungary, Poland, Bohemia and other parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, in Poland, despite many legendary accounts of the origin of the local Jewish population, the first written sources mentioning Jews (either as farmers or as landowners) are from the second half of the 12th century and refer to Breslau (Wrocław). The next source refers to Joseph and Chaskel, two Jews from Sokolniki, a village near Breslau. The oldest archeological evidence pertaining to the Jewish presence in Poland is a tombstone near Breslau, which is dated to 1203. There may have been Jewish settlements in Galicia (Halych) at the end of the 13th century, but there is no firm evidence for that. Moreover, it seems that none of those cases of Jewish presence may be associated with the existence of an organized community.[7]

According to Vincent Kadłubek, Mieszko III the Old, the duke of great Poland (1138–1177 and 1182–1202) had financial deals with the Jews, who handled all the money exchange and lending. Mieszko even defended the Jews when scholars from Cracow spoke against them.[8] To judge by Kadłubek's testimony, there was an economically strong Jewish community in

Cracow during the 12th century, as Polish Jews were involved in moneylending, and even the ruler needed them for that purpose. A letter of 1190 offers further information about the overall situation of the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe. The letter was sent by Rabbi Eliezer ben Ishak to a fellow rabbi in Paris. In the letter, Rabbi Eliezer complains that the Jewish communities of Hungary, Poland and Rus' are very poor and in quite a bad condition. It is worth mentioning that Rabbi Eliezer ben Ishak was from the Czech lands. He lived for a while in Speyer, before moving to Hungary. The letter notes that Jewish communities in Hungary struggled to survive and that they chose an intelligent man among them to become rabbi and teacher in religious matters. Salaries for rabbis were rather modest, and more incomes were derived from donations during religious festivities. That is why Rabbi Eliezer wanted donations to be kept as a practice since without them, the religious life of Jews would have suffered.[9]

A larger-scale settlement of the Jews in Poland and the Rus' lands took place after 1241. The synagogue in Breslau may have been built in the early 13th century or at least during the first half of the century. Those Jews might have come from the West, particularly from the German territories. After the Mongol invasion, repopulation of the devastated territories was high on the agenda of most rulers in Central Europe. In Silesia, there were seven Jewish settlements by 1300, two in Great Poland. Land for the Jewish cemetery was purchased in Kalisz, according to some in 1283 or in 1287, according to other authors, and Jews paid with pepper and Oriental spices for that land. In Silesia, Jewish cemeteries appear in 1203, then again in 1248, with those in Schweidintz and Opava mentioned before 1270 and in 1281, respectively. A tombstone in Podolia is dated to 1240, and the initial settlements in Cracow (around Wawel),[10] Warsaw and Vladimir in Volhynia may be dated before the middle of the century.[11] In 1237, Jews are mentioned also in Płock.[12] In 1261, Duke Branim I of Pomerania granted privileges to the Jews of Stettin (now Szczecin) and all of the land that he owned there, but only three years later, he expelled the Jews from Greifswald.[13] In that same year (1264), Prince Bolesław the Pious of Great Poland granted privileges to the Jews living in his country. In the Silesian lands, similar privileges were granted to the Jewish communities by Bolko I of Opole in 1295 and by Henry III of Głogów in 1299.[14]

Those privileges granted to the Jews in Poland freed them from the jurisdiction of the city government and placed them under the protection (and direct authority) of the ruler and the specially appointed *iudex Iudaeorum*. Jews, at least from 1236 onward, were regarded as *servi camerae,* i.e., freemen attached to the treasury or to the ruler. Jews were thus shielded by those privileges against any attacks by Christians who could be severely punished for such a challenge to the ruler's authority. Penalties were also listed for those who violated Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, as well as the property of Jews. There were clauses for moneylending, oaths and pledges in Jewish–Christian business interactions, and Polish privileges even granted Jews the right to sell any merchandise, including food, in exactly the same terms as Christians. There were also provisions for granting Jews their religious freedom and the right to live by Jewish law.[15]

However, the first ghettoes appeared at the same time. On the wings of the Fourth Lateran Council, as well as that of Vienna (1267), which was applied in Bohemia, the Catholic Church attempted to separate Jews from Christians. The Council of Breslau (February 1267) stipulated one synagogue for each settlement. By comparison, the canons of the Vienna council were harsher since they forbade the building of any new Jewish temples.[16] Furthermore, Jews were to pay a tax to a Catholic prelate in the amount of the income that a priest would receive if the Christian lived in the house. The same regulations were brought to Breslau in 1267 and to Buda in 1279. The decisions of the latter synod were applied to

all of Hungary. In 1285, the Council of Łęczyca forbade the Jews to administer taxes, tolls and mints.[17] Similar regulations were brought earlier to Hungary, but during this period, as shown below, policies toward Jews were much more lenient than in Poland.

The information about Jews becomes more abundant during the Late Middle Ages (14th and 15th centuries), with details about their way of life, cultural, economic and social issues. Toward the end of the period examined in this book, a number of very prominent Jews came to Western Europe from Poland and Rus'. Even Nachmanides mentions Moses ben Hasdai, who came from Poland. A certain Itchaq from Rus' was a pupil of the famous Rabbi Jehuda Hachassid from Regensburg.[18] Around 1234, Jacob Savra of Cracow was regarded as a great Talmudic scholar.[19] There is evidence from Silesia that Jews were lending money to Christians as early as the 13th century. In the same region, Jews are mentioned in 1249 as trading in minerals. In 1226 in Rosenberg (Silesia), Jews were granted the right to trade freely throughout the land and to pay the same taxes as Christian traders.[20] These scarce data seem more like an introduction to the more detailed history of the Jews in Poland from 1300 onward.

Prague was one of the greatest Jewish centers of Central Europe. Even though there are undocumented theories that the first Jews settled in Prague in late Roman times, in 970, Jews are for the first time mentioned in Prague either as traders or perhaps already as inhabitants. Beginning with 1091, one can follow the Jewish presence in Prague, with Jews arriving there from both East and West.[21] Nonetheless, according to Cosmas of Prague, a number of Jews fled Bohemia in 1098 and went to Poland and Hungary, together with their wealth. They were prompted to do so by the great pogrom that took place in Prague in that year. Cosmas also knew that those Jews had been baptized, yet secretly returned to Judaism.[22] The great fire of 1124 destroyed the Jewish cemetery in Prague, which was near Hradčany, where the Jewish quarter was initially located. During the 13th century, the cemetery was surrounded by a wall.[23] There are two remarkable Jewish travelogues of the late 12th century that mention the Jewish presence in Prague. One is that of the already mentioned rabbi Petachia, who even lived for a decade or so in Prague. The other is the travelogue of the famous Benjamin of Tudela (wrote between 1165 and 1173), according to whom the land of Bohemia, which he calls Prague and equals with Slavonia, stretched all the way to Kiev. The Jews who lived in Prague call that country Kanaan since the Slavs were selling their children as slaves.[24]

In 1142, Prince Konrad of Znojmo besieged Prague and in the process burned a synagogue. This seems to indicate an already organized Jewish community in Prague. The Jewish Quarter is first mentioned in 1273 and covered around 6 acres. By 1389, there were about 750 Jews living there out of the total population of 900 inhabitants of that part of Prague. Their religious and cultural life was concentrated around two synagogues—one perhaps erected in the 12th century and the two-nave *Staronova* which was built at some point between 1250 and 1270. Remains of that Gothic building are still standing, as well as parts of the interior that can be dated back to that period.[25] The already mentioned letter of Rabbi Eliezer, who was from Prague, does not mention Bohemia among the lands where Jews live in poverty. Nevertheless, scholars believe that from the 13th century onward the segregation in Prague was put in place, and Jews were even obliged to dress differently.[26]

Přemysl Otakar II, the king of Bohemia, granted privileges to the Jews in 1254 (some date the charter to 1262). Most of the stipulations of this charter are similar to those later issued in Poland and Hungary. In Bohemia, these privileges are known as *Statuta Iudaeorum* and are preserved in a 14th-century copy from the age of Charles IV. There are 30 articles that regulate different aspects of Jewish life and Jewish–Christian relations, such as testimonies,

moneylending with interest (which was limited to 173 percent on the year's level),[27] and religious liberty for Jews and their synagogues. The king also instituted different punishments for hurting or killing jews and regulated other crimes possible in relations between the Jewish and the Christian community.[28] At the end of the 13th century, the Jewish colony was quite large and Prague has become a major cultural center, especially important for Talmudism. In Znojmo and perhaps Brno as well, Jewish settlements came into existence right before 1300.[29] In spite of the royal protection, a great persecution of Jews took place in 1298 to be followed by others in the following century.[30]

Jewish intellectual life in Bohemia offers very interesting perspectives for study since those were so-called "Jews of Kanaan" who spoke Slavonic, which explains the great number of Slavonic glosses in the medieval rabbinic literature of Bohemia. Some assume that that population originated from Jews who migrated out of Kiev, after the demise of the Khazars. However, no evidence exists to support that assumption. A prominent 12th-century tosaphist named Yitzak bar Durable traveled throughout Eastern Europe and visited Prague, where he met with Yitzhak ben Jacob ha-Lavan, who was a Talmudist commentator. Bar Durable also went to Poland and Rus', and for the latter, he even described the burial customs of the local Jews. This has been interpreted as clear evidence of Jewish cemeteries in existence in Rus' in the mid-12th century, despite none having been so far identified archeologically. Bar Durable also noted the presence of Jews in Olomouc. In Prague, Rabbi Eliezer ben Yitzhak is known to have engaged in a bitter dispute with his master Judah he-Hassid, who was accused of being a heretic. Almost all rabbis in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary were at odds with the 12th- and 13th-century disciples of Judah he-Hassid. One of the bones of contention was the above-mentioned problem of the poverty of some communities in Eastern Europe. Abraham ben Azriel was another Jew from Bohemia (born at some point between 1230 and 1240), who was under Judah's influence, which is most obvious in halakhic parts of Abraham's writings. Even more interesting is that Abraham ben Azriel attacked even Maimonides' work on Resurrection, an indication of strong cultural ties between Jewish communities across Europe. Another great Jewish scholar of the century, Moses Taku, who may have been born in Bohemia, may have been a rabbi in Poland and lived in Kiev. His polemical writings are a standing monument of Jewish intellectual life in Bohemia.[31]

Much has been made in recent studies of the idea that some Jewish Kabars joined the Magyars and settled with them in the Carpathian Basin, but in fact, no evidence exists of Khazar roots for the Hungarian Jewry. At least some of the Jews who lived in mid-10th century Hungary came from the German and Western Slavic lands.[32] However, archeological excavations in a Late Avar cemetery near the modern-day village of Čelarevo in northern Serbia have brought to light recycled Roman bricks with menoras incised upon them. Some have traced these menoras to Khazars practicing Judaism, who have allegedly moved to those southern parts of the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century. But the cemetery in Čelarevo cannot possibly be dated past the first two decades of the 9th century, thus living a chronological gap too large for making the case of the possible presence of Jewish population in the Carpathian Basin before 900.[33] Given that most of the later medieval Jewish settlements in Hungary were close to the German areas, it is likely that at least a part of the Jews in Hungary came from Austria.

Before 1300 (i.e., under the Árpádian dynasty), Jews had a well-defined, legal position. The main aim of the regulations pertaining to this matter was to prevent the close interaction between Christians and Jews. For example, the Council of Szabolcs of 1092 took measures meant not "to scandalize Christianity." As a consequence, under kings Coloman and Ladislas I, Jews were prohibited from holding and trading Christian slaves, from working

on Christian holidays, while their settlement was restricted to episcopal centers. Christian women could not marry Jewish men, and buying non-kosher meat from the Jews was also prohibited.[34] During the 13th century, more regulations appear in the Golden Bull of King Andrew II (1222), which prohibited Jews from trading with salt, dealing with money business including money exchange, working at customs and heading the *lucrum camerae*, a particularly lucrative source of royal income. All those prohibitions were included in a special article of the bull under the title "Quod ismaelitae et judaei non teneant officiolatus."[35] King Andrew II's oath of Bereg (1233) repeats the prohibition for Jews and Muslims from trading in Christian slaves, holding offices and marrying Christians.[36]

The religious life of the Hungarian Jews is also known better than that of Jews in other parts of Central Europe. In the late 11th century, two Jewish travelers from Regensburg, who were returning from Halych, suffered an accident in Hungary, as one wheel of their cart broke. The nearest Jewish community was in Esztergom, and it was Erev Shabbat already. They were not allowed to enter the synagogue, neither did other Jews greet them, since that would have violated the Shabbat. On Sunday, two rabbis (allegedly from Germany, since there was no local rabbi) ordered the punishment of the two travelers with whipping, severe fasting and a monetary fine. According to different opinions, this severe punishment was a moral, didactic lesson since in the late 11th century many Jews were apparently not respecting anymore the canons of their own religion. This verdict has also entered the *responsa* of later rabbis, most likely because it was regarded as a legal precedent.[37]

Judging from the writings of Jewish scholars in medieval Western Europe, there was a vivid intellectual activity among the Jews in Hungary. For instance, in the responsa he wrote ca. 1090, Rashi (rabbi Salomon ben Isaac, Shlomo Yitzaki) mentions a distinguished rabbi from Hungary, whom he met somewhere in Germany to discuss religious matters. The unknown rabbi from Hungary brought up the origin of the term Shabbat HaGadol (the first Saturday after Passover), which is still a matter of dispute among (modern) Jewish scholars. The unknown rabbi informed Rashi that Jews in Hungary stay in synagogues on Shabbat before Passover to talk about their faith, and he added that they are very much interested in religious matters.[38] One of the greatest rabbis of the whole Middle Ages, Isaac ben Moses Or Zarua of Vienna, composed his monumental work *Or Zarua* around 1260. With this work, he became a leading authority in Halachot as well as in the Talmud. He exchanged letters with Hungarian Jews, and there is a response to one Jacob ben Isaac, whom Isaac ben Moses cites as a scholar. Jacob apparently wrote to the famous German rabbi with a question whether a certain man named Matisyahu, who had accidentally killed a child, could be a leader in prayers in his Jewish community. Judging from Isaac ben Moses' response, it is likely that the community in question was Esztergom. Isaac seems to have visited that city, and his *Or Zarua* even employs the Hungarian name—Esztergom, not (Latin) Strigonium. His answer was that Matisyahu could not be leading the religious community because according to Jewish laws the one who murders accidentally a person must be expelled.[39]

Rabbi Samuel ben Meir, who was one of the most prominent commentators of the Talmud of the first half of the 12th century (d. 1158), knew that Jews in Hungary and Rus' strictly obeyed their laws. According to him, any Jew from those lands who strays away from the faith and softens the moral strictures of the religious life is shunned and cannot receive either forgiveness or repentance. It is worth noting that when referring to Hungary and Rus' in this particular passage, Samuel ben Meir designated Eastern Europe as a whole.[40] To him, at least, Jewish scholars in the whole region, from Kiev to Poland and Hungary, deserved all the praise.

Qualitative changes occurred in the 13th century. Before this period, both the legal stipulations intended to strengthen Christianity in the young Hungarian realm, as well as some Jewish sources provided only a vague image of Jewish life in medieval Hungary. Up to the 13th century, Jews are often mentioned together with Muslims, but not after that. After 1200, Jews were protected by privileges and even took part in the economic life of the country, as well as in the urban settlements of medieval Hungary.[41]

After the devastation of Hungary by the Mongols in 1241–1242, King Béla IV started to rebuild his country. In Buda, he settled Jews in what was to become throughout Middle Ages the Jewish quarter at the fortress. One of the key documents concerning the position of Jews in medieval Hungary is King Béla IV's 1251 privilege guaranteeing freedom and rights to Jews in the entire kingdom of Hungary. Five years later, a copy of that charter was made in the chapter at Székesfehérvár. The document was later issued to a certain *Salamon Judeus hospes civitatis nostre Albensis*, but also *ac ceterorum Judeorum*, while the chapter of Székesfehérvár confirmed the privilege on February 23, 1396, in the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg. Only a portion of the original charter is preserved in the later privilege. Its oldest surviving copy is dated 1422. The charter guaranteed Jews (royal) protection against Christians, regulated the judiciary status of the Jews and exempted them from taking oaths on the Torah in insignificant cases brought to court. They were granted free trade and were to pay customs like any other inhabitant of their towns or villages. In contrast to the situation of Jews in neighboring Austria, the privilege of 1251 appears to have created much more favorable conditions. A symbol of judicial autonomy was the decision to tolerate rabbis providing answers on legal matters. In fact, the legal status granted to the Jews was much the same as that granted to other internal or external immigrant groups in medieval Hungary (the so-called *hospes*). That is after all the explanation for the fact that in Hungary, Jews were offered better conditions than in most *other* European countries.[42]

One must not overlook the fact that Jews had a significant judicial autonomy. Drawing inspiration from the Austrian privileges, King Béla IV's charter of 1251, as well as the similar documents in Bohemia and Poland, recognized that Jews had their own customs and liberties, which needed to be respected. King Béla IV introduced a special, Christian judge (*iudex iudeorum*), appointed both by the local and central authorities. Internal Jewish affairs were governed by Beth-din, led by the *magister iudeorum*. Those bodies protected the Jews, their property and were there to secure the regulation of the lawsuit.[43]

It is unclear whether there were any synagogues in Hungary before 1300. According to some sources and the archeological evidence, synagogues may have been in existence prior to 1300 in both Esztergom and Buda. The episode of the two Jewish travelers from Regensburg mentioned above, as well as the Chronicle of Buda support such assumptions. Some argue that the synagogue in Sopron, which was the largest in Hungary during the Late Middle Ages, may have been built on top of an earlier date shortly before or shortly after 1300. The results of the archeological excavations on this site were quite detailed and relevant in this respect. In Buda, however, remains of the 13th-century houses in the Jewish quarter have been found, alongside a small temple that cannot be dated before 1300.[44] Late 13th-century Jewish communities are mentioned in the sources in several other towns of the kingdom, besides Esztergom and Buda: Pozsony (now Bratislava, in Slovakia), Nyitra (now Nitra, in Slovakia), Vasvár, Fehérvár, Trencsén (now Trenčin, in Slovakia), Körmend and perhaps in Nagyszombat, for which there is no other evidence than funerary inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated to 1340. Some have estimated the entire Jewish population of the 13th-century kingdom of Hungary to have been 1,000 or more.[45] In Pozsony, a charter of 1291 explicitly states that Jews should enjoy the same privileges as all other townspeople.[46]

Jews played a key role in trade in Hungary, as well as in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe. Writing ca. 965, Ibrahim ibn Yaqub mentioned Jews and Muslims from Hungary coming to Prague or going to Poland as slave traders.[47] During the 11th and the first half of the 12th century, Jews and Muslims were prohibited from trading slaves of Christian origin in the realm of Hungary. Even though the slave trade does not seem to have been completely suppressed, Jews and Muslims began to move to trade with other commodities, as well as to the financial business. In the 11th century, Jews had to change the market day from Sunday to Saturday. Both Jews and Muslims continue to play an important role in trade along the route from Kiev to Germany. Many Jewish settlements formed along that route, especially in Austria and in Germany,[48] while the role of the Muslims in that trade petered out after 1200. There are no written documents, however, to gauge the scale of that trade. During the 13th century, Jews were also involved in minting, as indicated by finds of coins with Hebrew letters. In that century, the collection of customs and taxes was also farmed out to Jews.[49] No less than eight Jewish counts of the chamber are known for the period 1232–1282.[50]

Perhaps the most illuminating story is that of one Wid Gutkeled who pawned a valuable Bible to a Jew named Farkas ("wolf" in Hungarian) in exchange for cash. Since Wid did not return the loan, Farkas sold the Bible to the Abbey of Admont. Wid then gave two estates to a certain convent in exchange for that valuable Bible, which is now in Vienna.[51] Another 13th-century source has Reuven, a Jew living in Jarka, marrying the daughter of a Jew named Symeon, who lived in Nyitra. Reuven came to Nyitra and Symeon took two witnesses for the marriage so that everybody would know that his daughter was now with her husband.[52] Besides evidence of contacts between Jewish communities in Hungary and Poland, this episode is a rare illustration of everyday Jewish life in Hungary.

After 1300, the Jewish population of Cracow, Prague, Buda, Pozsony, Brassó (now Braşov, in Romania), Lwów (now Lviv, in Ukraine) and other cities of Central and Eastern Europe increased rapidly. During the Late Middle Ages, a new chapter opened in the history of the Jews, that of privileges and pogroms between Catholic Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Armenians

Of all three populations to which this chapter is dedicated, the smallest amount of information pertains to the Armenian diaspora. As a population always on the move, Armenians contributed also to the development of Central and Eastern Europe. However, very little is known about them prior to 1300, and what is known refers mostly to Kievan Rus' and, to a lesser degree, Poland. Armenians were present in the Crimea from the 8th century onward, mostly as members of the Byzantine administration or army. After the Seljuk conquest of Ani in the 11th century, Armenians began to emigrate. They are mentioned in Theodosia (later known as Caffa) in 1027. Crimea was an important Armenian colony until the late 13th century, even under Mongol rule. As early as 1253 there was an Armenian colony in Sudak. In Kievan Rus', Armenians were present in Kiev and in Halych as mercenaries. Another wave of Armenian immigrants came after 1064. There are even legends about one of Vladimir's many wives and concubines being of Armenian origin. On a rather firmer factual basis, Armenians built a church in Kamenets-Podolski (now Kam'ianets' Podil's'kyi, in Ukraine) in the mid-13th century, and they may have settled by then in the newly built town of L'vigorod (now Lviv, in Ukraina).[53]

Armenians were occasionally involved in the trade of Central and Eastern Europe from 10th to the 12th century, but like with Jews and Muslims, the mention of traders from

Kievan Rus to Poland, Bohemia and Hungary does not mean that any of those populations actually settled in those areas. They could have been merely passing through as merchants.[54]

Beginning with the 9th century, Armenians appear in Bulgaria as well as in other parts of the Balkan Peninsula. There have been speculations about Emperor Samuel (976–1014) being of Armenian origin, or at least his mother.[55] During the 11th century, Philippopolis (now Plovdiv, in Bulgaria) was an important Armenian ecclesiastical center, and there was also an Armenian monastery.[56]

According to the Simon of Kéza's *Gesta Hungarorum*, Armenians came to Hungary at the time of Prince Géza (972–997), alongside Greeks, Poles and Bohemians.[57] A charter of a royal judge named Ladislas Palóczi shows that there were Armenians in Hungary before the middle of the 12th century. The charter in question was written three centuries later (1449) to settle a conflict between the townspeople of Esztergom and a chapter in that town, as well as with the nuns of Óbuda, on matters pertaining to relief from duties and taxes. The charter hints at an earlier one, issued by Béla IV in 1243 for the Armenians he had settled in Hungary, who were freed from taxes and customs in all of the king and queen's possessions, as well as in all other places where custom dues were collected.[58] In Esztergom, the Armenian quarter was located between the Castle Hill and the royal town.[59]

After 1300, the Armenian population slowly disappeared from the sources pertaining to Hungary.[60] Some believe that it was at that same time that Armenians from Poland and Galicia migrated to Moldavia. Indeed, a great number of Armenians appear in the sources pertaining to Moldavia and Walachia. Throughout the late medieval and modern eras, this population has left a significant mark on the Romanian Principalities.[61] During that same period, the number of Armenians in Poland increased considerably, much like the number of Jews in the reign of Casimir III (1333–1370). In Hungary, particularly in Transylvania, then in Wallachia and Moldavia, Armenians played an important life in urban centers. From the 18th century onward, the presence of the Armenians is even more visible in the Habsburg Empire than in Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Muslims

Second to Armenians in terms of the dearth of relevant sources, the Islamic populations of East-Central and Eastern Europe prior to the Mongol conquest remain almost unknown to historians, except for Hungary. A relatively numerous Muslim population has existed in that kingdom since its establishment and well into the 14th century. Throughout other parts of Eastern and Central Europe, Muslims are less visible in the sources. In the Balkans, for instance, the first reliable data become available only at the time of the Ottoman conquests. Poland only had an indirect connection with the Islamic world. Both Poland and Bohemia, however, appear in the travelogue of Ibrahim ibn Yakub incorporated into al-Bakri's work. Neither one of them ever set foot in Poland.[62] Similarly, a great number of Arabic dirhems made their way into the Polish lands, largely as a consequence of the trade across Eastern Europe, and not directly with the Islamic world.[63] Direct contacts with Islam cannot be dated before the 14th century, at the time of the arrival and settlement of the Lipka Tatars and the earliest military confrontations with the Ottomans.

Islam, however, had a permanent presence in Eastern Europe, much as it had in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. The state of Volga Bulgharia was established in the valley of the Middle Volga, centered upon the region of the confluence of the Volga and the Kama. Both Arabic and Rus' sources call "Bulgars" the inhabitants of that region, a name that also applied to the state and to one of the main towns. During the first decades of the

10th century, there must have already been the presence of Islam in Volga Bulgaria since ibn Rusta writing in 912 mentions timber mosques and the Muslim faith of the Bulgars. The most important source for those matters, however, is the account of ibn Fadlan, according to whom Volga Bulgharia officially converted to Islam in 922. At any rate, after ibn Fadlan's visit as a special envoy of the caliph in Baghdad, Islam was fully established in the Bulgar lands. The Bulgars followed the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, which strongly suggests that the initial impulse for the conversion came from Central Asia (Abu Hanifa was from Kufa, in modern Iran). Arabic sources mention the Bulgars as devoted Muslims, and at least one prince is known to have made the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). To judge by ibn Fadlan's testimony, the northerly location of their lands posed some problems for religious practice. The days were shorter, so it was almost impossible to hold five daily prayers according to the rules of the Islamic faith nor was it possible to fast properly during the holy month of Ramadan. Unfortunately, there is no way to verify such assertions, since, except for funerary inscriptions dated between the 12th and the 14th century, there are almost no written sources from Volga Bulgharia. That the Bulgars produced their own literature is mentioned several times in the Arabic sources. It is therefore possible that many were destroyed in 964 when the prince of Kiev Sviatoslav devastated their country, or a year later, when his son Vladimir led another campaign against the Bulgars. The Volga Bulgars may have played an important role in the conversion of some Pechenegs and Cumans to Islam, and they also sent an embassy to Kiev in 968, hoping to convert the Rus' as well. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, Vladimir wanted to hear them describing the advantages of their own religion, and they engaged in disputations with representatives of other religions. Beginning with 1006, the date of the first trade treaty between the Bulgars and Rus', both sides sought to improve their reciprocal economic ties associated with trade in fur and other commodities. The town of Bolgar was besieged in 1120 by a Rus' army, with many more attacks to follow within the next century. By contrast, the Bulgars manage to sack Suzdal' only once (in 1108). The Mongols devastated Volga Bulgharia in 1236–1237 and put an end to its political existence, as the Bulgar lands were subsequently incorporated into the Golden Horde.[64]

The Volga Bulgars, however, were located on the eastern borderland of the region of interest in this book. They had little to no (direct) impact on societies in East-Central and Southeastern Europe. By far more important in that respect were the Muslims of Hungary. Ever since the late 19th century, the origin of Islam in Hungary has been the subject of historiographic debates. Some, following the Hungarian ethnographer László Réthy (1851–1914), have derived the Muslim population of the Carpathian Basin directly from Volga Bulgharia.[65] Others traced the origin of the Hungarian Muslims to the Khazar Empire.[66] Finally, there are scholars who believe that Muslims came to Hungary from Turkestan, via Byzantium. Those scholars link their appearance to King Ladislas I's conquering Syrmia (presumably defended by Muslim mercenaries) from Byzantium.[67] Needless to say, none of these theories is grounded in the existing sources. They are all built instead on assumptions about various historical events or are concocted out of indirect evidence.

To be sure, there is a strong possibility that some Muslims came with the Magyars in the late 9th century. They also seem to be associated with the reign of prince Taksony, who died in 970. According to the *Gesta Hungarorum*, written shortly after 1200 by an anonymous author, those Muslims settled around Pest.[68] Abu Hamid, a 12th-century traveler, provides more and detailed evidence for the Hungarian Muslims. Born in Granada, in Muslim Spain, he came to Hungary in 1131, most likely from Volga Bulgharia. He remained in the kingdom of Hungary for three years and left the most valuable descriptions of Hungarian Islam. According to him, there were two kinds of Muslims in Hungary. Maghribians openly

practiced Islam and were most probably soldiers in the service of the king. By contrast, Khwarezmians were associated with the king's court; though formally Christian, they have in secret remained faithful to the religion of the Prophet Muhammad.[69] Abu Hamid's testimony is contemporary, and because of that, invaluable. By contrast, the anonymous author of *Gesta Hungarorum* was writing about events taking place two or three centuries before his lifetime. Is therefore his testimony as trustworthy as that of Abu Hamid? Most scholars believe so, primarily on the basis of place names around Buda supposedly pointing to the K(h)alyz(ian) population (e.g., Budakalász). Although those place names cannot be dated with any degree of accuracy, the implication is that they indicate the presence of Muslims inside the Carpathian Basin as early as the 10th century.[70] In other words, the assumption is that before 889–892, some Khwarezmians (Khalyzians) may have joined the Magyars and have come with them to the Carpathian Basin, much like the Kabars (or Kavars), another group known to have been associated with the Magyars while still under Khazar rule.[71] There is of course the possibility of Khalyzians arriving in Hungary after the migration of the Magyars, for example as warriors in Taksony's troops. In fact, some Hungarian scholars maintain that the medieval Hungarian word for Muslims (*böszörmény*) derives from the name of the population on the region of the upper course of the Syr Darya in Khwarezm. This population of merchants called Khalis (or, in their Iranian language, most probably Khvalis) lived within the Khazar Empire, alongside the Kabars. Nonetheless, they may have come to Hungary directly from Khwarezm.[72]

The Khwarezmian origin of the Hungarian Muslims also appears in a later chronicle. According to the late 13th-century *Deeds of the Hungarians* (*Gesta Hungarorum*) written by Simon of Kéza, the Aba kindred originated from Csaba, who was the son of Attila the Hun, and of a woman of Khwarezmian origin (*de gente Corosmina, de Corosminis orta*).[73] The problem of course is that this is a 13th-, not the 10th-century source, and in that respect, it cannot be trusted on matters pertaining to events purportedly happening at the time of the Magyar entrance into the Carpathian Basin. As a matter of fact, the oldest sources mentioning the Hungarian Muslims are the laws of the medieval Hungarian kings. In that respect, they reflect the situation in Hungary at the end of the 11th century, two centuries before Simon of Kéza. The laws dated to the reigns of Ladislas I and Coloman are quite strict toward Muslims. After being baptized (presumably against their will), Muslims were prohibited from any religious practices linked to Islam.[74] King Coloman's laws were even harsher: Muslims were forced to eat pork, had to marry only Christians and were supposed to provide money for the building of churches.[75] The aim of this legislation was obviously the conversion and assimilation and conversion of the Muslims. There were several individual cases of baptism and conversion to Christianity. A wider process of conversion is also testified by the sources. This can be a reason for the lack of knowledge about Islam among Muslims in Hungary, which so shocked Abu Hamid during his visit.[76]

Khalyzians are also mentioned as *institores regii fisci quos Hungarice Caliz vocant*, and a charter dated to 1111 has three counts, who were also moneyers—Porcus, Etheius Marcus and Magog (most likely Majuj). They have attacked the abbot of Zobor, who has then sued them. It is on that occasion that the charter was written. It is interesting to see them employed as agents of the royal fisc since the Khalyzians are known to have dealt with monetary matters in the Khazar Empire as well.[77] The village of Budakalász mentioned above is described in 1135 as the village of *generatio Kalez*.[78]

Several terms were employed in the medieval sources of Hungary to designate Muslims. Besides *Ismaeliti, Hysmaelitae* and other variants of biblical inspiration, a relatively frequent word is *bezermen*, most obviously a vernacular term rendered in modern Hungarian

as *böszörmény*. The origin of this word seems to have been *müsülman,* which was turned into *büsülman*, then *buzurmen* and finally *böszörmény*. The word appears as a place name in various parts of medieval Hungary. Medieval dictionaries completed before the year 1400 established a clear synonymy between *Ysmaelitae, buzermen/bezermen* and *ismaeliticus*.[79]

Abu Hamid's work entitled *Mu'rib* contains a number of observations on the juridical position of Muslims in Hungary, as well as on their everyday life. Abu Hamid claims that the Hungarian Muslims did not know any Arabic; he had to teach some of them how to speak Arabic. They did not know anything about the Friday prayer (*juma*') or the sermon after that (*hutba*). He quoted (to them, apparently) the injunction of the prophet Muhammad regarding the Friday prayer being "the *hajj* of the poor." Being deeply religious and a devoted Muslim, Abu Hamid forbade his coreligionists in Hungary to drink wine, which he believed to be bad for the heart. On the other hand, he allowed them to have slave concubines, in addition to as many as four legitimate wives, to each "according to his temper."[80] Abu Hamid's point is quite clear: the Hungarian Muslims knew little about their own faith and were ignorant even about some of the fundamental tenets of Islam. He had to teach them about the law of inheritance, which, according to him, they accepted.[81] Nothing indicates, however, that Abu Hamid interfered in the judicial process involving Muslims, although it is known that he had a good education in law.[82] One can only presume that Muslim imams, much like rabbis, were judges in matters pertaining to people of their faith.[83]

Besides Abu Hamid, Khalyzians are also mentioned by the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos. According to him, the Khalyzians provided light cavalry troops to Hungarians in the mid-12th-century wars with the Byzantines. They participated in the battle of Tara (1150), where Emperor Manuel I Komnenos won over the Hungarian–Serbian army.[84] Abu Hamid also mentions Muslim POWs in Hungary. According to him, during the war with Byzantines, the Hungarian king raided deep into the Balkan territory and took many prisoners. Those were Turkmens (Turks) and were captured by King Géza II (whom Abu Hamid calls "Kazali").[85] One of those prisoners talked with Abu Hamid, to whom he confessed that he had served in the Byzantine army for money. The Turk had no idea that there were Muslims in Hungary, and Abu Hamid told him that the king would allow him and his fellow prisoners to practice Islam, for Muslims lived a relatively free life in the kingdom of Hungary.[86]

King Géza II even sent Hungarian Muslims as military assistance to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa against Milan. Vincent of Prague knew that the bishop of Prague had come in 1161 to Hungary as an envoy of Barbarossa to ask for military assistance against the Lombard League.[87] On the other hand, John Kinnamos mentions Khalyzians settled in Syrmia in 1165, on the occasion of the renovation of a Byzantine fortress on the frontier.[88]

In the 13th century, the legal status of the Muslims of Hungary was defined, much like that of the Jews, in King Andrew II's Golden Bull of 1222: they could not trade in salt, deal with money business including money exchange, work at customs or head the *lucrum camerae*.[89] The mention of the *Khalis road* from Szeged to Bátmonostor suggests that the injunctions of the Bull should be taken seriously: the Muslims were truly involved in trading, especially with salt. The injunctions were not sufficient to push them out results from the fact that they were repeated in the subsequent charter of the period 1231–1233.[90]

Yāqūt al-Hamawi, a 13th-century author writing in Arabic left a precious testimony on the Muslims living in Hungary, a group of whom he met in Aleppo ca. 1220. One of the Hungarian Muslims told him that his coreligionists lived at that time at the end of country and that there were 30 villages of Muslims in Hungary. Even though they were Muslims, they obeyed the King of Hungary, who forbade them to build walls around their villages fearing a revolt. Otherwise, those villages were as large as cities. The Hungarian Muslims

had come to Aleppo to study jurisprudence and to dedicate themselves to a better knowledge of Islam. He also mentioned to al-Hamawi that Muslims were treated with respect in Hungary. The appearance of those Hungarian Muslims was exotic to al-Hamawi because they were shaved, with blonde hair, and pale complexion. Al-Hamawi's report had a certain influence on another great Islamic scholar, Abulfeda. In his work, *Taqwim al-Buldan* (A Sketch of the Countries), Abulfeda borrowed all data from al-Hamawi, to which he only added Hungarian Muslims who lived by the river Danube.[91]

A count palatine of Hungary named Mizse is described in the sources as *olim Saracenus*, having been baptized and appointed to his office by King Ladislas IV in 1290. He was also count of Bodrog, where he is mentioned in that same year as count palatine, while in 1291 he appears as count of Tolna. An Austrian chronicle describes him as wild nature. His older brother Eyza (Heyza) was a count of Pilis in 1285, while ten years later Mizse appears again as *former* count palatine (*quondam palatinus*). The descendants of the two brothers are mentioned several times in Hungary until 1334.[92]

Only a few, isolated mentions of Muslims may be found in Hungary during the 14th century. While in Rus' and Poland, Islam emerged as a significant presence through the Tatar Muslims, and in the Balkans the first Muslim settlers appeared in the wake of the Ottoman raids and conquests, the old Muslim population of Hungary disappeared from the radar of the historical sources, and, most likely, from history. Much like Bohemia, Hungary and later Poland–Lithuania encountered Islam again only in the Late Middle Ages and the early modern period as part of the confrontation with the Ottoman Empire.

Notes

1 András Mócsy, *Pannonia a késői császárkorban* [Pannonia in the late imperial era] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1975), pp. 54–56.
2 Peter B. Golden, "The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism," in *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium Hosted by the Ben Zvi Institute*, edited by Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 123–62.
3 Hanna Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej: w Czechach, Polsce i na Węgrzech* [Jews in Central Europe during the Middle Ages: Bohoemia, Poland, Hungary] (Poznań: PTPN, 2005), p. 29.
4 Aleksandr Kulik, "Evrei drevnei Rusi: istochniki i istoricheskaia rekonstrukciia" [The Jews of Kievan Rus': Sources and historical reconstruction], in *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii. I. Ot drevnosti do rannego novogo vremeni*, edited by Aleksandr Kulik (Jerusalem/Moscow: Gesharim/Mosty kul'tury, 2010), pp. 189–213; Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, "Evrei v drevnerusskikh istochnikakh XI–XIII vv." [Jews in Rus' sources (11th–13th cc.)], in *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii. I. Ot drevnosti do rannego novogo vremeni*, edited by Aleksandr Kulik (Jerusalem/Moscow: Gesharim/Mosty kul'tury, 2010), pp. 214–39.
5 The Karaites even told the rabbi that they had never heard of the Talmud: *Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon,* edited by Abraham Benisch (London: Trubner, 1856), pp. 6–9.
6 Hanna Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska* [Jews in medieval Poland: the Cracow community] (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2011), pp. 62–72.
7 Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland. A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973), pp. 17–24.
8 *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy. Wyjątki z pism religijnych i prawniczych XI-XIII w.* [Hebrew sources on the history of the Slavs and some other peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. Excerpts from 11th- to 13th-century religious and legal letters], edited by Efraim F. Kupfer and Tadeusz Lewicki (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1956), p. 159.
9 *Źródła*, p. 159.

10 There is some evidence of the Jewish presence in Cracow in 1028, but with no details: Yehuda Ha-Kohen wrote a responsum on a pledge of the Jewish community in Cracow (Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 74 and 103). The Jews in question may have come from Germany, and their first settlement in Cracow may have been associated to the trade route from Germany to Rus' (Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce*, pp. 331–37); Moshe Avidan, "Poland," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., edited by Fred Skolnik, vol. 16 (Farmington Hills/Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), p. 289.
11 Weinryb, *The Jews*, pp. 24–25, 28, and 74–75.
12 Avidan, "Poland," pp. 289 and 293.
13 Julius Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reichen bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin: Leonard Simion, 1902; reprint Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1970), pp. 283 and 286–87.
14 Weinryb, *The Jews*, p. 25.
15 Weinryb, *The Jews*, p. 25.
16 Aronius, *Regesten*, pp. 301–05.
17 Weinryb, *The Jews*, pp. 43–44.
18 Szymon Huberband, "Źródła do historii Żydów w krajach słowiańskich ze specjalnym uwzględnieniem Polski i Rosji" [Sources for the history of the Jews in the Slavic countries, with special consideration for Poland and Russia], *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 7–12 (1951), no. 2, 16–46, here 32 and 37.
19 Avidan, "Poland," pp. 289 and 293–94.
20 Weinryb, *The Jews*, pp. 58 and 64–65.
21 Erich Kulka and Yeshayahu Jelinek, "Prague," in *Encyclopedia Judaica,* 2nd ed., edited by Fred Skolnik, vol. 16 (Farmington Hills, MI: Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), p. 448.
22 Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, translated by Lisa Wolverton (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2009), pp. 187–88. The pogrom of Prague must be considered in the context of similar developments taking place during the First Crusade; Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 43–44.
23 Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, p. 79.
24 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* translated by Marcus Nathan Adler (London: Henry Frowde, 1907), pp. 80–81.
25 Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 73–74 and 78; Kulka and Jelinek, "Prague," p. 449.
26 Kulka and Jelinek, "Prague," p. 449.
27 Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 61–62.
28 Aronius, *Regesten*, pp. 233–37.
29 Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 32–33.
30 Kulka and Jelinek, "Prague," p. 449.
31 Tamáš Visi, *On the Peripheries of Ashkenaz: Medieval Jewish Philosophers in Normandy and in the Czech Lands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Olomouc: Kurt and Ursula Schubert Center for Jewish Studies - Palacký University, 2011), pp. 118–51.
32 Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 60–61.
33 Literature on the excavations in Čelarevo is scarce, but the work most cited on this matter is Radovan Bunardžić, *Čelarevo. Risultati delle ricerche nelle necropoli dell'alto medioevo, Roma, 27 novembre-2 dicembre 1985* (Novi Sad: Museo della città, 1985). See, more recently, Radovan Bunardžić, "Čelarevo - nekropol' i poselenie VIII–IX vekov" [Čelarevo - the necropolis and the settlement of the 8th-9th c.], in *Khazary*, edited by Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, Wolf Moskovich and Artem M. Fedorchuk (Jerusalem/Moscow: Gesharim/Mosty Kul'tury, 2005), pp. 522–31.
34 *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, 1000–1301*, edited and translated by János M. Bak, György Bónis, and James Ross Sweeney (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, 1989), pp. 31, 57, 59, 66, and 68.
35 *Corpus Iuris Hungarici*, edited by Dezső Márkus (Budapest: Franklin-társulat, 1899), pp. 140–41. Other manuscripts give the title as "Comites camere monetarii, salinarii et tributarii nobiles regni, Ismaelite et Iudei fieri non possint" (*The Laws*, p. 159).
36 Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam parte nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita,* vol. 1 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), pp. 116–19.

37 Sámuel Kohn, *A zsidók története Magyarországon* [The history of the Jews in Hungary], vol 1 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1884), pp. 359–61 and 364–65; Sándor Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary from the Third Century to 1686* (Budapest/Leiden: Akadémiai Kiadó/Brill, 1983), pp. 81 and 175. For the Hebrew text with Hungarian translation and valuable comments, see Shlomo J. Spitzer and Géza Komoróczy, *Héber kútforrások Magyarország és a magyarországi zsidóság történetéhez a kezdetektol 1686-ig* [Hebrew sources for the history of Hungary and of the Hungarian Jews from the beginning to 1686] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003), pp. 116–19.

38 Berend, *At the Gate*, p. 228, who cites the Hebrew edition of Rashi's *Sefer HaPardes* (collection of answers).

39 Gyula Wellesz, "Izsák B. Mózes Ór Zarua és az esztergomi zsidók," *Magyar-zsidó szemle* 20 (1903), no. 2. 148–50.

40 Spitzer and Komoróczy, *Héber kútforrások*, pp. 139–43 who mention other sources showing the importance of the opinions of Hungarian rabbis in religious matters.

41 Géza Komoróczy, *A zsidók története Magyarországon* [History of Jews in Hungary] (Pozsony: Kalligram, 2012), pp. 139–82; Katalin Szende, "Traders, 'court Jews', town Jews: the changing roles of Hungary's Jewish population in the light of royal policy between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries," in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Age. Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts*, edited by Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 119–51.

42 The standard edition of the 1251 privilege is *Magyar-zsidó oklevéltár*, vol. 1, edited by Ármin Friss (Budapest: Wodianer F. és Fia bizománya, 1903), pp. 107–09; see also Alexander Büchler, "Das Judenprivilegium Bélas IV. vom Jahre 1251," in *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Sándor Scheiber (Budapest: Kertész, 1941), pp. 139–46. For analysis, see Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 78–84, 94–95, and 101–08. The model used for the 1251 privilege was that issued by Frederick, Duke of Austria in 1244. See Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 76–77 for the historiographical dispute regarding the degree to which Béla IV imitated Duke Frederick.

43 Katalin Szende, "Laws, loans, literates: trust in writing in the context of Jewish-Christian contacts in medieval Hungary," in *La cohabitation réligieuse dans les villes européennes, Xe–XVe siècles*, edited by John Victor Tolan and Stéphane Boissellier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 254–55.

44 Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions*, pp. 81–93; Komoróczy, *A zsidók története*, pp. 186–92. On the old synagogue in Sopron, see Ferenc Dávid and János Sedlmayr, *A soproni ó-zsinagóga* (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviseletének Kiadása, 1978), especially pp. 34, 67–69, 75–81, and 102. For the Jewish settlement in Buda see also András Kubinyi, "A magyarországi zsidóság története a középkorban" [The history of the Hungarian Jews in the Middle Ages], *Soproni Szemle* 4 (1995), 7–9. For the Jewish quarter in Sopron, see Katalin Szende and András Végh, "Royal power and urban space in medieval Hungary," in *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe the European Historic Towns. Atlas Project*, edited by Anngret Simms and Howard B. Clarke (London/New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 277–78.

45 Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 61–64; Szende, "Traders," pp. 130–44; For urban structure of Jewish settlements in tcities, including Jewish gates and the position and layout of the Jewish quarters, see Komoróczy, *A zsidók története*, pp. 186–211.

46 Szende, "Laws, loans," p. 251.

47 Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les sources hébraïques consacrées à l'histoire de l'Europe centrale et orientale et particulièrement à celle des pays slaves de la fin du IXe au milieu du XIIIe siècles," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 2 (1961), no. 2, 228–41, here 229–32.

48 Jews began to settle in the valley of the Upper Danube (imostly in Germany) between 1145 and 1238 (Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie,* pp. 32–33).

49 Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 110–33; Szende, "Laws, loans," pp. 244–71 but with data mostly for period after 1300. In Poland, coins with Hebrew letters appear in the 12th, but not in the 13th century (Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie*, pp. 58–59. For the coins struck in Hungary, see Gyula Rádóczy, "Héber betüjeles Arpád-házi pénzek" [Coins marked with Hebrew letters from the Arpadian age], *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 70–71 (1971), 33–37; Sándor Scheiber, "A héber betüjeles Arpád-házi pénzekhez," [Concerning the coins marked with Hebrew letters from the Arpad age], *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 72–73 (1973), 91.

50 Szende, "Traders," pp. 129–30; Komoróczy, *A zsidók története*, pp. 154–65.

51 *Magyar-zsidó oklevéltár,* pp. 33–34.

52 Spitzer and Komoróczy, *Héber kútforrások*, pp. 166–67.

53 Krikor Maksoudian, "Armenian communities in Eastern Europe," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 2, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 51–53 and 62.
54 Szende, "Traders," p. 120.
55 The latter theory is now accepted by Srđan Pirivatrić, *Samuilova drzhava: obim i karakter* [Samuel's state] (Belgrade: Vizantoloshki Institut SANU, 1997), pp. 57–71, but see the critical remarks of Mitko B. Panov, *The Blinded State. Historiographic Debate about Samuel Cometopoulos and His State (10th–11th Century)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 68–69.
56 Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, "Armenskoto prisăstvie v Plovdiv prez srednovekovieto" [The Armenian presence in Plovdiv during the Middle Ages], *Istoricheski pregled* 55 (1999), nos. 5–6, 119–35; Agop Garabedian, "Za armenskoto prisăstvie v bălgarskite zemi prez Srednovekovieto" [On the Armenian presence in the Bulgarian lands during the Middle Ages], in *Vizantiia, Balkanite, Evropa. Izsledvaniia na chest na prof. Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova*, edited by Agop Garabedian, Vasil Giuzelev, Elena Stateva et al. (Sofia: Institut po balkanistika, 2006), pp. 197–217; Elena Koicheva, "The Armenians: Traders and friends of Frederick Barbarossa in the Balkans during the Third Crusade (1189–1190)," *Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia* 1 (2014), 102–09. See also Hrats M. Bartikian, "He armenike parousia ste byzantine Makedonia" [Armenians in Byzantine Macedonia], in *Diethnes symposio "Byzantine Makedonia, 324–1430 m. Kh." Thessalonike 29–31 Oktobriou 1992* (Thessaloniki: Hetaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1995), pp. 33–43.
57 Simonis de Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum,* in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum*, vol. 1, edited by Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Nap, 1938), p. 192.
58 The document is kept in the Hungarian national archives under the following serial number: Magyar nemzeti levéltár országos levéltára, Diplomatikai fénykép- és levéltárgyűjtemény, DL 14211 (reference is for the original unpublished charter).
59 Szende, "Traders," p. 125.
60 Szende, "Traders," p. 130.
61 Nicolae Iorga, *Choses d'art arméniennes en Roumanie* (Bucarest: Imprimerie Datina Românească, 1934), pp. 4–12. See also Hakob Chololean Siruni, *Armenii în viaţa economică a ţărilor române* [Armenians in the economic life of the Romanian Principalities] (Bucharest: Institutul de Studii şi Cercetări Balcanice, 1944); Sergiu Selian, *Schiţă istorică a comunităţii armene din România* [A brief history of the Armenian community in Romania] (Bucharest: Ararat, 1995).
62 Ján Pauliny, *Arabské správy o Slovanoch* [Arab sources on the Slavs] (Bratislava: VEDA, 1999), pp. 115–24; Dušan Třeštík, "'Eine grosse Stadt der Slawen namens Prag'. Staaten und Sklaven in Mitteleuropa im 10. Jahrhundert," in *Boleslav II., der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000. Internationales Symposium Praha 9.-10. Februar 1999*, edited by Petr Sommer (Prague: Filosofia, 2001), pp. 93–138.
63 Sebastian Brather, "Frühmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatz- und -Einzelfunde im südlichen Ostseeraum. Die Anfänge der Gewichtsgeldwirtschaft bei den Westslawen," in *Archäologie als Sozialgeschichte. Studien zu Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Sebastian Brather, Christel Bücker and Michael Hoeper (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 1999), pp. 179–97; Stanisław Suchodolski and Dorota Malarczyk, "Die Zustromwege der Dirhams nach Polen," in *Magister Monetae. Studies in Honour of Jørgen Steen Jensen*, edited by Michael Andersen, Helle W. Horsnaes and Jens Christian Moesgaard (Copenhagen: National Museum, Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, 2007), pp. 93–100. See also Andrzej Bartczak and Anna Kmietowicz, "Monety jemeńskie dynastii Rassidów w polskich skarbach wczesnośredniowiecznych" [Coins of the Yemeni dynasty of the Rassids in Polish early medieval hoards], in *Moneta mediaevalis. Studia numizmatyczne i historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Suchodolskiemu w 65. rocznicę urdozin*, edited by Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, M. Męclewska, M. Mielczarek and Borys Paszkiewicz (Warsaw: DiG, 2002), pp. 175–84.
64 Faiaz Sh. Khuzin, "Volzhskie bulgary, slaviane i drevniaia Rus': kul'turno-ekonomicheskie i etnopoliticheskie sviazi v rannem srednevekov'e" [Volga Bulgars, Slavs, and Rus': Cultural-economic and ethno-political relations in the early Middle Ages], in *Slozhenie russkoi gosudarstvennosti v kontekste rannesrednevekovoi v kontekste rannesrednevekovoi istorii Starogo sveta. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo konferencii, sostoiavsheisia 14–18 maia 2007 goda v Gosudarstvennom Ermitazhe*, edited by B. S. Korotkevich, Dmitrii A. Machinskii and T. B. Senichenkova (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 2009), pp. 227–34, 579, and 639; Martin Bürger, "K otázce vzniku státu východních Slovanů a Volžských Bulharů" [On the question of the relations between the state of the Eastern Slavs and the Volga Bulgars], in *Rus' and the World of the Nomads (the second*

half of the 9th-16th century). Publication from the 7th International Scientific Conference, Plzeň, 23th-26th November, 2016, edited by Vitaliy Nagirnyy (Cracow: Jagiellonian University, 2017), pp. 47–56; Dmitrii Timokhin and Vladimir V. Tishin, "Khorezm, vostochnye kipchaki i Volzhskaia Bulgariia v konce XII-nachale XIII v." [Khwarazm, the eastern Cumans and Volga Bulgharia in the late 12th and early 13th cc.], in *Zolotaia Orda v mirovoi istorii*, edited by Rafael' S. Khakimov and Marie Favereau (Kazan': Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2017), pp. 25–40. See also Iskander L. Izmailov, "Islam v Volzhskoi Bolgarii" [Islam in Volga Bulgharia], *Vostok (Oriens)* (2009), no. 2, 5–12; Gerald Makó, "The Islamization of the Volga Bulghars: A question reconsidered," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 18 (2011), 199–224; Tahsin Gemil, "X–XIV. yüzyıllarda orta ve doğu avrupa'da Islâm varlığı" [The presence of Islam in Central and Eastern Europe in the X–XIVth centuries], in *Balkanlarda Islâm. Miadi dolmayan umut*, edited by Muhammet Savaş Kafkasayali (Ankara: Tika, 2016), pp. 41–49.

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68 *Gesta Hungarorusm* 57, in *Anonymus and Master Roger*, edited and translated by Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy and János M. Bak (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 126–27; János Jerney, *A magyarországi izmaelitákról* [About the Ishmaelites of Hungary] (Budapest: Koröси Csoma Társaság, 1971), pp. 106–07.

69 *Abū Hāmid el Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiaticas*, edited and translated by César E. Dubler (Madrid: Maestre, 1953), p. 65.

70 The word K(h)alyz(ian) refers to Khwarazm. In the Hypatian Chronicle, the Volga is described as flowing into the "Khalyzian Sea." See *Ipat'evskaia letopis* (Petrograd: Gosudarstvennaia Arkheograficheskaia komissiia RAN, 1923), p. 6. See Attila Türk, "Some remarks on the Khwarazmian-Hungarian connections in the Middle Ages," in *"Türkmenistanyň orta asyr şäherleri Ýewraziýa siwilizasiýasynyň ulgamynda" atly halkara ylmy maslahatyň nutuklarynyň gysgaça beýany* (Ashgabat: Ylym, 2012), pp. 242–44; Szabolcs Polgár, "Egy közép-ázsiai nép Kelet- és Közép-Európában a 9–13. században: a hvárezmiek" [A central Asian people in Central and Eastern Europe between the 9th and the 13th century: The Khwarazmians], in *Népék és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében. Tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére*, edited by László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), pp. 563–76.

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and Magyars], *Magyar nyelv* 34 (1938), 86–96 and 159–68; Czeglédy, "Az Arpád-kori mohamedánokról," pp. 254–59.

73 Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 163.

74 *Corpus*, pp. 52–53; Jerney, *A magyarországi izmaelitákról*, pp. 107–08; Karácsonyi, "Kik voltak," p. 484; *The Laws*, p. 29; Boris Stojkovski, "Pravni položaj muslimana u srednjovekovnoj Ugarskoj" [The legal status of the Muslims in medieval Hungary], *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, 44 (2010), no. 1, 171–79, here 173–74.

75 *Corpus*, 108–11; Jerney, *A magyarországi izmaelitákról*, pp. 10809; Karácsonyi, "Kik voltak," p. 484; *The Laws*, p. 57; Stojkovski, "Pravni položaj," pp. 174–75.

76 Berend, *At the Gate*, p. 237; Stojkovski, "Pravni položaj," p. 175.

77 Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, pp. 51–53.

78 György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, tome VIII, vol. 5 (Budae: Typis typographiae Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1835), p. 98.

79 Székely, "Les contacts," pp. 56–59; with references to sources and bibliography; Czeglédy, "Az Arpád-kori mohamedánokról," pp. 254–59. For the alternate *Sarracenus*, see Béla Kossányi, "A XI–XII. századi 'ismaelita' és 'saracenus' elenvezésekről" [Concerning the eleventh- and twelfth-century denominations "ismaelite" and "saracenus"], in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Arpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére*, edited by Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda, 1933), pp. 308–16.

80 *Abū Hāmid el Granadino*, pp. 66–67 and 69–70.

81 *Abū Hāmid el Granadino*, p. 67.

82 Ivan Hrbek, "Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn (Abu Hamid al-Andalusi al Garnati, 1080–1170)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1955), 205–30, here 216.

83 The rabbi served as *iudex Iudeorum* and judged in matters pertaining to the Hungarian Jews. There is no evidence that either Abu Hamid or any other Muslim imam with some basic legal education has any similar position (Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 94–95).

84 John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* III 7, edited by August Meineke (Bonn: Weber, 1836), pp. 86 and 244. As Kinnamos notes that the Khalyzians obey *Mosaic laws*, some have suggested that instead of Khwarazmians, those were refugee Jews from Khazaria. However, Kinnamos, *Deeds* V 16, p. 186 makes it clear that the Khalyzians had the same religion as the Turks. See Jovanka Kalić, "Podaci Abu Khamida o prilikama u Juzhnoi Ugarskoi sredinom XII veka" [The informations of Abu Hamid on the developments in southern Hungary in the mid-12th century], *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske* 4 (1971), 25–36, here 30–32.

85 Jovanka Kalić, "Raški veliki župan Uroš II" [Uroš II, the Grand Zhupan of Raška], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 12 (1970), 21–37, here 29.

86 *Abū Hāmid el Granadino*, pp. 31–32 and 68–69.

87 Vincent of Prague, *Annals*, edited by Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. 17 (Hanover: Hahn, 1861), p. 679.

88 Kinnamos, *Deeds* V16, pp. 185–86.

89 *Corpus*, pp. 140–41.

90 Györffy, *A magyarság keleti elemei*, p. 53; Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker*, pp. 57–89.

91 *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866), ٤٦٨-٤٧٠ [these Arabic letters/numbers correspond with 469–470]; *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, translated by Joseph Toussaint Reinaud (Frankfurt: Institut für der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften and der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1985), 294–95 with n. 5.

92 Mór Wertner, "Mizse nádor és családja (1290–1334)" [Count palatine Mizse and his family (1290–1334)], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 10 (1893), 584–87; Attila Zsoldos *Magyarország világi archontológiája* (Budapest: História-MTA TTI, 2011), pp. 23 and 338; Đura Hardi, "Stranci na polozhaju palatina srednjovekovne Ugarske" [Pages from the history of the count palatine in medieval Hungary], in *Susret kultura. Peti međunarodni interdisciplinarni simpozijum. Zbornik radova*, edited by Lilana Subotić and Ivana Živančević-Sekeruš, vol. 2 (Novi Sad: Univerzitet u Novom Sadu. Filozofski Fakultet, 2010), pp. 915–20, here 917–18.

18
CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski

Accounts of how the Church organization started in Central and Eastern Europe and how it grew until the 12th century are incomplete and highly conjectural. The scarcity of sources, which sometimes contradict each other, leads to hypotheses based only partially on the sources. Few of them are therefore verifiable, given the considerable differences between historians' opinions. This is the reason for which the development of the Church organization presented in this chapter is a compromise between a concise historical outline and a historiographic survey.

Only a bishop had the authority to administer all the sacraments, as well as to ordinate clergy and to consecrate new churches. For a bishop to operate according to the canons, he had to have a permanent see and jurisdiction over a well-defined diocese. The establishment of diocesan structures was therefore a prerequisite for the Christianization of any given area, following the (more or less official) conversion. The number of dioceses and, within them, of rural churches, monasteries and parishes may be used to gauge the strength of the local church organization. However, there is no direct, one-to-one correlation between the number of Church institutions and the degree of Christianization. In the early stages, the newly established Church institutions served a small population, chiefly the rulers and the elites. To a large extent, the establishment of Church institutions depended on the generosity and support of the ruler and the elites, as well as their willingness to demonstrate their affiliation with Christian rulers, especially Ottonian and Byzantine emperors. These were two cultural models for the peoples in Eastern and Central Europe while Christianity, their ideological foundation, was perceived as a necessary factor for "civilizing" the new power centers. As the elites were the first to embrace Christianity, establishing a Church organization was an element of raising the prestige of the ruler among members of his own elite. Initially, those aspects were far more important than propagating Christianity into the larger population.

Bishoprics were usually located in major political centers, and bishops were dependent upon rulers and their financial support. Moreover, the rulers themselves had an interest in enhancing the significance of their seats of power by means of Church institutions and monumental architecture, all of which testified to their religious commitment. The first churches that were not cathedrals (either inside strongholds or in rural settlements) were most likely founded by rulers to serve soldiers in local garrisons. Soon, local magnates, imitating the rulers, began to establish churches in the baileys of strongholds or next to their manors.

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Many believe that to some extent, the church organization was based on the network of former centers of pagan cult.[1] The new churches, especially the cathedrals, were meant to replace the pagan *sacrum*. There is in fact no evidence to support such an idea. Moreover, the archaeological identification of pre-Christian places of cult is extremely difficult. All written sources pertaining to that cult are later and not very reliable.

(Great) Moravia

From the very beginning of Christianization, Moravia was a part of a regular ecclesiastical organization, as by 831 it was within the jurisdiction of the bishop of Passau. This affiliation must have been formal, as the missionaries operating inside Moravia came actually from various dioceses including those in Dalmatia and northern Italy. Each introduced the customs of his own region of origin, did not report at all to the bishop in Passau. The long military conflict between Moravians and Carolingians had repercussion for the ecclesiastical organization as well, since the bishops of Passau represented the interests of the Carolingian dynasty. An opportunity to change the jurisdiction affiliation of Moravia presented itself when Bishop Hartwig of Passau had a stroke. As a consequence, the entire diocese, including Moravia, was put on hold, for the bishop did not want to resign, but was not able to perform any activities whatsoever.[2] In 862, Prince Rastislav made an unsuccessful attempt to take advantage of the situation created and to establish a separate Moravian bishopric with papal support. Instead, Pope Nicholas I recognized the right of Louis the German, the king of East Francia, to take decisions in matters of church organization in Moravia. It remains unknown whether, unhappy with the pope's decision, Rastislav pursued his initial goal when in 863/4, he requested assistance from the Byzantine emperor for the Moravian Christians. Be that as it may, the decision taken in Constantinople to send two teachers with experience in missions (Constantine and Methodius) had no consequences for the ecclesiastical organization: no separate bishopric was organized in Moravia under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate in Constantinople. Indeed, none of the two brothers was a bishop. At a church synod, the Bavarian clergy, having in mind the Christianization of the Bulgars, expressed fears of the intervention of the pope in the region. Methodius, who had the support of the pope, was a threat to the Bavarian clergy in East Central Europe.

The sources concerning Methodius' archbishopric in Moravia are ambiguous, if not contradictory. Methodius was appointed by Pope Hadrian II in 870 as "bishop of the church in [or of] Pannonia" (*episcopus Pannoniensis ecclesiae*). It is not clear whether he was an archbishop at that time already, a metropolitan bishop, or whether the title was simply a personal distinction accompanying the *pallium*.[3] The Slavonic *Life of Methodius* associates him with Sirmium, which in the 9th century was an unassuming village in the ruins of an imperial palace. In other words, Sirmium could not have been but a titular seat for a bishop, and Methodius could not have possibly resided there permanently. In his letters, Pope John VIII referred to Methodius as archbishop (*archiepiscopus pro fide*, *archiepiscopus Pannoniensis ecclesiae* or *archiepiscopus ecclesiae Marabensis*). He is frequently presented as metropolitan bishop of Moravia, with jurisdiction over all the lands under the rule of the Moravian princes. However, there is no way to verify the information, and in any case, no information about the size and the boundaries of such a metropolitan archdiocese. It is also difficult to accept the idea that the silence of the non-papal sources is the result of the systematic propaganda of those who were hostile to Methodius.[4]

If Methodius was indeed the metropolitan bishop of Moravia, then his position must have been weak, as indicated by two facts. Wiching, a candidate supported by Svatopluk, a prince

of Moravia, was appointed bishop of Nitra in Rome in 880. In fact, Pope John VIII asked Svatopluk to send another candidate to be ordained bishop.[5] If Methodius was the metropolitan bishop, he should have been in a position to ordain bishops. Although John VIII clearly expected Wiching to be an obedient suffragan of Methodius, he failed make that relation clear to Wiching. By contrast, when in 899 Pope John IX sent 3 legates (an archbishop and two bishops) to organize the Church in Moravia, they ordained an archbishop and three bishops there. Only in this way was the Church truly independent, for ordaining an archbishop implies the existence of (at least) three suffragan bishops. Nothing of that nature happened in 880.[6] While obtaining the *pallium* (of an archbishop) from the pope may have been a sufficient confirmation of orthodoxy for ordaining bishops, there is no evidence that Methodius took advantage of that.[7] This is reminiscent of Bruno of Querfurt and his activity in Poland in the early 11th century: he too had a *pallium*, but no rank of metropolitan bishop.

Not much is known about the history of the Church in Moravia following the death of Methodius in 885. Bishop Wiching left Nitra around 890 and tried to become a bishop under the jurisdiction of Passau, successfully for a short time. A letter of Theotmar, Archbishop of Salzburg, dated to 900 mentions that a metropolitan episcopal see was established in Moravia with three suffragan bishops. However, the Bavarian bishops regarded such a papal interference as a breach of canon law. The dispute did not escalate, because, in the light of the Magyar raids and the demise of Moravia in 907, the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was truly of secondary importance. With the rapid disintegration of Moravia as a polity, Christianity was reduced, and the diocesan structures soon disappeared, although it is impossible to establish the exact point in time when that happened. No evidence exists of them continuing into the 10th century. Ideas about their survival until the 11th century are nothing but speculations.

Attempts have been made to defend information in the forgeries of Lorch, attributed to Bishop Pilgrim of Passau and written in the 970s about the sees and the number of suffragan bishops under the archbishop of Moravia. The underlying assumption is that Pilgrim must have obtained the information from some reliable, but now lost source.[8] A critical analysis of those forgeries has rejected both that assumption and the conclusions deriving from it.[9]

Bohemia

Following the Christianization of the Přemyslid family of dukes residing in Prague, most probably during the reign of Spytihněv I (c. 894–915), Bohemia fell under the jurisdiction of the Bavarian diocese of Regensburg. The archdeacon most likely resided in Prague. Later, a bishopric was established there, not without the protest of the bishops of Regensburg, who complained about the shrinking of their diocese, as well as that of the Bavarian princes, who wanted to extend their influence in Bohemia. Because of the latter more than the former, the Ottonian rulers supported the Přemyslids in their efforts to have a separate bishopric.[10]

Sources of German origin, closer in time to the events, fail to mention the pope's involvement in establishing the bishopric of Prague. The later account from the chronicle of Cosmas of Prague included a forgery allegedly issued by John XIII in 967, with a mention of the pope agreeing to a new bishopric at the request of prince Boleslav II's sister (or daughter).[11] This information is not trustworthy. No German sources mention that, and the practice in the 10th century was not yet for the pope to be involved in establishing (new) bishoprics. Most certainly, the decision about establishing a bishopric in Prague was made solely by the German rulers. The Golden Bull of Sicily (1212) gave them the right to the investiture of the bishops of Prague.

In 972, as a prerequisite for investing Wolfgang as the new bishop of Regensburg, Otto I obtained his approval for separating the Czech diocese. However, the new bishop of Prague was not appointed until 976, because of the rebellion of Henry the Wrangler, Prince of Bavaria, who was supported by the duke of Bohemia. At the same time (but no later than 974), a bishopric was established in Olomouc, Moravia. The fact that both bishoprics were suffragans of Mainz is surprising, given the lack of any territorial links. The arrangement may have been Otto I's way of compensating the Mainz archdiocese for losses incurred as a result of creating the archbishopric in Magdeburg in 968. As a result, the Bohemian Church was more closely aligned to the Liudolfings, who separated it from the Salzburg archdiocese. The bishopric in Olomouc disappeared at an unknown point in time, only to be re-established in approximately 1063 as a result of the Bohemian Duke Vratislav II's efforts.

Historians have debated the territorial range of the Prague diocese. Many think that the description of the bishopric in Emperor Henry IV's charter of 1086 is trustworthy. As it contradicts the situation of the late 11th century, historians identify those limits with the boundaries of the Prague diocese (and of Bohemia as a state) during the second half of the 10th century, after the disappearance of the bishopric of Moravia. The Prague diocese included Bohemia, Moravia and the land stretching to the Stir river in Kievan Rus', to the east, as well as Silesia and Lesser Poland to the north.[12] Others, including the editor of the document in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, believe this document to be a forgery, and the information in it the forger's (mis)understanding of what he had found in earlier sources. To be sure, if the Prague bishopric was as large as indicated ca. 1000, it could not have included either Silesia or Lesser Poland, where bishoprics had by then been established in Wrocław and Cracow, respectively, both suffragans of Gniezno. The decisions to establish new dioceses, apart from the one previously separated, depended solely upon the local archbishop. It is simply unlikely that the archbishop of Mainz could have surrendered a chunk of his own diocese to the archbishop(s) of Gniezno. Similarly, neither the Czech prince Boleslav II (who was in conflict with the Polish duke Bolesław Chrobry), nor the bishop of Prague had any interest in placing that large territory under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Gniezno. Moreover, the bishops of Prague never claimed the lands to the north of the Sudeten and the Carpathians, even when it was to their advantage to do so, namely during the difficult times of the Polish Church's from 1039 to the 1070s. It was during that time that the archbishopric of Gniezno ceased to exist, and Silesia was occupied by the Bohemians.[13] When in 1038/9, the army of Břetislav I (1035–1055) looted the cathedral in Gniezno and removed the relics of St. Adalbert, an attempt was made to use those relics for elevating Prague to the rank of archbishopric, as Gniezno used to be. However, the plan failed. From that moment on, the diocesan organization in Bohemia remained the same until 1344, when Prague was finally given the status of archbishopric, with Olomouc as suffragan see.

Poland

The first bishopric in Poland was established in 968 in Poznań, shortly after the baptism of prince Mieszko I (d. 992), which took place around 966. Jordan was the first bishop of Poznań.[14] His origin remains unknown. The legal aspects of the bishopric have been disputed: was it subordinated to the archbishops of Magdeburg, a missionary or exempt establishment, or was it a "court bishop," directly reporting to the pope, and without metropolitan affiliation?[15] In about 984, Jordan was replaced by abbot-bishop Unger from the imperial abbey of Memleben, who was appointed bishop in obscure circumstances. In the first several years, Unger combined both functions. The cathedral built in Poznań at that time is in fact

closely modeled after the church in Memleben.[16] Much debated is also the contribution that Mieszko I's donation to Pope John XV ca. 990 (the so-called *Dagome iudex*) had to the beginnings of the Church in Poland. The content of this document is known from a summary in a collection of canon law by Cardinal Deusdedit compiled in the late 11th century. To some, that is confirmation of the pope's extraordinary influence on the establishment of the Church in Poland and a step toward establishing a separate archbishopric. To others, it only indicates that the special protection of the papacy was granted for purely religious reasons.[17]

A breakthrough in the arrangement of the Church organization in Poland came with foundation of the archbishopric in Gniezno. The opportunity was linked to the martyrdom of Adalbert, the former bishop of Prague. He was murdered in 997 in Prussia, and buried in Gniezno. Otto III, Adalbert's friend, promoted his cult and came in 1000 to Gniezno as a pilgrim at the saint's grave, with the intention of obtaining the saint's relics. During the summit of Gniezno (the phrase now employed for the meeting between Otto III and Duke Bolesław Chrobry, Mieszko's son), a decision was made to establish a metropolitan bishopric at Gniezno, with Radim Gaudentius, Adalbert's brother, as archbishop. The metropolitan bishopric had four dioceses with sees in Poznań, Wrocław, Cracow and Kołobrzeg (in Pomerania). The latter disappeared when the first bishop Reinbern was still alive (d. ca. 1013). The circumstances of establishing a metropolitan bishopric in Gniezno have been disputed by historians. Many assumed that the preparations for establishing a new archdiocese must have started in 998 at the latest because in a document to the Farfa Abbey, Radim Gaudentius is referred to as *archiepiscopus sancti Adalberti*. Moreover, appointing new suffragan dioceses must have taken time while the entire process could not have possibly be implemented without the pope's prior approval.[18] However, it seems that the early mention of Radim Gaudentius as an archbishop was an act of bestowing upon him a personal distinction in the form of a pallium, while Otto III could have taken his decision *ad hoc*, during his stay in Gniezno. At any case, there was no legal conflict, as in the case of the metropolitan bishopric in Magdeburg.[19] Furthermore, Thietmar of Merseburg, the main source on those events, had nothing else to say about the ordaining of suffragan bishops, besides the fact that they were all under the new metropolitan bishop. One cannot rule out the possibility that some of those bishoprics (particularly Cracow) were established before 1000.[20] The claims lodged by the archbishops of Magdeburg did not concern Poland as a whole, but only the bishopric of Poznań, which enjoyed the exempt status. It was only in the 12th century, when the historiographic tradition of Magdeburg was reinterpreted as confirming the rights of the archbishops of Magdeburg, that the idea was put forward that the entire Polish Church fell under their jurisdiction. As a result of the efforts of Norbert of Xanten, the metropolitan bishop of Magdeburg who worked tirelessly to restore the rights allegedly granted to his see at its foundation, in 1133 Pope Innocent II placed the Polish Church under the archbishopric of Magdeburg. The decision, however, had no consequences, since three years later, the same pope confirmed all the rights of the archbishops of Gniezno.

The political troubles and social turmoil in the Piast state during the late 1030s, combined with the 1038/1039 invasion of the Bohemian duke Břetislav II, had serious consequences on the Church structures, with some bishoprics (temporarily) disappearing or having their relics removed, as in Wrocław. The archbishopric in Gniezno ceased to exist, and new bishops were probably ordained by the bishops of Cracow, who had the *pallium* since 1046. The reconstructed cathedral in Gniezno was consecrated in 1064. By the end of Bolesław II's reign (1058–1079), the Church organization in Poland was restored, complete with a metropolitan bishopric in Gniezno in its initial form. Under its jurisdiction was now a new bishopric created in the 1070s for Mazovia, with the see in Płock. Cracow was not elevated to the status

of archbishopric, but the bishops of Cracow maintained their privilege of consecrating the archbishops of Gniezno.

Even greater changes to the Church organization occurred during the reign of Bolesław III, who took advantage of his victories over the Pomeranians to enforce Christianity in northern Poland. Following the Christianization of Pomerania by Bishop Otto of Bamberg in 1124–1128, a bishopric was established in Wolin in 1124–1140, which was transferred in 1188 to Kamień Pomorski. In that same year (1124), a second bishopric was created in Lebus (Lubasz) in the region of the middle course of the Oder River.[21] The archbishops of Gniezno and Magdeburg were in competition for the suffragan see of Wolin/Kamień. Pope Innocent II's bull of 1140 left the issue with our resolution. During the second half of the 12th century, subsequent popes either handed over the bishopric to the metropolitan bishop of Magdeburg or, on the contrary, overruled their former decisions, and restored Gniezno's sovereignty. At times, the new bishopric was placed directly under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. Finally, in 1380 the bishopric of Kamień was placed under Magdeburg jurisdiction. In 1257, the bishops of Lebus gained jurisdiction over Catholics in Rus', until a new diocese was created in Halych in 1375. Between 1124 and 1133, two more bishoprics were established in Kuyavia, but only the bishopric in Włocławek survived.[22]

Between the mid-12th and the early 14th centuries, the diocesan structure in Poland remained the same. Changes were introduced only when the Rus' territories in the east were incorporated into the kingdom, after 1300. By 1243, a separate diocese was established in Chełmno, with territory taken away from the Płock diocese. Pope Alexander IV placed that new diocese in 1255 subordinated under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Riga. The efforts made until the end of the Middle Ages to restore the original sovereignty had no results.

Rus'

The first attempts at organizing the Church in Rus' are attributed to princess Olga who, following her baptism in Constantinople, asked Otto I to send a bishop to Kiev. Adalbert, the future archbishop of Magdeburg, did not last too long, for a year after his arrival in 961, he returned to Germany.[23] His arrival and mission coincided in time with a political shift, as Olga's son, Sviatoslav, came to power without sharing his mother's religious zeal. It seems that Adalbert's activity was not related to any specific plans of Otto I for the future of the Church in Rus'.

It was not until the baptism of Vladimir I in 988 that firm foundations were laid for organizing the Church.[24] The moment at which the metropolitan bishop was appointed in Kiev and his legal position were largely disputed in the 20th century, with much scholarly disagreement. Some believed that initially, until 1037,[25] the status of the bishops in Kiev was not formally recognized as such and that they were primarily missionaries. Others thought that there was no need to establish a bishopric in Kiev, because the Church was to be headed by bishops of Slavic origin from an alleged bishopric in Peremyshl (now Przemyśl in southeastern Poland) or the archbishops of Tmutarakan (in the Taman Peninsula), to whom the Greek priests were subordinated that Vladimir I brought from Cherson. Others thought that initially an archbishopric had been established in Kiev whose status was equal to that of the archbishoprics of Cyprus and Bulgaria in the early 11th century. In 1037, this allegedly independent archbishopric would be turned into a regular metropolis. Most likely, the metropolitan bishopric in Kiev was established shortly after the baptism of Vladimir.[26]

The metropolis of Kiev had a number of suffragan bishoprics in Belgorod, Novgorod, Chernigov and Polotsk, even though they are only mentioned in the 11th-century sources. Two other bishoprics, Pereiaslavl' and Iur'ev, were established after 1036. As the first metropolitan bishop before the Mongol invasion, Ilarion (1051–1054) was elected in Rus' rather than sent by the patriarch from Constantinople. However, this was not an attempt of the Church in Rus' to gain independence.[27] In the early 1060s, the Church in Rus' faced a threat of disintegration into several metropolitan bishoprics. The bishops of Chernigov and Pereiaslavl' were appointed *ad personam* metropolitan bishops directly subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople, as opposed to Kiev. This way the Byzantine Empire was preparing for adjusting the Church in Rus' to the new political reality following Yaroslav the Wise's death in 1054 when three duchies had emerged in the aftermath of the civil war. In the face of the dynamic political changes in Rus', the plan never took off. However, this is clear evidence that the elites of Rus' were sufficiently Christianized to regard "having [one's] own bishop" as one of the attributes of ducal power.[28] Political fragmentation called for new bishoprics. At some point between 1073 and 1076, another was established in Rostov, but disappeared between 1093 and 1136, during which time, however, the metropolitan bishops in Kiev regarded it as a vacant see. After 1160, the bishops of Rostov resided in Suzdal. Between 1078 and 1086, another diocese was established around Vladimir-in-Volhynia and then, by 1088, in Turov on the Pripet River.[29] In the 12th century, another three bishoprics emerged—Smolensk (1134/6), Halych (1147–1156) and Riazan' (after 1190). The final additions to the diocesan organization in pre-Mongol Rus' were made in the 13th century: Vladimir(-on-the-Kliazma; 1213/4), Peremyshl' (now Przemyśl, around 1219), Ugrovesk (after 1220, transferred to Kholm after the Mongol invasion), Luchesk (between 1230 and 1250) and Tver (after 1252). In fact, the Mongol invasion of Rus' was not detrimental to the Church. The Mongols even allowed the establishment of a bishopric in their own capital city, Sarai on the Volga, with a bishop under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishops of Kiev. The metropolitan and other bishops were granted tax exemptions. By the late 13th century, there were 18 bishoprics in Rus', all under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishop.[30] The bishops of Belgorod, which was the main residence of Vladimir I (about 20 km away from Kiev), enjoyed a special status, for among all bishops in Rus', they were second only to the metropolitans of Kiev.

In 1299, Metropolitan Maksim (1283–1305) transferred his see from Kiev to Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma, which, even before the Mongol invasion, had become the most important political center of the Rurikid dynasty. After 1311, his successors resided in Moscow. Formally, the Kiev metropolis continued, but with three different sees.

Hungary

The beginning of the Church organization in Hungary is among the most controversial. The information provided by sources is ambiguous, and the exact moment for the establishment of the oldest bishoprics remains hypothetical. Only two bishoprics are mentioned in the late 12th century—Esztergom and Pécs. Nonetheless, historians have attempted to reconstruct a more coherent picture, on the basis of various assumptions. One of them is that Hungary was initially a conglomerate of several duchies. Stephen's adoption of Christianity and the establishment of the first bishoprics are no indication of the Christianization of Hungary, nor of a fully developed Church organization. Ecclesiastical structures appeared only when the members of the Árpádian dynasty extended their control and rule over the remaining Hungarian duchies, not when they adopted Christianity (an event that took place much earlier).[31]

Later sources mention pagan rebellions in Hungary, the last of them taking place in 1060. They were actually uprisings against the Árpádians, with religious issues being of secondary importance, given that some of the leaders were Christian, and their goals were chiefly political.[32]

Thietmar believed that responsible for the building up a network of dioceses in Hungary was Otto III. By contrast, in the later Hungarian tradition (from the late 11th to the 13th centuries) the initiator was either the pope or the Hungarian king. In 1000/1001, the archbishopric of Esztergom and the bishopric of Veszprém were established.[33] Right after that date, dioceses were established in Transylvania (although it remains unknown when the see in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia came into being) and Győr. Other bishoprics appear in 1009 at Pécs, Kalocsa (if not earlier), and perhaps Vác. More bishoprics are mentioned between 1030 and 1046—Csanád/Cenad, Bács/Bač, Bihar/Biharea, and most probably Vác.[34]

Relics were translated under King Ladislaus I (1077–1095) from Bihar to Nagyvárad/Oradea and, perhaps, from Kalocsa to Bács. The bishopric in Zagreb was established at the end of Ladislaus's reign or under Coloman I (1095–1116). The bishopric of Nyitra/Nitra was detached most likely in the first decade of the 12th century from the archdiocese of Esztergom. The former's legal status was quite peculiar. By the late of the 12th century, it served as a proprietary diocese of the archbishops of Esztergom, much like Gurk and Salzburg in Austria. Only later did Nyitra become a regular suffragan bishopric. The idea that the bishopric of Nitra continued from the 9th to the early 12th century is not supported by the sources; the bishopric had to be re-established.[35] The bishoprics in Kalocsa and Bács merged in 1135. The situation was untypical because the archbishops had two cathedrals enjoying equal rights. At that time, Kalocsa/Bács became indeed a metropolitan bishopric. No other organizational changes took place in the Hungarian church until the 18th century.

The origin and status of the archbishopric in Kalocsa are among the most complicated problems of Church history in Hungary.[36] Some believe that the first incumbent was Anatasius/Astricus, who is known to have been archbishop in Hungary ca. 1000. Others regard Kalocsa as the second Hungarian metropolitan archdiocese, which initially had no suffragan diocese. It is nonetheless quite possibly that an archbishop of Kalocsa was appointed *ad personam*, without jurisdiction, but with papal *pallium*.[37]

The existence of an Orthodox metropolitan archdiocese in Hungary has also been discussed for the last three decades. There are numerous and reliable mentions in the sources about a separate Greek metropolitan archdiocese. Some Magyar chieftains adopted Christianity from the Byzantines half-a-century before Stephen I, and that could of course have opened the gate for the influence of the Eastern Church. Written and sigillographic sources refer to a "bishop of Tourkia" (where Tourkia refers to Hungary) as well as to an "archbishop of Tourkia." At a synod that took place in Constantinople in 1028, one of the participants was a certain John, "metropolitan bishop of Tourkia." Some believe that the metropolitan archdiocese in question must have been Kalocsa, for it is highly unlikely that two Latin archbishoprics were established simultaneously in a newly Christianized country. Others believe that Bács was the see of an Orthodox metropolis and that the title of metropolitan archdiocese was transferred onto Kalocsa after the unification of the two bishoprics.[38] In reality, there may have been no need of a separate Church organization under Constantinopolitan jurisdiction, despite the incontrovertible evidence of the strong influence of Eastern Christianity in Hungary (chiefly in the monastic life). On the other hand, the "bishop of Tourkia" may have been simply an abortive attempt to establish such an organization.

For fear of the Mongols and as a result of the mission of Hungarian Dominicans, a khan and some of the elites of the Cumans, who occupied the lands to the north of the Lower

Danube, adopted Christianity in 1227 from the archbishop of Esztergom. One year later, a bishopric of the Cumans was established, originally without a permanent see, which was detached in 1229 from the archdiocese of Esztergom, and directly subordinated to the Holy See. For a long time, the local Romanians had been under the influence of Eastern Christianity. There was even an Orthodox bishop who refused to obey the Latin bishop.[39]

After ca. 620, most cities in the interior of the Balkans were abandoned. Those in the coastal areas, however, survived, especially in Greece, and on the Black and Adriatic Sea coasts. As a consequence, bishoprics known from Late Antiquity ceased to exist in the 7th and 8th centuries, with the exception of such cities as Thessaloniki or Mesembria. A revival of Church organization in the Balkans cannot be dated before the mid-8th century.[40] That organization had to be set up anew. The memory of the old structures recorded in church documents contributed to the creation of a (new) tradition for the newly established bishoprics. Sometimes, however, that tradition needed to be invented, as in the case of the archbishopric of Ohrid, which instead of tracing its origins back to Lychnidos built upon the tradition linked to Iustiniana Prima.

Bulgaria

The baptism of the Bulgar ruler Boris (who took the baptismal name Michael) in 864/865 did not imply the incorporation of Bulgaria into the Byzantine Church. Boris's subsequent negotiations with the pope and the patriarch of Constantinople, in order to secure advantageous conditions for the organization of the Bulgarian Church, were aimed at creating an independent patriarchate. Boris's request was rejected by Rome, and, as a consequence, by 869 Boris moved toward Byzantium, because the patriarch promised more independence for the future Bulgarian bishops.[41] Efforts to restore papal jurisdiction over the Bulgarian Church ended with John VIII, who died in 882.

At the synod of Constantinople in 870, Patriarch Ignatius appointed an archbishop and bishops for the Bulgarians. Most episcopal sees, as well as the number of bishops, remain unknown. Most probably, the first archbishops resided in Pliska, later in Preslav. One of the bishops was based in Dristra (now Silistra, in northern Bulgaria). The status of the first metropolitan archdiocese is unclear. No official written documents of archbishops have survived, and their official titles are little known.[42] Some believe that this was a regular metropolitan archdiocese, others, that the Bulgarian archbishop was in fact an exarch. It is now clear that from its inception, the Bulgarian Church was a metropolitan autocephalous archbishopric, which depended upon the patriarchate in Constantinople only on matters of dogma and the choice of metropolitan bishops.[43] Even that was pushed aside under Symeon (893–927), who adopted the title of emperor, which was recognized in 927 by the Byzantine emperor. At that point, the Bulgarian archbishop became a patriarch. It remains unclear whether this was an *ad personam* title or a genuine transformation of the Bulgarian Church into a patriarchate.

During the political and military turmoil accompanying the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria (971–991), the see of the archbishops of Bulgaria moved to Dristra, invaded by the Byzantines in 971, then to Sredets (Sofia), Vodena and Prespa until 992, when it finally was located in Ohrid, the new capital city of Samuel's state.[44]

After Basil II defeated the Bulgarians in 1018, the Church was dramatically reorganized. The patriarchate turned into an autocephalous archbishopric based in Ohrid, but Basil II did not subordinate it to the patriarch in Constantinople. He reserved the right of appointing archbishops.[45] In three consecutive charters, Basil II confirmed the property of the archbishopric of Ohrid, thus providing it with solid foundations and the resulting high status.[46]

The province newly created in the central Balkans was called Bulgaria (and did not coincide with the state by that name in existence before the Byzantine conquest), so the archbishops of Ohrid were called "archbishops of Bulgaria." Under Archbishop Theophylaktos of Ohrid (ca. 1078–1107), the archdiocese covered "the whole of [the Byzantine province of] Bulgaria." After 1157, the archbishop of Ohrid adopted the title of "Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima and all of Bulgaria," a reference to the tradition of a bishopric established by Emperor Justinian I in 535.[47]

When Constantinople was conquered by crusaders in 1204, and the Orthodox patriarch fled in exile to Nicaea, most local Orthodox Churches in the Balkans, including the Bulgarian Church, began to claim their independence from the ecumenical patriarchate. Initially, no less than 32 bishoprics were subordinated to Ohrid; not all of them have been identified. Some of them separated when the political situation became too volatile. During the late 12th and the early 13th centuries, the archdiocese shrank even further because of the political emancipation of Bulgaria in 1185 and of Serbia around 1195. As a consequence, only 12 bishoprics remained under the jurisdiction of Ohrid: Debar, Devol, Glavinitsa, Grevenon, Kanina, Kostur, Moglena, Bitola, Prizren, Skopje, Strumica and Sthlanitza.[48]

The network of Bulgarian dioceses has been reconstructed on the basis of dubious premises. Some maintain that after 870, there were only three bishoprics. Others believe that there were as many as 14. Still others claim that by the time of Emperor Symeon, there were nearly 100 bishoprics and metropolitan archdioceses. It is highly probable that in the late 9th century, there were nine bishoprics—Belgrade, Bregalnica, Cherven, Dristra, Morava, Ohrid, Plovdiv and Provat, in addition to Pliska. During Symeon's reign, the number of episcopal sees grew to no more than 13 (including Drembica-Velica and Devol). Through conquest, in Bulgaria during his reign there may have been about 40 eparchies (dioceses) and an unknown number of metropolitan archdioceses. The territory of the Ohrid archbishopric, which was formed after the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria, gradually diminished in the late 11th and the early 12th centuries. Dristra became a metropolitan archdiocese with five bishoprics subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople.[49] Around 1200, only 24 bishops were suffragans of the archbishops of Ohrid. Two autocephalous archbishoprics were established in Serbia (1219) and Tărnovo (1235), partly at the expense of Ohrid.[50]

In the late 12th and the early 13th centuries, two events completely changed the organization of the Church in Bulgaria: the re-establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1185 and the decline of the Byzantine Empire, followed by its disintegration into two "successor" states (Nicaea and Epirus).

The mountain town of Tărnovo was chosen as the capital city of the Asenids, the new dynasty of Bulgarian rulers. The bishop, then archbishop and even primate of Tărnovo, soon became the most important churchman in the new polity. Because of that Tărnovo soon turned into an ecclesiastical and ideological center of Bulgaria. Within a dozen of years or so, as a result of territorial conquests, the network of the bishoprics and suffragan dioceses grew steadily. Around 1203, the archbishops of Velbăzhd and Preslav, as well as the bishops of Skopje, Prizren, Lovech, Belgrade, Braničevo and Vidin, were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tărnovo.[51]

The political disintegration of the Byzantine Empire contributed to the destruction of the existing church hierarchy, as the authority of the ecumenical patriarch, now residing in Nicaea, was not always recognized by the heads of local churches. The archbishops of Ohrid, in particular, gained considerable independence and political clout in the new circumstances after 1204. Their status was almost equal to that of patriarchs. Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–ca. 1235), one of the most illustrious archbishops of Ohrid, acknowledged Theodore

Comnenus Dukas, the ruler of Epirus, as heir of the Constantinopolitan tradition, and even crowned him emperor of Thessaloniki in 1227. In his opinion, Ohrid thus became the third most important patriarchal see in the Christian world, right after Rome and Constantinople.[52]

Pope Innocent III meanwhile planned to unite under papal rule all Orthodox in the Balkans, who had previously been under the patriarch of Constantinople. Johannitsa Kaloyan, the ruler of Bulgaria, started negotiations with Innocent III in 1198, and in 1204, he was crowned king in exchange for recognizing papal primacy and placing the new Bulgarian Church under the authority of the Holy See. The papal legate that crowned Kaloyan also ordained the metropolitan bishop of Tărnovo as primate of the Church of the Bulgarians and the Vlachs. From the Bulgarian point of view, this was a formal union with the Roman Church, a political act meant to make Johannitsa emperors and thus independent from the patriarch of Constantinople (residing in Nicaea) and the Byzantine emperors.[53] Since Bulgaria was in conflict with Hungary, the pope's most important if not key partner in the region, the agreement had weak foundations. Insurmountable political differences between Bulgaria and Hungary later made John II Asen forge an alliance with the emperor in Nicaea. His daughter Helen married in 1235 Theodore II Laskaris, the heir to the Nicaean throne. The Bulgarian Church dropped claims to sovereignty over Thessaloniki and recognized the ecumenical patriarch. In return, Tărnovo was recognized as the see of a patriarch. While the alliance with the emperor of Nicaea was broken only one year later, the ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria persisted.[54]

Serbia

Early medieval Serbia covered parts of modern Serbia and Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. The geographic division between the coast and the mountainous inland was reflected in political and religious differences. The establishment and development of the Church organization in the Serbian territory was a result of three factors: the legacy of the late antique network of bishoprics, affiliation with the Roman or Byzantine Church, and internal political changes.[55] The areas subordinated to Rome were on the coast: Dalmatia, Zeta and Primorje, which belonged to the archbishopric of Salona/Solin. The patriarch managed the inland Serbian territory.[56] By the 12th century, the Serbian territory had been under the rule of several states—Byzantium, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and the Republic of Venice.[57]

The first traces of an effort at rebuilding the Church organization in the region may be found in Pope John VIII's letter to Mutimir, the ruler of Serbia. In that letter, the pope instructed Mutimir to place himself under the authority of Methodius, the newly appointed bishop of Pannonia.[58] The first bishoprics emerged on the peripheries of Serbia that were under Bulgarian rule. The bishopric of Belgrade is mentioned in 878, that of Braničevo-Morava in 879. In the 10th century, a bishopric emerged in Ston, on the Adriatic coast, and it was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan archdiocese of Split. The establishment of the archbishopric in Ohrid had a major significance for the Serbs. The remaining bishoprics (Ras, Prizren and Lipljan) appear as suffragans of Ohrid. The exact time of their establishment remains unknown, but their beginnings may go back to the late 9th century.[59]

For about 30 years between 1022 and the middle of the century, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) was a metropolitan archdiocese with suffragan bishops in Bar, Kotor, Ston, Serbia and Travunje. The emergence of the duchy of Zeta resulted in the transformation of the bishopric of Bar into a Latin metropolitan archdiocese, probably in 1089. The dispute between the archbishoprics

in Dubrovnik and Bar over Catholics in the coastal area was not settled until the mid-13th century, with a decision in favor of Bar, which soon had to face another competitor, Kotor.[60]

In 1219/1221, a Serbian archbishopric was established with its see in the monastery of Žiča. There were seven constitutive bishoprics: Budimlja, Dabar, Humska, Hvosno, Moravice, Toplica and Zeta, in addition to three bishoprics separated from the archbishopric in Ohrid: Ras, Prizren and Lipljan. The archdiocese thus combined bishoprics that had been under Rome, as well as under Constantinople. During the second half of the 13th century, after the Mongol invasion, the metropolitan bishop moved to Peć, even though Žiča remained the see until 1346.[61] Saint Sava, son of Stefan Nemanja, founder of the Serbian state, was the first archbishop of Serbia. Serbia, vacillating between Rome and Constantinople, irrevocably declared its preference for Eastern Christianity during the reign of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321).[62]

Croatia and its neighbors

The restitution of the archbishopric in Split ca. 925 is the first piece of evidence for the restoration of Christianity in Croatia. Local rulers were accompanied by court bishops (*episcopus Croatensis*) with the see at the seat of ducal power in Knin until the late 11th century, long after Croatia and the neighboring areas were incorporated into Hungary (1102). The title *totius Dalmatiae atque Chroatie gubernator*, bestowed upon the bishops of Pécs until the late 12th century, did not reflect reality, much like the later claims of the patriarchs of Grado to be primates of Dalmatia. The Hungarian rule operated from Zadar, and, later from Split, and that had consequences for the Church organization. Typically, Hungarians were appointed archbishops of Split, while Zadar was promoted to an archbishopric under the jurisdiction of Grado, with suffragan dioceses in Krk, Osor and Rab.[63]

Between the 11th and the 13th centuries, Bosnia was either under the influence of Byzantium (after 1018) or of Hungary (in the late 11th century). By 1180, its territory was reclaimed by Byzantium but after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, it "reverted" to the kingdom of Hungary. The Catholic bishop of Bosnia reported to the archbishops of Ragusa. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, the rulers of Bosnia supported a local church, branded as heresy by papal sources. In 1234, Pope Gregory IX removed a Bosnian bishop, while in 1252 Innocent IV placed Bosnia under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishop of Kalocsa, without, however, diminishing suspicion in Rome. The disintegration of the Catholic hierarchy in Bosnia and the emergence of the heretic Church of Bosnia in the 13th century led to a situation that made it necessary to bring in the Franciscans in 1291. They soon became the backbone of the Catholic presence in Bosnia.[64]

The importance of the Church organization

It was every ruler's ambition to establish an independent Church. Independence was interpreted as freedom to appoint bishops and to elect new bishops without the required approvals (of the metropolitan archbishop, the pope, the patriarch or their political sovereigns). Reasons of purely prestigious nature played an important role. By the end of the 13th century, most countries in the region had their own ecclesiastical structures. As a rule, if a Church failed to gain independence at the beginning of its organization, it was much more difficult to do it later. In historiography, it is often assumed that the power over a metropolitan archdiocese was intended to ensure independent royal coronation. It was to be among the

important reasons for which rulers had metropolitan archdioceses in their countries. However, the participation of an archbishop was not a prerequisite for coronation, even though, for obvious reasons, in countries with their own metropolitan archdioceses, the incumbents were the main celebrants of coronations. As the Church transformed into a quasi-monarchic structure headed by the pope, the role of metropolitan bishops in the Latin Church was reduced. They became yet another echelon in the Church hierarchy completely dependent upon Rome from which all bishoprics were managed directly.[65]

In the Latin Church, the metropolitan structures were more stable with respect to the subordinate suffragan bishoprics. The subordination of suffragan bishops in accordance with the changing political sovereignty was introduced with a great delay, if it was introduced at all. So, the boundaries of metropolitan archdioceses did not overlap political boundaries. In the Orthodox Church, more frequent attempts were made to control the changes to the bishoprics' political affiliation by changing their metropolitan dependence. In the Latin part, the Hungarian Church was stable in that respect. On the other hand, as the territorial expansion proceeded, in the areas bordering with Serbia and Bulgaria the Orthodox bishoprics were excluded from the existing metropolitan relations.

Locating episcopal sees in the most important political centers was almost common practice. A city's political demise often affected the local bishopric. In Hungary, except Pécs (and perhaps also Alba Iulia), a majority of bishoprics were located outside the main political centers and some of them were later moved to more significant locations.[66]

The establishment of new bishoprics often involved the building of a cathedral. No foundation documents have survived for any bishopric or for a description of dioceses, with the exception of Pécs for the former case, and Veszprém (possibly also Prague) in the latter case. It is likely that by the 11th century such documents were not even required. Attempts at defining diocesan boundaries for the initial period of 100–200 years are all speculations typically based on the situation in the late Middle Ages. Initially, when bishoprics were few and far between, and there was a trend to identify bishoprics with political entities, defining diocesan boundaries was not the most important aspect of building ecclesiastical structures. Only where bishoprics were in larger numbers and more densely located (the Balkans and Dalmatia), the need to mark diocesan boundaries may have emerged. In Rus', bishoprics were initially located at very large distances from each other between 500 and 700 km. In fact, the dioceses did not cover all of Rus' but only the main centers and their hinterland. How large dioceses were was a matter dictated by pragmatic reasons, namely the scope of activity in any given bishopric. In a sense, that same model operated until the 12th century in the entire area under consideration in this chapter.

Irrespective of the time of Christianization, the development of a network of churches other than cathedrals was relatively slow. Not much exists in this respect in terms of written sources; instead, the archaeology of medieval stone monuments confirms the relatively scarcity of such churches outside episcopal sees. Some insist that such churches must have been made of timber, which hardly left any archaeological traces.[67] Be that as it may, churches were typically built in central places, and only later in less important or peripheral locations. In Moravia, for example, nearly all 9th-century churches are next to major strongholds such as Mikulčice, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště-Sady and Břeclav-Pohansko. In Bohemia, the oldest churches are all in the Prague Basin, while in Poland only four or five strongholds in Greater and Lesser Poland received churches. The same is true for Bulgaria, Serbia and Rus', but not for Hungary, for the reasons mentioned above.

Parishes

The beginnings of parishes in Central Europe have long been disputed by historians.[68] There are two major approaches to the issue. Some maintain that from its foundation a diocese was covered by a network of the so-called large parishes, which, together with the development of the Church, were divided into smaller units with fixed limits—proper parishes.[69] Others believe that parishes emerged through the gradual growth of small network of churches in the baileys of strongholds or next to manors of magnates. As internal Christianization proceeded and the resources of the magnates increased, the network was getting thicker until it covered the entire territory of a given polity. According to the latter approach, during the first two centuries of Christianization, large swathes of territory must have been left outside regular pastoral care, something that many historians, however, find hard to accept. Nonetheless, the evidence seems to indicate that parish structures indeed emerged relatively late in the region under consideration, at any rate not before the first half of the 12th century. Moreover, a complete network of parishes, covering the greater part of, if not the whole territory, did not come into being before the early 13th century. In Hungary, the legislation of King Stephen I prescribed the building of churches by local communities, but this was never more than a prescription. In Hungary, much like in the neighboring countries, parishes developed slowly and in a similar manner.[70]

Parishes were also a late phenomenon in the Eastern Church. To be sure, the network of bishoprics was thicker in the Mediterranean zone. That, however, implies that pastoral care was easily provided by priests from smaller parishes. Although larger districts emerged in Bulgaria in the 10th–12th centuries (the equivalents of archdeaconries) headed by a proto-priests (archpresbyters), nothing is known about parish organization. In the Serbian Church, the earliest information about parishes is from the 13th century. At the end of that century, the parish clergy gained the right to inherit the office, ultimately confirmed in the *Dečani Charters* of 1330.[71] As an intermediate level for managing a diocese, archdeacons did not appear in Latin Europe before the 12th century.[72] Until then, rural and, later, lesser churches operated in the Latin Church as proprietary churches (so-called *Eigenkirche*).[73] The clergy in such churches was appointed by the proprietor. It was not until the 13th century that *ius patronatus* was introduced, which weakened to some extent the rights of the founders (and their heirs) to manage churches and appoint priests.

The composition of the episcopate

In Central and Eastern Europe, the first bishops were typically foreigners. It was only later, as the political and financial power of the Church grew, that the higher ecclesiastical rungs were coveted by local elites as a means to hold power. In late 11th-century Bohemia, out of nine bishops of Prague, three (namely the second bishop and his successor) were Czechs and came from ducal families. During the subsequent centuries, the share of native Bohemians grew to about half. In Poland, the episcopal conference consisted until the mid-12th century mainly of foreigners, predominantly from the Holy Roman Empire. Ever since the first half of the 11th century, however, archbishops of Polish (or Slavic) origin appear as well.[74] The most difficult case is Hungary, where it is very difficult to establish the origin of the bishops. For example, out of 21 archbishops of Esztergom between 1001 and 1241, for only six there is any data regarding ethnicity; half of them were foreigners. Most historians believe therefore that the majority of bishops were of foreign origin.[75]

Besides John of Debar, the first archbishop of Ohrid, who was probably a Slav, after 1020 the position was secured by Greeks from Constantinople.[76] While an older generation of historians perceived them as enemies of the Bulgarian church traditions (if not of the Bulgarians), more recent approaches have highlighted the efforts of those churchmen to merge the local achievements of the Bulgarian and Byzantine Churches. Some them were great intellectuals: Theophylaktos of Ohrid and Demetrios Chomatenos had significant contributions to the development of Christianity and the Church. The ethnic composition of the suffragan bishops in the Orthodox Churches of the Balkans has been so poorly treated that one cannot generalize from the existing scholarship. By the end of the 13th century, nearly all the metropolitans of Kiev were Greek, with only three exceptions—Ilarion (1051–1054), Kliment (1147–1155) and Kirill II (1242–1281).[77] Some believe that in Rus' local priests soon were appointed bishops.

At the beginning of the Church organization, the lack of personnel seems to have been a general problem. In the case of Poland and Bohemia, the assistance of the Saxon and Bavarian dioceses was of little use, given that after their territorial expansion was put on hold by new foundations in the eastern borderlands, local bishops had no interest in helping remote dioceses over which they had no control. Churches in Central Europe could count on the support of rulers and clergymen of foreign origin, on the lookout for an easier career path in the newly founded bishoprics. Notably, a bishop's power over the clergy outside his own diocese was limited. The growth of the network of monasteries was relatively slowly, with Hungary as the only exception. After all, initially monasteries had very limited influence on the development of the Church organization, because, by their very nature, they were focused on propagating the monastic life in monasteries rather than missionary work, undertaken by individual monks at their own initiative and for personal reasons. It was not until the early 13th century that the new mendicant orders (especially the Dominicans) became an important factor in the extension of the network of parishes in Germany. The same role played Cistercians from the mid-12th century onward in both Poland and Bohemia.

Only the Church in Rus' received substantial support from the very beginning—liturgical utensils and personnel brought from Cherson in the late 10th century. Later, the Church could benefit from the spoils taken by a contingent of the Rus' people in the Byzantine army during a fight between Byzantines and Bulgarians in the early 11th century.[78]

Tithes

How the Church was financed is a key factor in understanding its organization. Most scholars assume that initially, the Church was financially dependent upon the rulers. An older generation of historians insisted that that period did not last too long before the Church became independent financially through land grants and a general tithe. More recent studies have drawn attention to the fact that bishoprics in Poland, Bohemia and Rus' may have received tithes on specific revenues of the rulers, such as regular tributes or income from tax districts. Land grants from rulers were initially few and far between. It was not until the development of rural churches and of the network of parishes that general tithing was introduced, thus giving bishoprics financial stability. When in the 11th and 12th centuries, bishops granted tithes to churches and monasteries, they did not transfer to them funds that were earlier collected by proprietors, but only asserted the right of those churches and monasteries to collect tithes with the backing of the bishop. Built around 990, the church of the Mother of God in Kiev was at the same time called the Tithe Church, because being a proprietary church, it was funded by Prince Vladimir from his own income (the exact amount

of the "tithe" remains unknown). That, however, was not the rule, but rather an exception in Rus'.[79] Only in Bulgaria, bishoprics were supported directly by the ruler who granted them land and other sources of income.

Rural churches were initially established by magnates. In territories under the influence of the Holy Roman Empire, proprietary churches operated much like in Western Europe.[80] Even churches established by bishops were built on their private (family) lands.

The influence of the popes and the patriarchs

In the Latin Church, rulers were responsible for the extension of the Church organization. However, a "national" Church was independent only with a metropolitan bishop. Since at least the 11th century, metropolitan archdioceses were established by papal decision. The influence of the papacy on the suffragan bishops was limited, particularly where the pope acted as mediator in cases of conflict. However, as the power of the papacy increased, popes tended to have a greater role in the rise of ecclesiastical structures in Central and Eastern Europe. For example, in 1104 the papal legate Gwalo appointed two out of four Polish bishops. Another legate, Gilo of Tusculum, established the bishopric of Lubusz in 1124.[81] Subsequent legates acted as mediators.[82] Three popes—Gregory VIII, Innocent III and Honorius III—were exceptionally active in the area.[83] In this respect, patriarchs in Constantinople had more limited power over local Churches, despite their rights to appoint archbishoprics in many cases. Local bishoprics were *de facto* outside their jurisdictional influence.

The Church organization was the first administrative structure to be implemented in the new polities of Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Bohemia, Rus', Hungary). For that reason, it was certainly a key factor in state formation, without necessarily contributing to it from very beginning, as many historians claim. For example, it is hard to imagine that the Church in Great Moravia could have played that role, since it survived only a few decades. The Church represented a significant financial burden for the rulers; it also required constant organizational support. The tenets of Christianity, which underpinned the power ideology in Western Europe, were not readily understandable to most people, both elites and commoners, in the newly converted countries of Central and Eastern Europe. As the number of churchmen grew and the Church organization was consolidated, the legal acts were written down (grants to the Church), and educated clergymen appeared in the immediate entourage of the rulers, organizational rules typical for state structures could be implemented. In terms of canon law and Church traditions, such rules derived from Late Antiquity. Initially, the most important state-forming elements included the Christian ideology rather than the organizational structures. That ideology tied elites to the ruler in a way that was not possible before Christianization but contributed now to the consolidation of power. During the first century or so, Christianity in Central and Eastern Europe was an elite phenomenon that did not impact the rest of the society. Only with the expansion of the organizational structures of the Church was it possible to Christianize the population, a process that began in the late 12th century.

Notes

1 An opinion predicated upon the recommendations of Pope Gregory I concerning the Anglo-Saxon mission. See Bruno Judic, "Le corbeau et la sauterelle. L'application des instructions de Grégoire le Grand pour la transformation des temples païens en églises. Études de cas," in *Impies et païens entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, edited by Lionel Mary and Michel Sot (Paris: Picard 2002), pp. 97–125.

2 Heinz Dopsch, "Passau als Zentrum der Slawenmission. Ein Beitrag zur Frage des Großmährischen Reiches," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 28–29 (1985–1986), pp. 5–28.
3 David Kalhous, "The significance of the Sirmian and apostolic tradition in shaping Moravian episcopal organisation," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 268–85; Maddalena Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858–882). Papal Power and Political Reality* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill 2014), pp. 193–203. Only John VIII's letters refer to Methodius to as archbishop, albeit inconsistently. Methodius may have been ordained archbishop by him.
4 One of the most obvious pieces of that propaganda is *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum: Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*, edited by Herwig Wolfram (Ljubljana: Slovenska Akdemija Znanosti in Umetnosti 2012), especially pp. 235–37.
5 Nitra, which was later incorporated into Moravia, was probably not under the jurisdiction of Passau, which may explain why Wiching's consecration raised no canonical objections. See Charles R. Bowlus, "Nitra: When did it become a part of the Moravian realm? Evidence in the Frankish sources," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 311–28.
6 *Regesta Imperii I, 4: Papstregesten, 800–911*, Pt. 3: 872–82, edited by Veronika Unger (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 2013), pp. 379–80.
7 Steven A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool. The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2016), pp. 135–37, 151–58 and 180–82.
8 Jan Steinhübel, "Die großmährischen Bistümer zur Zeit Mojmírs II," *Bohemia* 37 (1996), no. 1, 2–22.
9 Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Die Fälschungen Pilgrims von Passau: historisch-kritische Untersuchungen und Edition nach dem Codex Gottwicensis 53a (rot), 56 (schwarz)* (Munich: C. H. Beck 2011), pp. 18–22, 55–62, and 86–90.
10 The outline of events presented in David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill 2012), pp. 143–69 is different from the one presented here.
11 *Regesta Imperii II, 5*: Papstregesten 911–1024 vol. 2, edited by Harald Zimmermann (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 1998), no. †427, pp. 130–31.
12 Kalhous, *Anatomy*, pp. 81–102. For a more detailed discussion, see Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, *Pierwsi Przemyślidzi i ich państwo od połowy X do połowy XI wieku. Ekspansja terytorialna i jej polityczne uwarunkowania* [The first Přemyslids and their State from the mid-10th to the mid-11th centuries. Territorial expansion and its political determinants] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008), pp. 170–219.
13 Dariusz A. Sikorski, *Początki Kościoła w Polsce. Wybrane problemy* [The Beginnings of the Church in Poland. Selected Issues] (Poznań: PTPN 2012), pp. 50–76.
14 For the latest state of research, see Tomasz Jurek, *Biskupstwo poznańskie w wiekach średnich* [The Poznań bishopric in the Middle Ages] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2018), which takes into account the history of the Church in Poland in a broad context. Still useful is Bolesław Kumor, "Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (968–1939)" [The limits of the Polish metropolitan archdiocese and bishoprics (968–1339)], *Archiw Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 18 (1969), 289–352, and 19 (1969), 271–351.
15 See Dariusz A. Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce w czasach Mieszka i Bolesława Chrobrego* [The Church in Poland at the time of Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2011; with second edition published in 2013); Dariusz A. Sikorski, "The oldest Poznań bishopric in the times of bishops Jordan and Unger 968–1012," in Polonia coepit habere episcopum. *The Origin of the Poznań Bishopric in the Light of the Latest Research*, edited by Józef Dobosz and Tomasz Jurek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2019), pp. 85–98.
16 Aneta Bukowska, "The first cathedral in Poznań ca. 1000," in Polonia coepit habere episcopum. *The Origin of the Poznań Bishopric in the Light of the Latest Research*, edited by Józef Dobosz and Tomasz Jurek (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2019), pp. 111–26.
17 Przemysław Nowak, "Recent work on the Dagome iudex in the Collectio Canonum of Cardinal Deusdedit," in Sacri canones editandi. *Studies on Medieval Canon Law in Memory of Jiří Kejř*, edited by Pavel Otmar Krafl, (Brno: Reprocentrum, 2017), pp. 25–39.
18 Roman Michałowski, *The Gniezno Summit. The Religious Premises of the Founding of the Archbishopric of Gniezno* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), pp. 182–87.

19 Wolfgang Huschner, "Benevent, Magdeburg, Salerno. Das Papsttum und die neuen Erzbist mer in ottonischer Zeit," in *Der Hoftag in Quedlinburg 973. Von den historischen Wurzeln zum Neuen Europa* (Berlin/Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2006), pp. 37–49.

20 *Ottonian Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, translated by David A. Warner (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.183–85; Sikorski, *Kościół w Polsce*, pp. 130–48.

21 Józef Spors, *Studia nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi dziejami Pomorza Zachodniego* [Studies on the early medieval history of West Pomerania] (Słupsk: WSP Słupsk 1988), pp. 161–229. I have left aside the ephemeral bishopric of Szczecin.

22 Maciej Michalski, "Ustanowienie i wczesne dzieje biskupstwa kujawskiego" [The establishment and the early history of the bishopric of Kuyavia], in *Scripta minora*, edited by Bohdan Lapis (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 1996), pp. 83–108.

23 Ludwig Steindorff, "Das Kiever Reich in Europa um das Jahr 1000," in *Der Hoftag in Quedlinburg 973. Von den historischen Wurzeln zum neuen Europa*, edited by Andreas Ranft (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), pp. 73–83, here 77–78; Aleksandr V. Nazarenko, *Drevniaia Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putiakh. Mezhdistsiplinarnye ocherki kulturnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh sviazeĭ IX – XII vv.* [Early Rus' in international relations: interdisciplinary studies on cultural, commercial, and political connections IX–XII c.] (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury 2001), pp. 311–39.

24 For a good survey, see Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und Theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), pp. 24–36; Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, vol. 1: *Till the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1993), pp. 82–181.

25 Under the year 1037, the Russian Primary Chronicle mentions that Yaroslav the Wise, the prince of Kiev established a metropolitan bishopric. The idiosyncrasies of the source were disregarded together with the complicated history of its composition. The former opinions about the beginnings of the metropolitan bishopric are discussed by Andrzej Poppe, "The original status of the Old-Russian church," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 30 (1979), 5–20.

26 Poppe, "The original status," pp. 20–45. See opposite view: P. Gaidenko, "Russkaia tserkovnaia ierarkhiia v 988 g. : vizantiiskaia mitropoliiia ili presviterskaia missiia, rukovodimaia kniazem?" [The Rus' church hierarchy in 988: was it a Byzantine metropolis or a presbyterian mission guided by the prince?], *Vestnik Pomorskogo Universiteta. Gumanitarnye i sotsial'nye nauki* 14 (2008), 30–39; Aleksandr Zadornov, "Iurisdiktsiia pervonauchal'noi tserkovnoi organizatsii v Kieve: istoricheskie gipotezy i kanonicheskaia vozmozhnost'" [the jurisdiction of the original Church organization in Kiev: Historical hypotheses and canonical opportunity], *Praxis. Scientific Journal of the Moscow Theological Academy* 2 (2019), no. 2, 15–30.

27 Andrzej Poppe, "Le prince et l'Église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du X^{e} siècle et jusqu'au début de XII^{e} siècle," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 20 (1969), 95–119, here 98–99; John Lister Illingworth Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London/New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 45 and 47–48; Iaroslav N. Shchapov, "Kievan Rus' within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople: The problem of historical interpretation," in *Acts. XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Selected Papers: Moscow 1991*, edited by Ihor Ševčenko, Gennadii G. Litavrin and Walter K. Hanak, vol. 2 (Shepherdstown, WV: Byzantine Studies Press, 1996), pp. 69–74; Edgar Hösch, "Griechische Bischöfe in Altrussland," in *Zwischen Christianisierung und Europäisierung. Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Nitsche zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Eckhard Hübner, Ekkehard Klug and Jan Kusber (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), pp. 201–20.

28 Andrzej Poppe, "Werdegang der Diözesanstruktur der Kiever Metropolitankirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten der Christianisierung der Ostslaven," in *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Rußland. Zum Millenium der Taufe der Kiever Rus'*, edited by K. C. Felmy, G. Kretschmar, F. von Lilienfeld and C.-J. Roepke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 261–64.

29 Andrzej Poppe, "L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux X^{e}-XII^{e} siècles," *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 165–217, here 189–92, 197–201.

30 Poppe, "Werdegang der Diözesanstruktur," pp. 251–90; Andrzej Poppe, "The Christianisation and ecclesiastical structure of Kyivan Rus' to 1300," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 21 (1997), 311–92. A list of 15 bishoprics known to have been in existence by the mid-13th century appears in Iaroslav N. Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov Drevnei Rusi, X–XIII vv.* [State and Church in early Rus', 10th to 13th cc.] (Moskva: Nauka 1989), pp. 207–13; Aleksandr V. Nazarenko, *Drevniaia Rus' i slaviane*

(istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia) [Early Rus' and the Slavs (historical and philological studies)] (Moscow: Russkii fond sodeistviia obrazavaniiu i nauke, 2009), pp. 172–206.

31 For an overview of the older concepts, see György Györffy, "Zu den Anfängen der ungarischen Kirchenorganisation auf Grund neuer quellenkritischer Ergebnisse," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 7 (1969), 79–113. For more recent approaches, see József Török, "Il primo re d'Ungheria e l'organizzazione della Chiesa ungherese," in *Gerberto di Aurillac da abbate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000. Atti del congresso internazionale Bobbio, Auditorium di S. Chiara, 28–30 settembre 2000*, edited by Flavio G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Associazione culturale Amici di "Archivum Bobiense", 2001), pp. 455–66; Marianne Sághy, "L'organisation des l'Eglises en Hongrie autour de l'An Mil: le cas de l'évêché de Csanád," in *Gerberto di Aurillac da abbate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000. Atti del congresso internazionale Bobbio, Auditorium di S. Chiara, 28–30 settembre 2000*, edited by Flavio G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Associazione culturale Amici di "Archivum Bobiense", 2001), 469–81; Vincent Múcska, "About the first Hungarian bishops," in *East Central Europe at the Turn of the 1st and 2nd Millenia*, edited by Vincent Múcska (Bratislava: Universitas Comeniana Bratislavensis, Facultas Philosophica, 2002), pp. 119–39; Tamás Fedeles and László Koszta, *Pécs (Fünfkirchen), Das Bistum und die Bischofsstadt im Mittelalter* (Wien: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtforschung 2011), pp. 7–31. The chronology presented here is that of Gábor Barabás, "The Christianisation of Hungary," in *Chrystianizacja 'Młodszej Europy'*, edited by Józef Dobosz, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Marzena Matla (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2016), pp. 115–36.

32 Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London/New York: I. B. Tauris 2005), pp. 29–31 and 42–46; Nora Berend, József Laszlovszky and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, edited by Nora Berend (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press 2007), pp. 319–68.

33 *Regesta Imperii II, 5: Papstregesten 911–1024*, vol. 2, edited by Harald Zimmermann (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 1998), nos. 942 and 949, pp. 284–85 and 287.

34 László Koszta, "La fondation de l'évêché de Vác," *Specimina nova* 1 (2001), 87–105.

35 László Koszta, "Die Gründung des Bistums von Nitra," in *Slovensko a Chorvátsko. Historické paralalely a vzťahy do roku (1780)*, edited by Martin Homza, Ján Lukačka and Neven Budak (Bratislava/Zagreb: Katedra slovenských dejín, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave/Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2013), pp. 401–07. For the history of the bishopric, see Richard Marsina, "Nitrianske biskupstvo a jeho biskupi od 9. do polovice 13. storočia" [The bishopric of Nitra and its bishops from the 9th to the mid-13th centuries], *Historický Časopis* 41 (1993), pp. 529–42; Richard Marsina, "Založenie a oneskorené obnovenie Nitrianskeho biskupstva" [The establishment and delayed restoration of the bishopric of Nitra], in *Ingenius laus. Zborník štúdií venovaný jubilujúcemu prof. PhDr. Jánovi Lukačkovi, CSc.*, edited by Eva Benková and Marek Púčik (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2017), pp. 69–80.

36 For the complicated history of the bishopric, see László Koszta, *A kalocsai érseki tartomány kialakulása* [The Development of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa] (Pécs: Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület, 2013).

37 An archbishop appears in 1049, named George. See *Regesta Imperii*, III, 5: Papstregesten 1024–1058, Pt. 2 (1046–1058), edited by Karl Augustin Frech (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 2011), no. 655, pp. 239–45.

38 István Baán, "The metropolitanate of Tourkia. The organization of the Byzantine church in Hungary in the Middle Ages," in *Byzanz und Ostmittelaeuropa 950–1453. Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX Internationalen Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996*, edited by Günter Prinzing and Maciej Salamon (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 45–53. A critical overview in L. Koszta, "Byzantine archiepiscopal ecclesiastical system in Hungary," in *A Kárpát-medence, a magyarság és Bizánc*, edited by Teréz Olajos (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2014), pp. 127–43; Éva Révész, "Die Orthodoxie im frühen árpádenzeitlichen Ungarn. Der derzeitiger Stand der Forschung," in *Bălgarskiiat ezik i literatura v evropeiskoto kulturno prostranstvo: traditsii i perspektivi. Mezhdunarodna nauchna konferentsiia. Seged, Ungariia, 26–27 mai 2011 g.*, edited by Gábor Balázs, Mónika Farkas Baráthi and Henrietta Majoros (Szeged: JATE Press, 2015), pp. 215–24.

39 Victor Spinei, "The Cuman bishopric - genesis and evolution," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, edited by Florin Curta (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 413–56. For an overview, see Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North*

of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 47–175. See also Roman Hautala and Gulmira Sabdenova, "Hungarian expansion in Cumania on the eve of the Mongol invasion of 1241," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 22 (2016), 71–106.

40 Florin Curta, "The beginning of the Middle Ages in the Balkans," *Millennium* 10 (2013), 145–214; Peter Schreiner, "Der Balkanraum und Griechenland im Rahmen der politischen Entwicklung des Byzantinischen Reiches (565–1204)," in *Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. 1: *Herrschaft und Politik in Südosteuropa von der römischen Antike bis 1300*, edited by Fritz Mitthof, Peter Schreiner and Oliver Jens Schmitt (Berlin/Boston, MA: De Gruyter/Oldenbourg, 2020), pp. 701–22, here 712–14.

41 Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865–1459* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), pp. 64–85.

42 There are a few seals of archbishops of Bulgaria dated to the 9th and 10th centuries, for which see Ivan Yordanov, *Korpus na srednovekovnite bălgarski pechati* [Corpus of the Medieval Bulgarian Seals] (Sofia: Bălgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 2016), pp. 155–74.

43 Wincenty Swoboda, "L'origine de l'organisation de l'Église en Bulgarie et ses rapports avec le patriarcat de Constantinople (870–919)," *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966), 67–81; Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow, "The Church," in *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, edited by Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1997), pp. 303–46, here 303–317; I. Božilov. *Bălgarskata arkhiepiskopiia XI–XII vek. Spisăkăt na bălgarskite arkhiepiskopi* [The Bulgarian archbishopric in 11th and 12th centuries. A list of Bulgarian archbishops] (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2011), pp. 50–57.

44 Bistra Nikolova, *Ustroistvo i upravlenie na bălgarskata pravoslavna tsărkva* [The system and the rights of The Bulgarian Orthodox Church] (Sofia: Nov Chovek, 2017), p. 131.

45 See Günter Prinzing, "The autocephalous Byzantine ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria/Ohrid, How independent were its archbishops?" *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 3 (2012), 355–383; Iliia Iliev, "The first two centuries of the archbishopric of Ohrid," in *State and Church. Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium*, edited by Vasil Gjuzelev and Kiril Petkov (Sofia: American Research Center in Sofia, 2011), pp. 237–59; Angelika Delikari, "The archdiocese of Ohrid through the centuries," in *San Clemente di Ocrida: Allievo e maestro. Nell'undicesimo centenario del beato transito (916–2016)*, edited by Krassimir Stanchev and Maurizia Calusio (Milan: Bulzoni Editore, 2017), pp. 171–91.

46 Iordan Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedoniia* [The Bulgarian antiquities of Macedonia] (Sofia: Bălgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1931), pp. 547–62.

47 Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (London: Routledge 2016), pp. 53–68.

48 Günter Prinzing, "A quasi patriarch in the state of Epirus: The autocephalous archbishop of 'Boulgaria' (Ohrid), Demetrios Chomatenos," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004), 165–82.

49 Georgi Atanasov, *Khristianskiiat Durostorum – Drăstăr. Dorostolskata eparkhiia prez kăsnata antichnost i srednovekovieto IV–XIV v. Istoriia, arkheologiia, kultura i izkustvo* (Christian Durostorum – Drăstăr. The Dorostolon diocese from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (4th to 14th cc.). History, archaeology, culture, and art IV–XIV c.) (Varna: Zograf, 2007), pp. 411–12.

50 For the Bulgarian bishoprics, see Nikolova, *Ustroistvo*, pp. 55–155; for the Serbian bishoprics under the autocephalous archbishop, see Svetlana Popović, "The Serbian episcopal sees in the thirteenth century," *Starinar* 51 (2001), 171–84.

51 The last three bishoprics were later subordinated to Hungary; see Alexandru Madgearu, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1188–1280)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), p. 122.

52 Prinzing, "A quasi patriarch," pp. 173–80; Günter Prinzing, "The authority of the church in uneasy times: The example of Demetrios Chomatenos, Archbishop of Ohrid, in the state of Epiros 1216–1236," in *Authority in Byzantium*, edited by Pamela Armstrong (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 137–50.

53 Madgearu, *The Asanids*, pp. 119–35.

54 Genoveva Cankova-Petkova, "Vosstanovlenie Bălgarskogo patriarshestva v 1235 g. i mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Bălgarskogo gosudarstva" [The establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235 and the international position of Bulgaria], *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 28 (1968), 136–50.

55 Srđan Pirivatrić, "The Serbs and the overlapping authorities of Rome and Constantinople (7th to 16th century)," in *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Plenary Papers* (Belgrade: Serbian National Committee of AIEB, 2016), pp. 223–40.

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19
SAINTS AND RELICS

Paweł Figurski and Grzegorz Pac[1]

Around 1170, a talented artist created quite an extraordinary illumination showing the heavenly Jerusalem for the decoration of a manuscript of *De civitate Dei* that is now in Prague. At the center of the image, as expected, is Christ ruling over the universe. Equally expected in the iconography of *Maiestas Domini*: Christ is accompanied by the symbols of the evangelists and by angels. The illumination, like most other medieval depictions of the heavenly Jerusalem, also shows the patriarchs and various categories of saints—apostles, confessors, virgins, and, in the bottom right corner, a rather extraordinary group, described as "the righteous Bohemians." Some scholars have identified the figures in that group as specific Bohemian saints, and others believe them to be the representatives of the Bohemian society and its various social groups.[2] At any rate, the 12th-century illumination demonstrates the close relation that Bohemians had with the saints, whom they believed to participate in the City of God.

On a more general level, the illumination also illustrates how the local church was perceived as part of the universal church. As the author of the *Passion of St. King Canute* wrote ca. 1100, while it was expected to venerate all saints of the City of God, special veneration was given to those belonging to a particular community and those who had been adopted by the local society, because they have been present through their relics in the local church.[3] The medieval society, like the Augustinian *civitas Dei*, was the intermingling of those in heaven with those on earth, with an intense communication between its members. This chapter examines that process, which was crucial for shaping medieval societies, with a specific emphasis on the cult of saints. First, we will dwell on the universal, "primary" saints venerated in this part of Europe, especially the Virgin Mary and St. Peter, elaborating on their overarching functions for the emerging kingdoms. Second, we will deal with the native saints, especially those venerated within entire realms (and not just in one region or ecclesiastical institution), and we will discuss the theological and political meaning that their cults had for the local communities. Finally, we will elaborate on native saints whose cults spread throughout the entire region and beyond, to show that the politically, socially and religiously divergent traditions did not prevent mutual exchanges. Whether imported or native to the region, saints moved freely between East Central and Eastern Europe and the rest of the continent.

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The Virgin Mary and St. Peter

While the cult of saints was a fundamental component of the Christianization of East Central and Eastern Europe, some cults played a much greater role than others. One of the most prominent in that respect, and among the earliest, is the cult of the Virgin Mary. Among the first (if not *the* first) churches built by rulers in East Central Europe were dedicated to her.[4] That was presumably the dedication of the 10th-century chapel in the palace of the early Piasts in Poznań (Ostrów Tumski), as well as of the first church in Gniezno; shortly after the year 1000, when the church became cathedral, it received an additional patron, St. Adalbert. The 10th- or 11th-century rotunda in Cracow was also dedicated to Mary. All those churches were located in the most important, central places of the emerging Piast polity. Gumpold, Bishop of Mantua, mentions in his *Passion of St. Wenceslas* (ca. 980) that Duke Spytihněv of Bohemia (894–915) established churches dedicated to the Virgin. Similarly, according to *Legenda Christiani*, while in exile, Spytihněv's father and recently converted Duke Bořivoj I promised to build a church dedicated to Mary, if allowed to return to his homeland. He did return, and in fulfillment of his vow, he built a church dedicated to her in Prague, the seat of power. This is presumably the church where the ceremony took place, in which Wenceslas's hair was ritually cut, as described in the *First Slavonic Life*.[5] Because the stone throne used for the coronation of rulers and graves of selected dukes were in close proximity, the church—in the words of Roman Michałowski—operated as a "national shrine" granting *stabilitas regni* to the realm. A similar function may be attributed to a number of other churches in the region: the above-mentioned Ostrów Tumski (Poznań), which the later medieval tradition regarded as the foundation of Doubrava (d. 977), the first wife of Duke Mieszko (c. 960s-992); the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár, built by King St. Stephen (997–1038), where the Árpádian kings were crowned; and the Tithe Church built in Kiev by Prince Vladimir (981–1015), which was in fact dedicated to the Mother of God (Theotokos). In all those cases, the churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary were established by members of the dynasties in the symbolic centers of their respective realms, no doubt as means to gain her protection both for the ruling family and for the country.[6]

The Marian cult is clearly attested among the East Central and Eastern European dynasty members. The devotion that King Stephen had for Mary is mentioned in his biography written by Bishop Hartvic. Shortly before his death, the king placed his realm under her protection.[7] There are also many witnesses of the particular devotion that the Piasts showed to Mary in the 12th century. Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–1138) was knighted in the Płock cathedral (which was dedicated to Mary) on the feast day of the Assumption. According to Gallus (the name conventionally used for the unknown author of the *Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, written in the early 12th century), Duke Bolesław celebrated the Little Office to the Virgin (*horae perpetuae Virginis*) before entering battle with pagans, and later, more regularly, as penance for the cruel treatment of his brother, Zbigniew. The little office to Mary came into being in the 10th century, but was reworked and popularized by Peter Damian (d. 1072/1073). This suggests that it took very little time for that particular form of Marian devotion elaborated in the center of Christianity to reach its periphery. It is worth mentioning that Duke Bolesław and his wife, Salomea (d. 1144), had a large collection of relics, including the milk of the Virgin and relics of St. Peter, which, upon her husband's death, Salomea donated to the abbey of Zwiefalten.[8] Another example of Marian devotion among the East Central and Eastern elites is Gertrude (d. 1108), the daughter of the Piast

king Mieszko II (1025–1034) and of Richeza, the descendant of the Ottonian imperial family. Gertrude married Prince Iziaslav I of Kiev and took with her to Rus' the famous *Egbert Psalter*, to which she had added several prayers, a calendar, prognostic texts and numerous illuminations. Some of the prayers within that Ottonian book, as well as several illuminations, betray the princess's deep devotion to Mary, rooted in both Western and Eastern traditions. In fact, the *Egbert Psalter* provides an insight into the cult of Mary (as well as of St. Peter) as practiced in Rus' by the "inter-regional" political elite.[9]

Marian devotion, however, was not restricted to the member of the dynasty. Two of the most famous missionaries in the region of East Central Europe, St. Adalbert of Prague and St. Bruno of Querfurt, are known for particular reverence toward the Virgin expressed in such popular prayers such as the Carolingian chant *Ave Maris stella*.[10] Several liturgical manuscripts also offer an insight into the cult of Mary in the region: the Carolingian Sacramentary, presumably used in early medieval Prague, with its typical prayers; the late 11th-century Pontifical of Cracow; and the slightly later Benedictional of Esztergom.[11] The cult of the Virgin was definitely not merely political ideology, often understood as an imitation of the "state doctrine" in the Roman or Byzantine empires.[12] It is no accident that one of the collections of Marian miracles that were popular in Europe in the late 11th and 12th centuries is that included ca. 1148 into the *Płock Bible*. The additions to the manuscript, although written at the request and under the instruction of the bishop of Płock of foreign origin, Alexander of Malonne, most certainly illustrate the cult of Mary as practiced by local Christians in the peripheries of Christendom. For example, a certain *iuvencula Wojucha nomine* came to pray in the Płock cathedral and was healed by the Virgin on the eve of the Assumption feast in 1148.[13] It is therefore clear that the cult of Mary in East Central Europe, although carrying political connotations as described above, encompassed many social groups, because it was foremost oriented to receive an overarching *salus* of the whole community.

The same observations apply to the cult of St. Peter. To be sure, rulers in East Central Europe who strove to establish an ecclesiastical administration, especially headed by an archbishop, sought the support of St. Peter. As early as the 9th century, Svatopluk (d. 894), the ruler of Great Moravia, put himself and his people under the protection of St. Peter, as confirmed by the bull *Industriae tuae* issued by Pope John VIII in 880 and by the letter that Pope Stephen sent to Svatopluk five years later. Under the former pope, the Croatian ruler Branimir (879-c. 892) also offered himself in the service of St. Peter and received Theodosius as bishop of Nin, ordained in Rome. According to Anastasius the Librarian, the Bulgar ruler Boris-Michael (852–889) cut his hair and sent a lock to Rome as a symbol of his decision to become the servant of God, St. Peter, and his vicar (the pope). Given that almost everything that we know about the early history of the Petrine cult in East Central and Southeastern Europe derives from papal sources, it is likely that the devotion to St. Peter was as much recommended by the bishops of Rome as it was sought after by local rulers.[14] The same pattern could have occurred also in later centuries. Mieszko I donated his realm to the Prince of the Apostles. His son, Bolesław Chrobry (992–1025), during whose reign the archbishopric of Gniezno was established, was known as *tributarius* of St. Peter, because he sent money to Rome. Vratislav II, Duke of Bohemia (1061–1092), established the collegiate church in Vyšehrad, which was dedicated to St. Peter. According to the so-called Canon of Vyšehrad, the king built the church with his own hands, much like Constantine the Great allegedly worked with his own hands building the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. The chapter in Vyšehrad was under papal protection and, seemingly, received several privileges from Pope Alexander II, as indicated in a forged charter most likely written in the 1140s, in addition to authentic papal charters in the 12th century. Historians believe that Vratislav II's efforts to

establish the collegiate church of St. Peter in Vyšehrad were a part of his attempts to receive the royal crown. Similar ideas about the Prince of the Apostles as crown-dispenser appear in Peter Damian's *Life of Romuald*, in reference to Bolesław Chrobry of Poland, and in Hartvic's *Life of Saint Stephen* in relation to the first king of Hungary. Thus, there are obvious theological and profoundly political implications of the Petrine cult among members of the East Central and South Eastern European dynasties, in light of their relations with the papacy.[15]

However, much like the Virgin Mary, St. Peter was not venerated only by members of the dynasty. Every manuscript containing the Roman Canon of the Mass, which was generally used in Latin Christianity after ca. 800, invoked at least twice the Apostle Peter. In those realms of East Central Europe, in which the Roman liturgy was in use, the Prince of the Apostles was called every time the faithful gathered for the key ritual of Christianity. It is important to keep in mind, however, that in the High Middle Ages, the Canon was normally performed in silence. In other words, those aware of the links to the cult of St. Peter were primarily churchmen.[16] Nonetheless, the laity had the opportunity to beseech the intercession of St. Peter on many other occasions during the liturgical year, especially when they were listening to the particular mass set formularies (e.g., *ad populum* prayers), litanies or reconciliatory prayers invoking the Prince of the Apostles.[17] By contrast, in Greek *anaphorae* (especially those of St. Basil and of St. John Chrysostom, the most influential), although included among the apostles, Peter was not specifically invoked (but the Virgin Mary was).[18] In other words, in those parts of East Central Europe that favored Latin Christianity, especially medieval Poland, the Prince of the Apostles was much closer to ordinary faithful than in those parts of Eastern Europe that preferred Eastern Christianity. This is confirmed by name-giving practices: Peter was one of the most popular names in Poland from ca. 1200 onward. Dedication to St. Peter was also the commonest for newly established churches in the Piast realms.[19] However, many other 11th–12th c. inhabitants of the East Central and Eastern Europe could have encountered the apostle on their coins—the rulers and pontiffs in occasionally issued their coinage with the title or the image of St. Peter.[20]

Other universal saints venerated locally

Both the Virgin and St. Peter appeared in the region shortly after conversion. Some other saints of the universal church received special attention in East Central and Eastern Europe somewhat later. This is the case of St. Nicholas, whose cult is attested in Poland in the 11th and early 12th century, that is, before its explosion in medieval Europe as a consequence of the translation of the saint's body to Bari in 1087.[21] An important agent for the spread of the cult in Poland was Queen Richeza (d. 1063), the wife of Mieszko II and the mother of Gertrude mentioned above. The cult of St. Nicholas in Piast circle spread from the Empire, where it had been a popular saint in the Ottonian dynasty, after being introduced from Byzantium by Richeza's maternal grandmother, Empress Theophanu.[22]

Another example of special importance accorded to a new cult brought to East Central Europe is St. Giles. His cult was especially prominent in Poland during the last two decades of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. According to Gallus, the prayers of the monks in the Abbey Saint-Gilles (Provence) and the saint's miracle made it possible for the Polish ruling couple, Duke Władysław Herman (1079–1102) and his wife Judith of Bohemia, to conceive a son, no other than the future duke Bolesław III Wrymouth, Gallus's main hero.[23] However, the Polish ducal couple and aristocracy were not the only ones in East Central Europe to take interest in St. Giles.[24] In 1091, Ladislas I, King of Hungary

(1077–1095), founded in Somogyvár his own abbey of St. Giles, a daughter of the Provençal house.[25] A quarter of a century later that was where the great promoter of the saint's cult in Poland, Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth, came in penitential pilgrimage.[26] The cult most certainly helped establish political contacts within the region. Another saint imported into the region was St. Ulrich (d. 973). The names of both the Polish duke Mieszko I and Boleslav II, the duke of Bohemia, appear in the saint's *miracula* written at some point between 983 and 993, as recipients of the saint's miraculous interventions.[27]

Associated with the social elites, the cults of Sts. Nicholas, Giles or Ulrich in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary had a rather ephemeral character. Very different is the situation of St. Gotthard (Godehard) of Hildesheim (d. 1038). The popularity of the saint's cult increased rapidly after the canonization of 1131 and the solemn translation to the cathedral of Hildesheim (1132).[28] Shortly after that, miracles began to occur at the tomb, some involving a man and a couple from Hungary.[29] Pilgrims from Rus' (*de Ruzia*) came to the shrine as well.[30] The cult spread to Poland too. The *translatio* mentions a Polish pilgrim, and after meeting with King Lothar in 1135, Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth went to Hildesheim to pray at the saint's tomb.[31] Later, a great number of churches were dedicated to that saint, and the feast commemorating his translation frequently appears in Polish calendars.[32] Most calendars from Poland are dated after the mid-13th century, while no less than seven calendars are known from Bohemia from the period between the mid-12th and the early 13th century, all of which mention the feast of St. Gotthard.[33] The translation of the saint to the cathedral of Hildesheim is mentioned by the 12th-century continuators of Cosmas of Prague—the so-called Canon of Vyšehrad and the Monk of Sázava. The former mentions both the miracles of St. Gotthard and the numerous pilgrims at his shrine. He also refers to a church dedicated to the saint in Bohemia as early as 1137.[34] The cult therefore spread very quickly to East Central Europe, long before the German-speaking "guests" settled in the region in greater numbers. In other words, this phenomenon cannot be explained by means of a German-speaking population venerating the saint that moved outside the German lands.

The introduction of particular cults to East Central Europe was sometimes related with the translation of especially significant relics. For example, Duke Wenceslas (921–935) received from Henry I the arm of St. Vitus, to whom the church in Prague (future cathedral) was later dedicated.[35] In 1145, a Polish nobleman named Peter Włostowic moved a large part of the relics of St. Vincent from Magdeburg to the monastery he had founded in Wrocław.[36] However, in both cases, the relics secured the stability of the saint's cult, without triggering an explosion of popular veneration.[37] Nonetheless, when the body of St. Florian was brought to Cracow in 1184, the obvious goal was to create a vibrant, new cult which could strengthen the position of the city on the ecclesiastical map of Poland. The plan seems to have worked, at least initially; pilgrims came to the saint's shrine in the Cracow cathedral. Eventually, however, the religious landscape of Cracow was conquered by the growing cult of St. Stanislaus discussed below, and the cult of St. Florian petered out.[38]

While the general direction of transmission of saints' cults from cultural and religious centers to East Central and Eastern Europe is rather obvious, the range of particular cults offers surprises. This is the case in Rus' with St. Nicholas's translation. In Byzantium, the "transfer" of St. Nicholas's body from Byzantine Myra to Italian Bari in 1087 was treated ambiguously; the new feast of the *translatio* (May 9) was never celebrated in the Greek world. However, the cult concomitantly and rapidly spread to Rus', possibly as a consequence of the direct relations established between the prince of Kiev and Pope Urban II.[39] In Rus', the translation was celebrated in a special sermon written for the occasion, and the feast day of May 9 was inserted in most, if not all Rus' calendars.[40] Influences went in the other direction

as well. For example, during the 12th and 13th centuries St. Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, appears in some Latin calendars in the region under May 21, which became a very common date for the saint's feast in late medieval Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. However, that date is rarely found elsewhere in the Latin West, so it is likely that its popularity in East Central Europe is the result of influences from the Eastern Christianity, where Sts. Constantine and Helen are celebrated on May 21st.[41]

Native saints

Despite the importance of the universal saint cults adopted (and adapted) in the regional context, most historians writing about saints in East Central and Eastern Europe focus on native saints. This may well be so because "common, old and well-tested saints have a certain priority in principle," but "for locals the best consolation and access to divine attention must be sought through saints that are locally present."[42]

As a matter of fact, St. Wenceslas, St. Stephen and St. Adalbert, as patrons of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, respectively, have received special attention from scholars. All three have offered a unique opportunity to examine the link between religion and politics at a regional, almost "national" level, since in all three cases the saints became protectors of both the dynasty and the political community, their defenders, in charge of establishing peace and legitimizing law and order.[43] Sometimes that role is mentioned *expressis verbis*, as in the chronicle written at the turn of the 13th century by Master Vincent Kadłubek (d. 1223). According to him, the treaty between Duke Casimir II (1177–1194) and King Béla III (1172–1196) established peace and friendship between Poland and Hungary under the recommendations of St. Adalbert (called here "the most holy patron of Poles") and St. Stephen.[44] Similarly, in Rus' the cult of Sts. Boris and Gleb had broader political implications. Rurikid princes were in attendance during the translation of the saints' bodies, both in 1072 and in 1115, promoted the cult and expressed personal devotion to the saints.[45]

Several other native saints never enjoyed the same popularity. A cult of the Five Martyred Brothers (d. 1003) developed in Poland in the early 11th century but disappeared after a few decades. No new native cults emerged in Poland before the late 12th century.[46] In Bohemia, the new cults centered upon St. Ludmila (d. 921)—whose popularity was enhanced by her association with her grandson, St. Wenceslas, upon St. Procopius of Sázava (d. 1053), and St. Gunther (Vintíř) of Niederaltaich (d. 1045). In all three cases, the cults emerged in the monastic institutions housing the saints' relics.[47] In Hungary, an entire group of new saints were canonized upon royal request between July and November of 1083—St. Stephen, his son Emeric, Bishop Gerard and two hermits named Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict.[48] In Rus', one of the early cults with monastic associations was that of St. Feodosii (Theodosius), the abbot of the Monastery of the Caves.[49]

In a few cases, the new cult spread throughout the entire realm reaching a popularity rate similar to that of the old patron of the country. In Rus', there are already signs in the 11th century of a special religious esteem for Prince Vladimir and for his grandmother Olga, although their actual veneration as saints grew later, in the second half of 12th and in the 13th century.[50] The most remarkable new cult in Hungary was that of King Ladislas, who, after his canonization in 1192, became "the most popular saint in Hungary."[51] Similarly, but slightly later, in mid-13th century, the new cult of St. Stanislaus emerged in Poland.

Stanislaus is mentioned by Gallus as a traitor in conflict with King Bolesław II (1058–1079). Although the reasons for Stanislaus's demise are far from clear, his death was regarded in later

hagiography as martyrdom.[52] The first certain indication of a cult of St. Stanislaus may be found in the Chronicle of Vincent Kadłubek.[53] Master Vincent wrote at the time of the rapidly growing popularity of the cult of Thomas Becket, and, possibly under its influence, he turned the bishop's elimination into a martyrdom inside the church. The king himself quarters the body of the bishop, after killing him by the altar.[54] However, the cult of St. Stanislaus received stronger theological-political overtones only in the mid-13th century. In an effort to meet the demand for the saint's biography in the context of his official, papal canonization in 1253, another Vincent, a Dominican, drew the famous parallel between Stanislaus's body and the body politic. In his *Vita maior*, the corpse of the saint mystically represents the fate of *regnum Poloniae*: much like the quartered bishop, so the kingdom was divided into various Piast duchies. Just as the holy body was miraculously restored to its integrity, so will Poland reunite, by God's grace, under a single king. Even though it is unlikely that the narrative of Vincent the Dominican had decisive influence upon the political reunification of the kingdom, which would happen some 50 years later, this text articulated for the first time the theological and political idea of the Piast kingdom's unification. However, it would be a mistake to treat the *Vita maior*, which intermingles various eschatologies, as a political manifesto.[55]

At any rate, St. Stanislaus was officially canonized in 1253 in Assisi by Pope Innocent IV. Festive celebrations were held in the following year in Cracow in the presence of papal legate, Opizo, and many Piast dukes from various parts of Poland. For the purpose of the canonization, descriptions of miracles occurring by the grave of the martyr-bishop were gathered in literary form, while numerous pilgrims from various regions and ethnic groups were rushing to the saint's tomb to receive his graces. Even those who could not have been cured by such other saints as St. Florian, found relief with the mighty bishop-martyr. This is in fact the first case of such a broadly popular cult in Poland. No surprise, therefore, that St. Stanislaus shared with St. Adalbert the role of patron of the country.[56]

A similarly gradual growth, with political overtones, may be observed in the case of the cult of Verner, Bishop of Płock (d. c. 1170), although on a much smaller scale which finally ended up with failure. The main hierarch in 12th-century Mazovia, a region in the vicinity of numerous pagans, Verner was killed by the Prussians and the brother of a local official, *castellanus Bolesta*, who inspired the murder. According to *Mors et miracula beati Verneri* (finished at some point during the last quarter of the 13th century), as soon as the murder was discovered, the official (not his brother) was sentenced by Duke Bolesław IV and the other Piast dukes to be burnt at stake. The brother had meanwhile been swallowed by the earth. The Prussians received their punishment a few generations later, when beaten by the mighty Mazovian palatine, Krystyn. The narrative, gradually actualized since the late 12th century, gives also a particularly important role to a certain Dominican from Płock named Conrad. In other words, much like in the case of St. Stanislaus, the local cult of Verner is largely the result of the involvement of the Order of Preachers. The collection of miracles attributed to the bishop, edited in the 13th century within the cathedral milieu, mentions exorcizing the demoniacs, healing the sick, and raising the dead to life. The shrine of the Mazovian martyr was visited by pilgrims from various parts of the Piast realm. However, despite all those efforts of the cathedral and Dominican clergy to establish the cult of Verner, he was never officially canonized. In fact, his cult fell into oblivion shortly after 1300—*Mors et miracula*, the shortest hagiographic text in medieval Poland, is preserved today in only one manuscript.[57]

Involvement of mendicants in establishing native saints in East Central Europe during the 13th century is also attested by cults of female saints. They were members of the ruling families of the Árpádians, the Piasts and the Přemyslids. The most famous among them is

St. Elisabeth of Thuringia (d. 1231), the daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary. Her cult spread rapidly through the region, largely because of her royal descent.[58] This group of European saints also includes nuns such as Margaret of Hungary (d. 1270), the daughter of King Béla IV, and Agnes of Bohemia (d. 1282), the daughter of King Přemysl Otakar I. There are also lay women: Jadwiga (Hedwig) of Silesia (d. 1243), the daughter of Count Berthold IV of Andechs and wife of Duke Henry I the Bearded; Anna of Bohemia (d. 1265), the daughter of King Přemysl Otakar I and wife of Duke Henry II the Pious; Salomea of Cracow (d. 1268), the daughter of Duke Leszek I and wife of Prince Coloman of Hungary; Kinga of Poland (Cunegunda; d. 1292), the daughter of King Béla IV and wife of Duke Bolesław V; and Jolenta of Greater Poland (Yolanda; d. 1298), the daughter of King Béla IV and wife of Duke Bolesław the Pious.[59] Sisters, nieces, aunts, cousins, sisters- or mothers-in-law, all those women became either members of the mendicant orders or were influenced by the spirituality promoted by those orders, with friars as both confessors and hagiographers.[60] They were all venerated as saints, although the official status of the cult varied from one case to the other.[61]

Transregional, native saints

In some cases, the cult was restricted to a particular area of the country, but in others, the cult spread to the entire realm and even went beyond its boundaries to gain popularity in neighboring countries. An important feature of East Central and Eastern Europe was the boundary between Eastern and Latin Christianity. As indicated by the feast of the translation of St. Nicholas's relics, discussed above, when it came to the cult of saints that boundary was frequently crossed both ways. However, the same is true for native saints. In the case of St. Wenceslas, for example, this may, to some extent, be explained in terms of hagiographic texts in (Old Church) Slavonic, a language that was in use both in East Central Europe (Bohemia) and in Eastern Europe (Rus').[62] Wenceslas appears on occasion in Rus' calendars.[63]

However, there are also cases which cannot be explained in terms of shared texts. The most conspicuous example is the presence of Wenceslas and Adalbert among the saints mentioned, along others of "Scandinavian" origin, in the *Prayer of the Holy Trinity*, a Rus' text made up of several prayers.[64] The litany of saints, written in the mid-12th century,[65] has Wenceslas followed by Magnus, Knud, Benedict, Alban, Olaf and Botulf, with Adalbert mentioned elsewhere in the text.[66] Except Wenceslas, none of those saints appear anywhere else in Rus'. The "Scandinavian" saints must therefore be the result of a direct contact between Rus' and northern Europe, specifically Odense, where three of those saints (Knud, Benedict and Alban) were expressly venerated.[67] This must have been the case for Wenceslas and Adalbert as well. It is important to note that Wenceslas appears after St. Vitus, who in Rus' calendars is always accompanied by Modestus, but not in the *Prayer.* Although Vitus and Wenceslaus were both known in Rus', their pairing in the text may be an indication of contact with the cathedral in Prague, where the two saints were venerated, together with St. Adalbert.[68] The *Prayer of the Holy Trinity* therefore illustrates contacts in the field of the cult of saints across boundaries of Eastern and Western traditions. However, one of the prayer's manuscript copies (from 13th or 14th century) does not show Magnus, Knud and Alban, all three of whom were replaced by different names.[69] This exclusion of the foreign saints may well have been a reaction to the growing alienation between Latin and Eastern Christianity.

New cults of native saints, which appeared in the "Latin" part of the region, went on to spread mostly within the Latin Christianity. For instance, the "Bohemian" St. Wenceslas

became a main patron of the Cracow cathedral, and his name appears also on coins struck in the name of Bolesław Chrobry.[70] Conversely, the "Polish" St. Adalbert appears in the *Legenda maior* of St. Stephen, written on the occasion of the king's canonization in 1083, which claims that Adalbert had baptized Stephen.[71] Along with the Hungarian abbey of St. Giles, the itinerary of Bolesław III Wrymouth's penitential pilgrimage to Hungary included a visit at the royal basilica in Székesfehérvár, which housed St. Stephen's body. Moreover, the "Hungarian" saint Stephen appears in the oldest calendars written in Bohemia.[72]

The spread of the cult of native saints from one realm to another is sometimes linked to the translation of relics. For example, in the late 1030s Duke Břetislav I took with him from Gniezno to Bohemia some relics of the so-called Five Martyred Brothers, together with other spoils of war. Because of that, the Five Brothers were venerated in Bohemia, while they disappeared from Poland, only to be rediscovered in the Late Middle Ages most likely under Bohemian influence.[73] More importantly, however, is that Břetislav took with him the body of St. Adalbert and brought it to the bishop's former see, Prague. From this moment onward, the saint joined St. Wenceslas as patron saint of Bohemia. As the cult was quickly after that reestablished in Poland, Poles and Bohemians disputed each other's claims and right to St. Adalbert for the subsequent three centuries.[74]

However, the fame of St. Adalbert went beyond East Central Europe, mostly due to the patronage of Otto III (983–1002). During his imperial visit to Gniezno in 1000, the saint was associated with the establishment of the archbishopric of Gniezno with three suffragan sees in Kołobrzeg, Wrocław and Cracow. Adalbert's biography known as *Vita prior* was written in the circles close to the emperor.[75] Soon, but before Otto III's death, the first liturgical texts were composed. One of them is the sequence to the saint, entitled *Annua recolamus* and preserved in a manuscript today kept in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 5, fol. 96v–97v. That sequence is of fundamental significance, because it is the first written source to mention the Piast realm as *Polania*. If, as some have suggested, the Bamberg manuscript belonged to the imperial library, then the sequence may have been performed during the last imperial itineraries.[76] However, Hartmut Hoffmann, among others, excludes Lit. 5 from the list of Otto's III library and argues instead that the codex was brought to the Bamberg bishopric already at the beginning of the 11th c.[77] At any rate, Otto III established rapidly new churches dedicated to St. Adalbert in Reichenau (where the manuscript was written), Liège, Affile near Subiaco, and Pereum near Ravenna, as well as in Aachen and Rome. Adalbert's arm was donated to the church of St. Bartholomew in Isola Tiberina (Rome), where to this day a Romanesque baptismal font may be seen with the image of a bishop, presumably St. Adalbert.[78] In 1012, when the cathedral in Bamberg was consecrated, one of the altars was dedicated to St. Adalbert.[79] After Otto III's death in 1002, the cult of St. Adalbert lost momentum, but did not completely vanish from the Empire. In sacramentaries produced in Reichenau, he was included in some calendars (e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. liturg. 319, fol. 18r, c. 1000–1025, after 1018?), but not in others (e.g., Paris, BnF, Latin 18005, fol. 6r, c. 1020–1040). He appears in the reconstructed martyrology in use in the abbey of St. Pantaleon in Cologne,[80] as well as in the calendar of one of the sacramentaries in use in Bamberg in the mid-11th century (Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Ms. 402, fol. 69v). New hagiographic texts produced in the first decades of the 11th century, especially the *Vita altera* by Bruno of Querfurt and the so-called *Passion of Tegernsee*, circulated outside the realm of the Piasts, albeit on a much more limited scale than the *Vita Prior*.[81]

A new phase in the cult of St. Adalbert opened in the late 11th century. A new redaction of the *Vita prior* was composed in Monte Cassino.[82] Moreover, one of the earliest

extant manuscripts with the *Vita Prior* comes from the Abbey of St. Cecilia in Trastevere (ca. 1060–1070).[83] St. Adalbert might have received special attention, because, long before the Gregorian movement, his *Vitae* championed several ideas dear to the reforming circles.[84] At any rate, St. Adalbert appears in many calendars produced in the Empire, such as that in the manuscript 149 (fol. 10r [p. 19]) of the Archdiocesan Archives in Gniezno, which was written in the second half of the 11th century in and for the Niederaltaich Abbey. He also appears in selected Italian sacramentaries, such as those in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, B. 63 (fol. 241), written in the second half of the 11th century, and B. 43 (fol. 3v), written in the last quarter of the 12th century.[85] This, however, may simply be a sign of the cult's afterlife. Later, although St. Adalbert's hagiography and commemorations were still copied in some *scriptoria* in Europe, the veneration of the martyr-bishop lost its universal appeal and returned to its regional scale.

Conclusion

In discussing the cult of saints in East Central and Eastern Europe, one must recognize the universal dimension of the phenomenon, while taking into consideration the medieval practice within the region. To a degree much superior to what scholars often believe, the cult of saints reveals a great deal of interaction between various communities within and outside East Central and Eastern Europe. What immediately catches the eye, even at a first glimpse, is the *public* aspect of the cult of saints, as shaped by medieval ecclesiastical and ruler elites within each realm.[86] However, the medieval cult of saints went far beyond modern notions of "public" and "political." To the extent that its goal was the salvation of entire communities and of each one of their members, the medieval cult of saints was a "total" phenomenon, which concerned and touched not only the elites, as commonly described in the sources, but also at different moments all social groups and all the spheres of human activity, since by default saints joined heaven and earth, the human and the divine.

Notes

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2 Archive of the Prague Castle, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Ms. A7, fol. 1v. See David Kalhous, Bohemi. *Prozesse der Identitätsbildung in frühpřemyslidischen Ländern (bis 1200)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018), pp. 53, 141, and 193; Anežka Merhautová and Dušan Třeštík, *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století* [Ideological trends in Bohemian art of the 12th century] (Prague: Academia, 1985), pp. 47–60; Zdeňka Hledíková, "Úcta sv. Ludmily mezi 12. a 14. stoletím a její formování v klášteře sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě" [The veneration of St. Ludmila between the 12th and the 14th century and the formation of her cult in the convent of St. George at the Prague Castle], in *Nomine Liudmilam. Sborník prací k poctě svaté Ludmily*, edited by Renata Špačková and Petr Meduna (Mělník: Město Mělník, 2006), pp. 41–49, here p. 43.

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13 Skwierczyński, "The beginnings," pp. 117–21 and 140–61.

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15 Sas, "Między swoistością a typowością," pp. 293–99, 333–37, and 365–69.

16 On the Canon of the Mass see now Paweł Figurski, "*Oratio periculosa, politica sed religiosa*. O znaczeniu kanonu rzymskiego Mszy w kulturze średniowiecza" [*Oratio periculosa, politica sed religiosa*. On the significance of the Roman Canon of the Mass for the medieval culture], in *Liber Romani. Studia ofiarowane Romanowi Michałowskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, edited by Grzegorz Pac and Krzysztof Skwierczyński (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2020), pp. 82–96.

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28 Josef Fellenberg gen. Reinold, *Die Verehrung des Heiligen Gottard von Hildesheim in Kirche und Volk* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1970), pp. 28–55.
29 *Translatio Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1856), pp. 646–47 and 649; Fellenberg gen. Reinold, *Die Verehrung*, p. 43.
30 *Translatio Godehardi*, p. 647. Those were likely members of the German-speaking community in Kiev, and not Rus' of the Eastern rite. Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1974), pp. 248–49 and Jukka Korpela, *Prince, Saint and Apostle. Prince Vladimir Svjatoslavič of Kiev, his Posthumus Life, and the Religious Legitimization of the Russian Great Power* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 153–54 argue in favor of Rus'. However, see the arguments of Markus Osterrieder, "Kulturverbindungen zwischen Regensburg und Kiev (10.-13. Jahrhundert) und die Rolle der Iren," in *Bayern und Osteuropa. Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, edited by Hermann Beyer-Thoma (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 57–93, here pp. 75–76.
31 *Translatio Godehardi*, p. 648; *Annales Magdeburgenses*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), p. 185. See Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, "O kulcie św. Gotarda w Polsce XII i XIII wieku" [On the cult of St. Gothard in Poland of the 12th and 13th cc.], in *Społeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, edited by Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warsaw: Polska Academia Nauk. Instytut Historii, 1994), pp. 75–90, here pp. 75 and 77.
32 *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej* [The calendar of the Cathedral in Cracow], edited by Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, in *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), p. 145; *Nekrolog Opactwa św. Wincentego we Wrocławiu* [The necrology of the Abbey of St. Vincent in Wrocław], edited by Karol Maleczyński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), p. 43. For the 13th-century calendar of Wrocław, see Wrocław, Biblioteka kapitulna, Ms. 347, no foliation (under May 5). For later calendars, see Bronisław Włodarski, *Chronologia polska* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2007), pp. 131–217 and 240. See also

Młynarska-Kaletynowa, "O kulcie św. Gotarda," pp. 77–90; Thomas Wünsch, "Kultbeziehungen zwischen dem Reich und Polen im Mittelalter," in *Das Reich und Polen: Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, edited by Alexander Patschovsky and Thomas Wünsch (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2003), pp. 357–400, here p. 369.

33 Josef Žemlička, "Die Verehrung des heiligen Gotthard (Godehard) im přemyslidischen Böhmen," in *Die Heiligen und ihr Kult im Mittelalter*, edited by Eva Doležalová (Prague: Filosofia, 2010), pp. 363–68, here p. 367; Grzegorz Pac, "Kalendarz z Kodeksu Gertrudy jako świadectwo dewocji monarszej. Wokół kultu świętych na styku chrześcijaństwa łacińskiego i wschodniego w XI wieku" [The calendar from Gertruda's Codex as an example of royal devotion. Concerning the cult of saints on the border between Latin and Eastern Christianity in the 11th century], *Roczniki Historyczne* 84 (2018), 31–68, here 37–38 and 62–63.

34 Žemlička, "Die Verehrung," pp. 365–66.

35 Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)* [The beginning of the Přemyslids: The entrance of the Czechs into history] (Prague: Lidové Noviny, 1997), pp. 255–57 and 411–13; Wünsch, "Kultbeziehungen," pp. 359–60. To be sure, the cult of St. Vitus was associated earlier with St. Methodius. See Václav Ryneš, "K počátkům úcty sv. Víta v českých zemích. Připomínka k dílu Viléma Hrubého, Staré Město - Velkomoravský. Velehrad" [The beginnings of the cult of St. Vitus in the Czech lands. A commentary on Vilém Hrubý's book *Staré Město-Velkomoravský Velehrad*], *Slavia* 36 (1967), 592–93.

36 *Annales Magdeburgenses,* s. a. 1148, p. 187 Maria Starnawska, *Świętych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* [Saintly life after life. Relics in the religious culture in Poland during the Middle Ages] (Warsaw/Siedlce: DiG/Adademia Podlaska, 2008), pp. 74, 327–28, 530, and 539.

37 For St. Vincent, see Starnawska, *Świętych życie,* pp. 530 and 576. The church of St. Vitus in Prague received very early another patron, St. Wenceslas, who was buried there and outshone St. Vitus so effectively, that the cathedral was sometimes called of St. Wenceslas. See Josef Kalousek, *Obrana knížete Václava svatého proti smyšlenkám a křivým úsudkům o jeho povaze* [A defense of Prince Wenceslas the Holy against false opinions and judgments about his nature] (Prague: Bustík a Kohout, 1901), p. 89.

38 Kazimierz Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu św. Floriana w Polsce do połowy XVI wieku* [The history of the cult of St. Florian in Poland to the mid-16th century] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, 1923); Stanislava Kuzmová, "The old and the new: St Stanislaus and other cults in Krakow," in *Les saints et leur culte en Europe centrale au Moyen Âge (XIe–début du XVIe siècle)*, edited by Marie-Madeleine de Cevins and Olivier Marin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 261–80, here 268–72; Karolina Morawska, "W poszukiwaniu świętego patrona. Translacja św. Floriana a kult św. Stanisława w trzynastowiecznym Krakowie" [In search of a patron saint. The translation of St. Florian and the cult of St. Stanisław in thirteenth-century Cracow], in *Kult świętych w Europie łacińskiej, XI–XIII wieku,* edited by Jerzy Pysiak and Krzysztof Skwierczyński (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego), forthcoming.

39 Aleksandr V. Nazarenko, *Drevniaia Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putiakh. Mezhdistsiplinarnye ocherki kul'turnykh, torgovykh, politicheskikh sviazei IX–XII vekov* [Kievan Rus' on international routes. Interdisciplinary studies on the cultural, commercial and political relations during the 9th–12th cc.] (Moscow: Iazyki kul'tury, 2001), pp. 358 and 557–58; Ildar H. Garipzanov, "Novgorod and the veneration of saints in eleventh-century Rus': A comparative view," in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000–1200)*, edited by Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 115–45, here 136–39; Grzegorz Pac, "Kult świętych a problem granicy między chrześcijaństwem zachodnim a wschodnim w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej X–XII wieku" [The cult of saints and the problem of the borders between Western and Eastern Christianity in East Central Europe (10th–12th cc.)], in *Granica wschodnia cywilizacji zachodniej w średniowieczu*, edited by Zbigniew Dalewski (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2014), pp. 375–434, here pp. 386–92.

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48 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 123–34.

49 Gerhard Podskalsky, "Der Hl. Feodosii Pecherskii - historisch und literarisch betrachtet," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13 (1988–1989), 714–26.

50 Loseva, *Zhitiia russkikh sviatykh*, pp. 132–36, 146–54. For Vladimir see also: Andrzej Poppe, "The sainthood of Vladimir the Great: Veneration in-the-making," in idem, *Christian Russia in the Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), chapter VIII; Vladimir M. Kirillin, "Razvitie predstavlenii o lichnosti velikogo knjazja kievskogo Vladimira Sviatoslavicha po svidetel'stvu panegiricheskih i agiograficheskih tekstov XI–XV vv." (Development of ideas about the personality of the grand Prince of Kiev Vladimir Sviatoslavich according to panegyrics and hagiographic texts of 11th–15th cc.)

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20

HERESY AND POPULAR RELIGION

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When thinking of religion in the Middle Ages, most people have in mind a mixture of four resistant stereotypes: overzealous monks supported by the Church; equally zealous, but harshly condemned heretics; a Church hierarchy concerned with maintaining scrupulous purity of faith and worship; and the superstitious common folk. Unfortunately, the historical materials available to us do not allow to break this stereotypical image and the scope of this chapter may even strengthen it. Therefore, when reading these pages, it is especially important to remember that our view of the past is only partial. In what follows, "popular religion" refers to the behavior of the faithful that results from customs and specific needs, and not from the mandates or the doctrine of the Church. This phenomenon is poorly reflected in the available sources. To compensate for that, one should examine also the data provided by archeology, the results of ethnographic research and, to some extent, the comparative studies with the development of beliefs in societies that have been more recently Christianized. Despite the fact that heresy is defined as to deviation from dogma, historians do not have clear criteria to distinguish deviation from proper faith and therefore call heresy a religious movement condemned by the mainstream Church. This is true for the case study at the center of our chapter, Bogomilism. This was a dissident religion that appeared in 10th-century Bulgaria and then spread to Byzantium and other Balkan countries. Prior to 1300, this was in fact the only heresy of the Eastern Christianity outside Byzantium and inside Eastern Europe.[2] However, both Armenians and Paulicians were present in the region, and to Orthodox Christians, "Latins" appeared as heretics, while Catholics treated Orthodox Christians in much the same way. In fact, heresy had a much broader definition in the Middle Ages, and under certain circumstances, it applied to Jews and Muslims.[3]

The baptism of a given ruler and his courtiers may have been sufficient sometimes to treat the country as officially Christian. However, the actual Christianization as a profound change in religious and cultural practices was a much longer process.[4] During that process, some beliefs and practices were targeted for elimination as they stood against the tenets of the new faith. Others were Christianized, that is, adopted in a changed form or with a new content. Such was the case of the fraternity feast (*bratchiny*) in Rus' or the first (ritual) haircut (*postrzyżyny*), which was still practiced in 13th-century Poland.[5] Still others were pushed to the margins of the society and combatted, albeit without much success. It would be a mistake to treat all non-canonical practices as organically related to pre-Christian cults,

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for many were little more than a demotic interpretation of the principles of the new faith, an attempt to domesticate and to "rationalize" it socially for the benefit of the uneducated who could not or did not understand theological complexities or even simple articles of the faith.[6] Sometimes there is no way to distinguish between "pagan" practice and (Christian) popular piety on the basis of the existing sources. This also applies to the apocryphal and the *erotapokriseis* (questions-and-answers) genre that developed in the Balkans, combining Orthodox motifs with folk (pagan?) beliefs, e.g., on cosmogony and various biblical themes.[7] Nonetheless, there can be no doubt about the syncretic character of the religious beliefs of medieval populations, including the lower clergy.[8]

Interpretative problems are not restricted to specific religious practices. For example, the so-called "pagan reaction" has long been viewed as a form of resistance of those clinging to the old pre-Christian beliefs and traditions against the new faith. This often took place several dozen years after the official conversion of the court and of the subjects, e.g., in Bulgaria during the reign of Vladimir-Rasate and Poland after the expulsion of Mieszko II. This is supposedly a proof of a relatively long survival of non-Christian beliefs and practices. Such an interpretation has now been the subject of much criticism. Some have pointed out that social and political dissent was depicted as "pagan" in the sources in order to be discredited.[9] On the other hand, there is clear evidence of resistance to Christianity, for example, in Western Pomerania, which was not Christianized before the 12th century.[10]

Pagan elements persisted longest in burial customs. For example, between the 10th and the 13th centuries, meals were eaten at the grave in the area of East Central Europe, and people were still given furnished burials, complete with weapons, ornaments, amulets and other "magical" items. Such practices ceased only gradually and disappeared only when people began to bury their dead in church graveyards.[11] Moreover, until the mid-12th century, in Poland, at least, the very use of the former, pre-Christian cemeteries depended upon the slow development of parishes, what may have contributed to the survival of old customs and beliefs related to burial.[12] Even after the Christianization, the living occasionally protected themselves against revenants by means of a partial cremation of the corpse, planting wooden stakes into the head or the pelvis, decapitating the body corpse and placing the head on the pelvis or at the feet, binding the limbs, burying the body upside down or piling boulders on top of the corpse. Such practices continued despite being prohibited by church authorities.[13]

Some argue that practices attested in ethnographic reports or visual arts and some passages in the written sources from the period originated in pre-Christian times and continued to exist throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.[14] An example is the *nestinar*, a dance performed barefoot on hot coals, as attested in the early 20th century for southeastern Bulgaria.[15] In fact the 9th-century sources reporting on celebrations of the end of winter and the beginning of spring have been linked to modern versions of Mardi Gras known as *Sirni zagovezni* (or *Todorovden*, in the first Saturday after it) in Bulgaria or *Ostatki* in Poland.[16] Others have pointed out that several Christian holidays, while replacing the old pagan rituals in the calendar, have absorbed practices inherited from the past. This is the case of such "Christianized" versions of pagan feasts and festivals as *Zapusty* (a Slavic version of carnival) celebrated on Fat Thursday (the last Thursday before Lent) in Poland or Ivan Kupala (or Ilya/Elijah's) Day celebrated on the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 21–22 or 23–24, according to Julian calendar on July 6–7) by the Eastern Slavs. Many such practices referred to fertility and harvests (hay on the table on Christmas Eve, drowning or burning Marzanna dolls on the fourth Sunday of Lent, or burning fires at Pentecost). Some were rituals meant to secure life-giving strength for the next year, as well as protection against diseases or witchcraft

(Śmigus-dyngus, i.e., reciprocal soaking on Easter Monday); others are supposed to appease the dead (*Zaduszki*, All Souls' Day, on November 2).[17]

Magic aspects were associated to concerns for health, as demonstrated by private leaden tablets inscribed with prayers against specific diseases or demonic oppression, which were treated as amulets and therefore always carried around.[18] Even conspicuously Christian artifacts, such as encolpions (pectoral crosses-reliquaries), were probably regarded as having apotropaic properties.[19] Even picking herbs for medicinal purposes was fraught with potential danger of using all sorts of traditional spells.[20] Fortune-telling, dream interpretation, and the "reading" of astronomical or climatic signs or of the surrounding flora and fauna were just as common. Observed phenomena and behavior supposedly heralded cataclysms, misfortunes, military disasters, but also success and victory.[21] On special occasions, people sought the help of whisperers, witches and sorcerers (in some cases, shamans), who were sometimes believed to be able to turn themselves into wild beasts, most often wolves.[22]

Comparatively less scholarly attention has been paid to the question of what made it possible for pre-Christian practices to survive and in officially Christian countries, where no other religion could be practiced. Several factors may be taken into account. First, the number and networks of bishoprics and parishes (in addition to monastic centers) guaranteed the constant presence of the Church within the locale and, at least in theory, the teaching of the principles of the new faith. In that respect, one needs to examine closely instances of apostasy and return to the old beliefs in areas devoid of pastoral care and attention.[23] Vast stretches of land, physical obstacles, difficulties in transportation, and isolation, e.g., in the mountains, greatly favored such situations. The slow development of the ecclesiastical organization was another reason for people to adhere to traditional ceremonies. To a large extent, this was ultimately a matter of how much the local, secular elite got involved in supporting evangelization and the efforts for maintaining the purity of the new faith. Sometimes, as in early medieval Bulgaria, a serious obstacle to thorough Christianization was the strong native tradition, a clear identity built on the concrete political achievements of the predecessors.[24] What mattered, ultimately, was the intensity and depth of the religious experience at a personal level, how much one invested in the new faith, beyond a superficial acceptance imposed from the top.

Such remarks most certainly apply at least to a preliminary understanding of the important heretical movement in Eastern Europe, Bogomilism. Bogomil, the legendary founder of the heresy, was a Bulgarian churchman active during the reign of Emperor Peter (927–969). Historians are not quite sure that he ever existed. Some believe that he was a village priest and had six successors as leaders of the movement.[25] Others, still believing in the historicity of this figure, question his name, which they treat as derived from the name of the heresy.[26] Finally, a third group of scholars regard Bogomil as the figment of the Christian polemicist's imagination.[27] Given the absence of any more information in the sources, the debate is pointless. Of much greater significance are the ideas attributed to Bogomil and to his followers. Where did the Bogomil heresy come from? Can it be explained in terms of Bogomil's entirely original thinking? How was it possible for this system of beliefs to spread from Bulgaria to Asia Minor and several countries of the Balkan Peninsula, and even to spur the development of the Cathar heresy in Western Europe? Few are those who maintain that Bogomilism is all about Bogomil. Most historians point to close genetic links to earlier heresies and insist on the specific social context in which the new religious movement made its appearance. Christianized Bulgaria offered shelter to religious dissenters. A group of Paulicians came from Tefrike in Asia Minor in 869/870.[28] They seem to have been concerned not so much with Bulgarian neophytes, as with Paulicians that were already in

Bulgaria.[29] It is of course possible that the roots of Bogomilism have been planted by those very early Paulicians, but the first mention of the heresy is only 60 years later.[30] In a letter to Emperor Peter, the patriarch of Constantinople, Theophylaktos Lekapenos (933–956), attributed the rise of the new heresy to the influence of the Paulicians.[31] Both movements share a dualistic understanding of the world, but they are different in many other respects. The genetic linkage of the two movements is commonly taken for granted. At the same time, however, one needs to consider other sources of inspiration for the rise of Bogomilism.[32] To Marxist historians, the Bulgarian heresy was an epiphenomenon, the expression of class warfare or of opposition to the oppressing expansion of Byzantine culture. There is no shred of evidence to support either interpretation, although the association of the religious movement with specific interest groups or social movements is quite possible.

In fact, the rise and popularity of Bogomilism may well be a testimony to the success of Bulgaria's evangelization.[33] Under those circumstances, the clash between the old and the new worldviews, perhaps overlapping with other divisions in society, took a distinctly Christian form of expression—heresy. At any rate, the Bulgarian Church was well established and quite capable to detect the crisis and counteract it, initially with the help of the patriarch of Constantinople. Theophylaktos encouraged Emperor Peter to act in such a manner as to have "the multi-headed hydra of impiety… perish completely in the holy fire of truth."[34] People who came into contact with heresy were to be divided into four groups.[35] First were those who only accidentally and temporarily joined the heresy, "who neither taught nor learnt nor did nor had done to them anything in accordance with their foul customs… let all these be received [back into the church] after a separation of four months."[36] The second group includes

> those who… have been seduced, not by wickedness, but by their own simplicity and guilelessness, being unable to discriminate doctrines accurately –– they have listened to and accepted the heresy while having baptism from the orthodox –– let them not be rebaptized, but be sealed by being anointed with holy chrism, as is done to newly baptized children.

This group also includes priests who, despite having joined the heresy, could perform their duties after submitting a written declaration of fidelity to the Orthodox faith. As for the third group, Theophylaktos mentions "those who have taught doctrines alien to those of the Church, if they repent and anathematize their own heresy, [let them] be rebaptized in accordance with Canon 19 of Nicaea."[37] The fourth group has

> those who persist in vice and suffer from the disease of impenitence, the Church of God cuts them off totally like gangrenous and deadly limbs, handing them over to immediate punishment and anathema as well. The laws of the Christian state… inflict death on them, judging the penalty a capital one, especially when they see the evil creep and extend widely, harming many. However, we do not want to hand them over in this way… [God] desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent and live.[38]

Theophylaktos's instructions and his classification of heretics into different groups offer an interesting glimpse into the practical functioning of canonical regulations. It appears that canons against Manichaeans were applied to heretical teachers, while canons against "less dangerous heretics," such as Arians or Novatians,[39] applied to ordinary believers. Penance for "those who neither taught nor learnt anything" corresponds to dealing with those faithful who had a closer contact with infidels or heretics.[40]

The aggressive language used by the patriarch can hardly escape notice. The "multi-headed hydra," a terrifying sea monster with poisonous blood or bile, is a powerful image meant to inspire repulsion. Heretics are dehumanized, compared to the plague, and they are "a malicious weed sown by the master of evil." By pretending to be pious, they perversely serve Satan. One can join them either through conscious surrender to evil or out of stupidity (ignorance, simplicity).[41] The letter is intended to rally the troops emotionally and to encourage brutal persecution. Given the patriarch's ignorance of the real nature of the movement developing in Bulgaria (for which see below), his attitude should be interpreted more in a political than a religious key. In his letter, the heretics are presented as the Other, against whom one's own people are expected to unite.[42]

Peter's correspondence with the patriarch proved to be a string of misunderstandings. The patriarch's reply, the only letter that has actually survived, is the fourth in the exchange between him and the emperor of Bulgaria. The patriarch's first reply does not seem to have clarified the matter at stake, so Peter asked for more explanations. What he got the second time did not satisfy him either, but there is no more information about that epistolary exchange. It has long been acknowledged that the doctrinal matters in the patriarch's letter largely echo what the Byzantines knew about Paulicians, not Bogomils.[43] The patriarch recommends that heretics admitted to the church denounce Buddha, Mani and former Paulician leaders, all whom they most likely did not know.[44] There is no mention of the need for them to denounce those heresiarchs whom they have actually followed, when drifting away from the official Church. Given that the letter does not even mention the Bogomils, how can one be sure that it refers to that heresy and not to Paulicianism?[45] If one is to accept that the patriarch was writing to Peter about Paulicians, many problems of interpretation are automatically solved, but new ones emerge, which are perhaps more serious.[46] In at least one point, the dogmatic content of the letter does not match what is known about Paulicians.[47] Theophylact attributes to the heretics mentioned in his letter an ascetic lifestyle. The condemnation of marriage was indeed a feature of Bogomilism, but is nowhere to be found among Paulician tenets.[48] Furthermore, according to the patriarch, the heretics believe that "the wicked devil is the maker and ruler of matter and of all this visible universe, and of our bodies." That is not exactly how Paulicians believed that the world had come into being.[49] Instead, such ideas were often attributed to moderate dualists, such as the Bogomils.[50] The ambiguity of the matter encouraged ambiguous interpretation from scholars.[51] Before appearing in Bulgaria, Bogomilism, as described by Patriarch Theophylaktos, was just an offshoot of Paulicianism in Byzantium.[52] In the absence of any relevant sources, this hypothesis cannot be verified and the interpretation based on it must be treated with caution.

The chronologically later, but content-wise significantly more important and informative source on the heresy is the *Sermon* of Cosmas the Presbyter. The text is a remarkable monument of Old Church Slavonic literature, as well as of the Bulgarian medieval culture.[53] For reasons that have not yet been clarified, this work, however, was almost completely forgotten in Bulgaria, received no appreciation in the Balkans and enjoyed considerable popularity only in Rus'.[54] The sermon has two parts. The first exposes the heretics, and the second instructs the clergy. Both parts are extremely interesting for historians concerned with social and religious matters. Here, we will focus on the first part, although valuable information about the origins of Bogomilism may also be found in the second part. Cosmas, the author, appears to have been a simple priest.[55] Judging by his work, he had a basic theological education and knew in a general sense the history of the ecumenical councils. He was most likely familiar with John the Exarch's *Shestodnev*, from which he drew some heresiological information. Unlike Patriarch Theophylaktos, whose knowledge of the heretics as espoused

in his letter to Emperor Peter was entirely bookish, Cosmas appears to have written his work on the basis of what he himself had seen and heard. Whether he had direct contact with the heretics or simply wrote down what was repeated about them in his circle, his testimony has still more value than that of the theologically informed patriarch.

Nonetheless, the information that Cosmas provides on the heretics is not as detailed as might be expected, given the volume of his work. He typically quotes briefly the opinion of the heretics, usually in a single sentence, and then proceeds to combat them. However, he does not analyze their views in much depth; instead, he invokes passages from the Bible, selected in such a manner as to show the absurdity of heretical beliefs or to justify the opposite view. According to Cosmas, the Bogomils regarded the veneration of icons as idolatry, rejected the cult of saints and questioned the miracles performed by or through relics.[56] They believed that it was not God who had created all visible things, heaven and earth,[57] but the devil.[58] Cosmas knew that the problem of theodicy, the origin of evil, was highly relevant to his listeners: "We hear many of our people ask –– why does God let the devil attack men?" However, he did not take the issue seriously and attempted to embarrass those who thought about it:

> These infantile remarks do not come from a healthy mind; it is for the sake of his brave men that God has allowed the devil to sow evil thoughts in the minds of men, so that those who do God's will may be recognized.[59]

This is surprising, because freeing God from responsibility for the evil present in the world was the very foundation of a dualistic worldview.[60] Radical dualists recognized evil and good (darkness and light) as two separate and perennial principles, while moderate dualists recognized the inferiority of evil to good, but, contrary to Orthodox theology, attributed substantial existence to evil. According to Cosmas, the Bogomils thought that venerating the Cross was inappropriate, as it was not a sign pleasing to God, since it had been the instrument of Christ's passion.[61] Eucharistic bread, in their opinion, remained ordinary bread, and Christ had not instituted the liturgy. The blood and flesh that he mentioned during the Last Supper were in fact metaphors for the Gospels and the Apostle.[62] The Bogomils therefore rejected liturgy and worship altogether.[63] They prayed only by reciting the Lord's Prayer four times a day, and the same number of times at night.[64] They did not recognize the Law and the Prophets (that is, the part of the Old Testament that includes the books of Moses and the Prophets)[65] and had no respect for the Mother of God.[66] They rejected marriage, meat consumption, wine drinking and "living in the world."[67] They thought that baptism was unnecessary and they were repulsed by children.[68] They questioned the miracles of Christ.[69] They hypocritically denied their faith.[70] They opposed the social order, cursed the rich, hated kings, rebuked boyars and incited servants to disobey their masters.[71] The Bogomil teachers did not work; they simply went preaching from one house to another.[72] Among them, the faithful confessed to each other. They did not recognize the hierarchy of the Church, and probably had none of their own.[73] They regarded priests as Pharisees and reproached them for their sinful lives.[74]

The red thread through almost all those statements is the dualism of the spiritual and material world, in which the latter is valued negatively. Everything visible comes from the devil. The body is evil, and so is everything that serves it: pleasure (wine, meat, abundance) and sex (marriage). Nothing that involves matter can be good: sacraments, icons, relics or formalized liturgy. The New Testament, which, in a direct sense, recounts the earthly life of Christ, was interpreted metaphorically. The miracles of Christ were only signs, just like

the bread and wine from the Upper Room. Cosmas does not develop any of those threads. In order to learn more about them, one has to turn to other sources. The early 13th-century document of the Bulgarian Church that formally condemned Bogomil claimed that he had

> adopted [the] Manichean heresy and [had] spread it in the land of Bulgaria and [had] also added to it that Christ our God was borne by the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary [only] in appearance, that He was crucified in appearance and that He ascended in His divinized body and left it in the air.[75]

Bogomil Christology is docetistic; Jesus, the messenger of good God, could not have defiled himself by assuming the flesh.[76] Without linking the dots explicitly, in the second part of his sermon, Cosmas therefore drew attention to a variety of disciplinary flaws and moral faults of the clergy, such as alcohol abuse, the neglect of pastoral care, and preoccupation with material matter, all of which may have facilitated the growth of the heresy.

Nothing is known about the Bogomils in the Balkans between the late 10th century and the second half of the 12th century.[77] They probably survived, developed and strengthened their structures. Shortly before and after 1200, the heretical threat was noticed by state and church authorities in many parts of the Balkan Peninsula. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Bogomilism spread to Thessaly, the province of Athens, Constantinople, and the nearby regions in Asia Minor,[78] as well, possibly, Thrace and the mountain regions of Aegean Macedonia.[79] It is important to note that around 1000, Byzantium expanded into the central and northern Balkans, seizing those Bulgarian lands where heresy had first appeared. This may have facilitated the spread of Bogomilism to other parts of the empire. The perspective in Constantinople was favorable to that, since at the time the general feeling of the elites in the capital was that entire provinces were engulfed in heresy.[80] At the same time, no large-scale actions were taken to restore the right faith. Theodore Balsamon, an outstanding canonist from the second half of the 12th century, was surprised that a heretic who appeared in the capital was persecuted with great severity, while entire towns and villages in the provinces were left to the Bogomils.[81] In the early 13th century, the Bogomil heresy appears almost simultaneously in many parts of the Balkans: Bosnia, Dalmatia, Serbia and Bulgaria. Before it was discovered by local churches, Bogomilism is mentioned in Western sources, although not all of them of a certain date. This strongly suggests close ties between the Eastern dualist communities and the Cathars, who regarded the Bogomils as their older brothers in faith, as indicated in both Cathar sources and documents of the Roman Church. The archives of the inquisition have preserved the only Bogomil apocrypha, the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, also known as the *Secret Book*.[82] Western sources also knew about disputes between radical and moderate dualists among the Bogomils.[83]

The appearance of the heresy in Bosnia followed a pattern similar to that in Bulgaria two centuries earlier: a ruler informed the patriarch of religious dissent. However, there are more differences than similarities: the denunciation concerned a neighboring country. In 1199/1200, Vukan Nemanjić, the ruler of Duklja at the time, wrote a letter to Pope Innocent III, reporting that a heresy was spreading in Bosnia, which was then subordinate to Hungary. Vukan accused the local ruler, Ban Kulin, his family, and numerous subjects of departing from the right faith.[84] The pope's reaction was also different from that of the 10th-century patriarch. Innocent brought the matter to the attention of King Emeric of Hungary and collected information on the anti-heretical activities of Bernard, Archbishop of Split.[85] In the end, much as Kulin had demanded, he sent a trusted churchman to Bosnia. The papal envoy John de Casamaris was sent to Kulin in 1203, but this was not his first mission to the western

Balkans, and he may have been familiar with the general situation before going to Bosnia.[86] In a letter sent before Casamaris' mission, Innocent III called the heretics Patarenes,[87] and in another, Cathars.[88] He used those terms that described religious dissent that he knew from France and Italy. At the same time, he was aware of the fact that the ruler of Bosnia regarded those suspected of heresy as innocent and as good Christians.[89] Once learning the details of the affair, the pope lost any interest in Bosnia until the 1220s. Historians, however, find the explanations that John obtained from Kulin and his people not sufficient to settle the matter. The statement of faith that representatives of the Bosnian brotherhoods made in the presence of Ban Kulin and the Church hierarchs in *Bolino Poilo* (Bilino Polje) is not as straightforward as historians would like it to be.[90] The superiors of those brotherhoods renounced the schism apparently created in the church, promised never to join any heresy, and never to accept any heretics (Manicheans) in their communities. Moreover, they swore to recognize the authority of the Roman Church. In their monasteries,[91] they were to observe the order of the Liturgy of the Hours, to build altars in churches, erect crosses and read books of the Old and New Testaments according to the Roman calendar. Each monastery was to have a priest who would say Mass every Sunday, hear confessions and give penance. There were further declarations regulating the order of fasts, holidays, monastic dress and ordering a clear separation of male and female dormitories and refectories in mixed monasteries.

The text, signed by seven abbots, focuses on matters of moral and liturgical discipline, while omitting doctrinal issues.[92] Were there any dualists among them? There is no indication of that, but many historians believe there is. Were there such heretics at all in Bosnia at that time? Possibly. Several sources mention them.[93] However, the history of the heresies at that time is written on the basis of several chains of suppositions. The evidence available cannot entirely be trusted, yet its sum, despite doubts (as in a circumstantial trial), is commonly treated as confirming the presence of dualists in the region. Not terribly precise when it comes to geographic nomenclature, Latin sources usually refer to closely linked coastal Dalmatian and Bosnian cities.[94] One of the oldest pieces of evidence is the Charter of Niquinta about the Cathar synod of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman in 1167.[95] In a list of Cathar churches in the East, there is one in Dalmatia.[96] The document was drafted in 1223, and most likely some details were updated according to the realities of the second decade of the 13th century. That may include the news about the existence of the Dalmatian church. This does not fundamentally change the significance of the text for the issue at stake here, but only deprives it of chronological priority. Similar mentions of dualist churches in Dalmatia, Slavonia and Bosnia[97] appeared in Latin sources beginning with the first half of the 13th century. The rumors that the head (*pope*) of all Cathar churches resided in those areas are interesting, but not reliable.[98] The Bosnian dualists, often called Patarenes, are often singled out for their beliefs, as in Paul of Dalmatia's *Debate between a Roman Catholic and a Bosnian Patarene*, written ca. 1250.[99] The beliefs of the Patarenes were similar to those of the Cathars and the Bogomils.[100] Some associate dualist beliefs with 13th- to 18th-century tombstones known as *stećci*, the ornamentation and engraved inscriptions of which have been studied in detail. However, there is so far no evidence of a linkage between any *stećak* and dualism.[101]

Dualists may have also appeared in the 1180s in Serbia. The heretics, to whom the *Life of St. Simeon* (written by his son, Stephen Prvovenčani) refers as the "Arians," were severely handled by state authorities: some ended up at the stake, others were expelled, and the teachers of the heresy had their tongues cut off.[102] Although the *Life* says nothing about their specific beliefs, scholars have assumed that they were Bogomils.[103] Some believe that the heretics expelled from Serbia at that time found refuge in Bosnia and gave rise to a dualist community there.[104] The speech that Sava of Serbia gave before the synod of Žiča of 1221

is often interpreted as attacking Bogomils, but that is simply speculation.[105] Bogomilism also (re-)appeared in Bulgaria in the early 13th century. It was condemned at the synod in Tărnovo in 1211.[106]

Between 1220 and 1250, numerous events brought to the fore the religious situation in Bosnia. From 1221, the papal legate Acontius operated in the region for at least a year.[107] His first goal was to fight the pirate Patarenes of Omiš. The mission was a military success, and the people of Omiš undertook to stop the attacks. Acontius then turned against the heretics, who had found refuge in Bosnia. The results of his actions there remain unknown.[108] In 1225, Ugrin, Archbishop of Kalocsa, with the approval of Pope Honorius III, accepted the Bosnian lands from King Andrew II of Hungary, with the obligation to purify them of heretics.[109] After several indecisive years, the archbishop withdrew from the task. Subsequent actions are related to the figure of Gregory IX. Renewing the bishopric of Srem in 1229, he expressed hopes that the Slavs and the Greeks would return to the Roman Church and obey him, which confirms his interest in the situation in the region.[110] Only three years later, the Bosnian bishop was accused of heresy before the pope on charges that he did not celebrate mass, did not know the rite of baptism, lived in the countryside with apostates, and supported his brother, the active leader of the heretics.[111] Pope Gregory sent a legate in the person of Jacob Pecorarius to whom the Bosnian hierarch repented. However, nothing can be said on the basis of the outcome of this affair about the truth behind the allegations. The bishop was dismissed from office, because he had allowed the heresy to spread in his diocese.[112] Coloman, the Duke of Slavonia (son of Andrew II), who intended to take over Bosnia, got involved in the case. Fearing the worst, Ban Ninoslav promised to expel all heretics and to submit to Rome, asking the pope for protection. Coloman's attack was thus stopped, and John of Wildeshausen, the Westphalian Provincial of the Hungarian Dominicans, was appointed bishop of Bosnia.[113] The pope, who either wanted to reinforce Ninoslav or did not trust him entirely, called for a crusade aimed at cleansing Bosnia of heretics (1234). The ban opposed the intervention, but could not prevent the attack, and in 1237/1238, Coloman seized most of Bosnia (if not all).[114] The Bosnian Church was reorganized: the sources mention the securing of the Bosnian bishop's income and jurisdiction over the people living on the bishop's estate, as well as the construction of a cathedral.[115] Coloman did not rule long in Bosnia; already in 1240, Ninoslav had regained power over the country. After the withdrawal of the Hungarians, the Catholic clergy lost all hope of ever subjugating the Bosnian church.[116]

The next stage of the Bosnian-Hungarian conflict, this time related to the dispute between Trogir and Split, took place in the years 1243–1244. It ended with an agreement, which concerned also religious issues. Ban Ninoslav undertook to maintain the order introduced in the Bosnian church after 1237, which he, however, failed to do. In 1246, he was again accused of heresy, and vigorous action against him was announced.[117] Ultimately, he managed to defend himself against the charges and there was no intervention in Bosnia (1247/1248).[118]

This event closes an era of intense efforts by the Catholic clergy and the Hungarian nobles to subjugate Bosnia. Since at least 1252, the Catholic bishop of Bosnia resided outside its borders in Đakovo and had no influence over what happened in his nominal diocese.[119] In fact, it was administered by a local bishop called *djed* in the Slavonic sources. Over the next centuries, the Bosnian Church functioned as a separate and autonomous community that did not recognize the sovereignty of either Rome or Constantinople. The Catholic clergy continued its efforts to subjugate Bosnia and to combat the heresy within it, but to no avail.[120] Can one identify the Bosnian Church with the dualist heretics operating inside that country?

That Catholics accused representatives of the Bosnian Church of heresy does not mean that they truly were heretics.[121] When intervening in the religious affairs of Bosnia, Pope Gregory IX also tried to organize a crusade against Bulgaria that was "filled with heretics."[122] However, it is quite clear from other sources that the inhabitants of Bulgaria held quite Orthodox beliefs. As of now, the question about the true nature of the Bosnian Church remains open. The recent developments in the historiography of this issue are very encouraging.[123]

Notes

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2 Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), p. 527.

3 For the Orthodox Christian approach to Catholics and Muslims, see Tia Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Jeff Brubaker, "*You are the Heretics!* Dialogue and disputation between the Greek East and the Latin West after 1204," *Medieval Encounters* 24 (2018), 613–30; Zofia A. Brzozowska, Mirosław J. Leszka, and Teresa Wolińska, *Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History* (Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2021).

4 Todor Sabev, *Samostoina narodnostna tsărkva v srednovekovna Bălgariia. Khristianizatorski protses, osnovavane i vazkhod, autokefalia i mezhdutsărkovno polozhenie. Tsărkva, dărzhava, rolia i znachenie* [An independent national Church in medieval Bulgaria. Process of Christianization, founding and upsurge of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Autocephaly and position among other Churches. Church and State. Role and importance of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church] (Sofia: Sinodalno izdatelstvo, 1987), pp. 72–195; Karl Frederick Morrisson, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Dimitrios V. Gonis, *Istoria ton Orthodokson Ekklesion Boulgarias kai Serbias* [History of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria and Serbia] (Athens: Parousia, 1999), pp. 7–15 and 175–81.

5 *Bratchina*: Iuliia Iu. Starkova, "Bratchina-pir v iazicheskoi traditsii Drevnei Rusi" [The fraternity feast in the pagan tradition of Kievan Rus'], in *Zhertvoprinosheniie. Ritual v kul'ture i isskustve ot drevnosti do nashih dnei / EPMHNEI'A 2 /. Sbornik statei*, edited by Liudmila I. Akimova and Anatolii G. Kifishin (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), pp. 253–68; Iurii V. Lushtai, "Bratchina na Rusi za danimi Marka Polo" [The fraternity feast in Rus' according to Marco Polo], *Zbirnik naukovyh prats'. Seriia "Istoriia ta geografiia"* 49 (2013), 58–63. For *postrzyżyny* in 13th-century Poland, see Vincent Kadłubek, *Chronica Polonorum* II 6–7, edited by Marian Plezia (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1994), pp. 34–36; Antoni Gąsirowski, "Postrzyżyny," in *Mały słownik kultury dawnych Słowian*, edited by Lech Leciejewicz (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1988), p. 303.

6 Patrick J. Geary, "Peasant religion in medieval Europe," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 12 (2001), 185–209, here 203 and 205; Curta, "Eastern Europe," pp. 524–27.

7 Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova and Anisava Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria* (Sofia: East-West Publishers, 2011); Anisava Miltenova, Erotapokriseis. *Săchineniiata ot kratki văprosi i otgovori v starobălgarskata literatura* [*Erotapokriseis*. Collections of short questions and answers in the Old Bulgarian literature] (Sofia: Damian Iakov, 2004). For apocryphal literature, see also Donka Petkanova, "Apokrifna literatura" [The apocryphal literature], in *Starobălgarska literatura. Entsiklopedichen rechnik*, edited by Donka Petkanova (Veliko Tărnovo: Abagar, 2003), pp. 45–48; Georgi Minchev, "Starotestamentowe teksty pseudokanoniczne w południowosłowiańskiej tradycji rękopiśmiennej" [Pseudo-canonical Old Testament texts in the South Slavic manuscript tradition], in *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian Południowych*, edited by Georgi Minchev and Małgorzata Skowronek (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006), pp. xvii–xlii; Anisava Miltenova and Adelina Angusheva, "Apokrifi. Gadatelni knigi. Amuleti. Meditsinski săchineniia" [Apocryphs, divination books, amulets, and medieval collections], in *Istoriia na bălgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, edited by Anisava Miltenova (Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2009), pp. 212–25, here 212–20; *Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum. Novum Testamentum. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Naukowej "Biblia Slavorum Apocryphorum. II. Novum Testamentum", Łódź, 15–17 maja 2009 roku*, edited by Georgi Minchev, Małgorzata Skowronek and Ivan Petrov (Łódź: Piktor, 2009).

8 Ivan Duichev, *Rilskiiat svetets i negovata obitel* [The saint from Rila and his monastery] (Sofia: Biblioteka Zlatni Zarna, 1947), pp. 1–47; Stanisław Piekarczyk, "Adaptacja, synkretyzm, mediewalizacja. Z preliminarnych rozważań o chrześcijaństwie na progu średniowiecza" [Adaptation, syncretism, medievalization. Some preliminary reflections on Christianity in the early Middle Ages], *Euhemer* 8 (1964), no. 1, 3–16; no. 2, 13–24; no. 4, 17–29; Dimităr Angelov, *Iz srednovekovnoto ni minalo. Dărzhava, narodnost, kultura* [From our medieval past. State, nation, culture] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestveniia front, 1990), pp. 356–76; Krzysztof Bracha, "Wokół religijności ludowej w polskim średniowieczu (na marginesie pracy ks. Grzegorza Rysia, Pobożność ludowa na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu. Próba typologii, Szczecin 1995)" [On folk religiosity in the Polish Middle Ages (notes on the margins of Father Gregorz Ryś's book)], *Przegląd Historyczny* 92 (2001), no. 2, 229–37; Stanisław Bylina, *Religijność późnego średniowiecza. Chrześcijaństwo a kultura tradycyjna w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIV–XV w.* [Late medieval religiosity. Christianity and the traditional culture in East Central Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2009), pp. 91–145.

9 Mirosław J. Leszka and Kirił Marinow, *Carstwo bułgarskie. Polityka, społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura, 866–971* [The Bulgarian Empire. Politics, society, economy, and culture] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN SA, 2015), pp. 61–69; Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II, król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego* [Mieszko II, King of Poland. Time of breakthrough in the history of the Polish state] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008), pp. 75–83 and 169–72.

10 Lech Leciejewicz, *Słowanie Zachodni. Z dziejów tworzenia się średniowiecznej Europy* [The Western Slavs. From the formation history of medieval Europe] (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989), pp. 213–27; Stanisław Gręś, "Der Glaube der Lebuser und Pommerschen Stämme im 12. Jahrhundert," *Roczniki Teologii Fundamentalnej i Religiologii* 1 (2009), 165–82.

11 Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, "Próba periodyzacji wczesnośredniowiecznych praktyk pogrzebowych w Polsce" [An attempt to divide into periods the early medieval burial practices of Poland], *Archeologia Polski* 16 (1971), nos. 1–2, 541–56, here 552; Leciejewicz, *Słowanie*, pp. 113, 119, 205 and 303–04. For Rus', see Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin and Tamara A. Pushkina, "Old Russia: The earliest stages of Christianisation," in *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts. Internationale Fachkonferenz der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Verbindung mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Kiel, 18.-25. September 1994*, edited by Michael Müller-Wille, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), pp. 247–58, here 250–52; Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin and Tamara A. Pushkina, "Novye dannye o protsesse khristianizatsii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva" [New data on the process of Christianization in the Rus' state], in *Archeologia Abrahamica. Issledovaniia v oblasti arkheologii i khudzhestvennoi traditsii iudaizma, khristianstva i islama*, edited by Leonid Beliaev (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), pp. 157–66, here pp. 165–66. For the Balkans, see Maja Petrinec, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoleća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države* [Eighth- to eleventh-century cemeteries on the territory of early medieval Croatia) (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2009], pp. 271 and 278–79; Perica Špehar, *Centralni Balkan od 7. do 11. veka. Arheološka svedočanstva* [The Central Balkans from the 7th to the 11th centuries. The archaeological evidence] (Belgrade: Ivan Bevc, 2017), pp. 101–29; Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, "Na granitsata mezhdu ezichestvo i khristianstvo (po danni na nekropolite ot IX–X v.)" [On the border between paganism and Christianity (on the basis of data from 9th- to 10th-century cemeteries)], in *Simeonova Bălgariia v istoriiata na Evropeiskiia Iugoiztok: 1100 godini ot bitkata pri Akheloi*, edited by Nikolai Kănev, Plamen Pavlov and Angel Nikolov, vol. 2 (Veliko Tărnovo: Faber, 2018), pp. 164–85; Marko Aleksić, *Srpske zemlje pre Nemanjića od 7. do 10. veka* [Serbian lands before Nemanjić from the 7th to the 10th c.] (Belgrade: Laguna, 2020), pp. 323–28.

12 Alfons Labudda, *Liturgia pogrzebu w Polsce do wydania Rytuału Piotrkowskiego (1631). Studium historyczno-liturgiczne* [The burial liturgy in Poland up to the edition of Piotrkowski Ritual (1631). A historical and liturgical study] (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1983) pp. 63–66. Burial outside the church graveyard, in fields and forests, was still practiced in Lithuania and Russia as late as the 19th century; see Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Drukarnia P. Laskauera i W. Babickiego, 1900), pp. 248–51, here 248–49.

13 Zoll-Adamikowa, "Próba periodyzacji," p. 545; Doncheva-Petkova, "Na granitsata," pp. 164–65. See also Maria Miśkiewiczowa, "Wczesnośredniowieczny obrządek pogrzebowy na płaskich cmentarzyskach szkieletowych w Polsce" [The early medieval burial customs in flat

cemeteries with inhumations in Poland], *Materiały wczesnośredniowieczne* 6 (1969), 241–74; Urszula Łydkowska-Sowina, "Chrystianizacja obrządku pogrzebowego w X–XIII w." [The christianization of the burial customs (10th to 13th cc.)], *Z otchłani wieków* 46 (1980), no. 2, 167–77; Arkadiusz Koperkiewicz, "Praktyki pogrzebowe z początku II tysiąclecia n.e. na północno-wschodniej rubieży Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej" [Burial practices at the beginning of the second millennium on the northeastern border of Western Slavdom], Ph.D. dissertation, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika (Toruń, 2005).

14 Ivan Venedikov, *Mitove na bălgarskata zemia* [The myths of the Bulgarian land], 3 vols. (Stara Zagora: Izdatelstvo na Chasten kolezh „Trakiia", 1995, 1997); Dimităr Angelov, *Dushevnostta na bălgarina v pesenniia folklor* [The spirituality of the Bulgarian man in folk songs] (Sofia: Kooperatsiia "IF-94", 2002), pp. 92–120 and 204–05; Todor Mollov, *Etnologiia i medievistika. Toposi. Imena. Svettsi. Studii i statii* [Ethnology and medieval studies. Tropes, names, saints. Studies and articles] (Veliko Tărnovo: Izdatelstvo "Vesta", 2012), pp. 197–215 and 242–78; Georgi Mishev, *Antichni sledi văv magicheski obredi ot bălgarskite zemi* [Ancient traces in magical customs from the Bulgarian lands] (Sofia: Shambala Books, 2015).

15 See Khristo Vakarelski, *Etnografiia na Bălgariia* [The ethnography of Bulgaria] (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1974), pp. 616–18; Pavel Georgiev, "Miastoto na Tărnovo văv văzstanoviavaneto na Bălgarskata dărzhava" [The city of Tărnovo in the restoration of the Bulgarian state], in *Velikite Asenevtsi. Sbornik s dokladi ot konferentsiia, posvetena na 830 godini ot văstanieto na bratiata Petăr i Asen, nachaloto na Vtoroto bălgarsko tsarstvo i obiaviavaneto na Tărnovo za stolitsa na Bălgariia i 780 godini ot legitimioto văzobnoviavane na bălgarskata patriarshiia*, edited by Plamen Pavlov, Nikolai Kănev and Nikolai Khrisimov (Veliko Tărnovo: Abagar, 2016), pp. 130–41, here pp. 134–35 sees evidence of this type of practice in connection with the restitution of Bulgarian statehood at the end of the 12th century, about which Niketas Choniates wrote (Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, edited by J.-L. van Dieten, vol. 1 (Berlin: New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1975, p. 371)), but a different interpretation of this passage is to be preferred, for which see Kirił Marinow, "Noviiat Zavet i vizantiiskata propaganda. Oshte vednăzh za Nikita Khoniat i bălgarskoto osvoboditelno dvizhenie" [The New Testament and the Byzantine propaganda. Once again on Niketas Choniates and the Bulgarian independence movement], in *Velikite Asenevtsi. Sbornik s dokladi ot konferentsiia, posvetena na 830 godini ot văstanieto na bratiata Petăr i Asen, nachaloto na Vtoroto bălgarsko tsarstvo i obiaviavaneto na Tărnovo za stolitsa na Bălgariia i 780 godini ot legitimioto văzobnoviavane na bălgarskata patriarshiia*, edited by Plamen Pavlov, Nikolai Kănev and Nikolai Khrisimov (Veliko Tărnovo: Abagar, 2016), pp. 70–83.

16 Pope Nicholas I, ep. 99 (*Responsa Nicolai Papae I ad consulta Bulgarorum*), edited by Ernst Perels, MGH Epistolae, 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), pp. 568–600, here 585; Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum* III 1, edited by. Berthold Bretholz, MGH Scriptorus rer. Germ. Nova series, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), p. 161. See Nikolai Khrisimov, "'Otgovorite na papa Nikolai I' kato izvor za bita i ezhednevieto na bălgarite po vremeto na kniaz Boris I" [The *Responsa Nicolai Papae I ad consulta Bulgarorum* as a source of information about the everyday life in medieval Bulgaria at the time of Prince Boris I], in *Bălgariia, bălgarite i Evropa. Mit, istoriia, săvremie. IV (Dokladi ot Mezhdunarodna konferenciia v pamet na prof. d.i.n. Iordan Andreev "Bălgariia, zemia na blazheni…", V. Tărnovo, 29–31 oktomvri 2009 g.)*, edited by Ivan Lazarov (Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii", 2011), pp. 149–72, here pp. 152–55. For the solar cult as practiced in the 9th century in Bulgaria, see Dimităr Ovcharov, *Bălgarski srednovekovni risunki-grafiti* [Medieval graffiti in Bulgaria] (Sofia: Septemvri, 1982), pp. 64–71.

17 Barbara Ogrodowska, *Święta polskie. Tradycja i obyczaj* [Polish festivals. Tradition and custom] (Warsaw: Alfa, 2000), pp. 17, 18, 42, 119, 121, 148–49, 215, 240 and 261; Aleksandra Cybulska, "Obrzędowość wybranych świąt wiosennych w tradycji polskiej i rosyjskiej" [Selected autumn rituals in the Polish and Russian traditions], *Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Humanistyczne* 12 (2016), no. 1, 23–34. See also Dimităr Angelov, *Bălgarinat v Srednovekovieto (Svetogled, ideologiia, dushevnost)* [The Bulgarian man in the Middle Ages: worldview, ideology, spirituality] (Varna: Georgi Bakalov, 1985), pp. 149–50 and 152–54; Rasho Rashev, *Bălgarskata ezicheska kultura VII-IX vek* [The Bulgarian pagan culture, 7th to 9th century] (Sofia: "Klasika i stil" OOD, 2008), pp. 287–329, especially pp. 323–24.

18 Pope Nicholas I, ep. 99, p. 594; Kazimir Popkonstantinov and Otto Kronsteiner, *Starobălgarski nadpisi. Altbulgarische Inschriften*, vol. 1 (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik der Universität Salzburg, 1994), p. 113; Angelov, *Bălgarinat*, pp. 137–38, 140, and 146–47; Kazimir Popkonstantinov,

"Oloven amulet palimpsest s glagoliko-kirilski tekst" [A leaden palimpsest-amulet with a Glagolitic-Cyrillic inscription], in *Tangra. Sbornik v chest na 70-godishninata na akad. Vasil Giuzelev*, edited by Miliiana Kaimakamova, Khristo Temelski, Ilia G. Iliev, Liliana Simeonova and Georgi N. Nikolov (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski", 2006), pp. 311–30; Nikolai Markov, "Dva novi amuleta sreshtu 'nezhit' ot Zapadna Bălgariia" [Two new amulets against "fever" from western Bulgaria], in *Tangra. Sbornik v chest na 70-godishninata na akad. Vasil Giuzelev*, edited by Miliiana Kaimakamova, Khristo Temelski, Ilia G. Iliev, Liliana Simeonova and Georgi N. Nikolov (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski", 2006), pp. 331–42; Miltenova and Angusheva, "Apokrifi," p. 221; Khrisimov, "'Otgovorite'," p. 156.

19 Špehar, *Centralni Balkan*, p. 196. For encolpions, see Brigitte Pitarakis, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze* (Paris: Picard, 2006); Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, *Srednovekoni krăstove-enkolpioni ot Bălgariia (IX–XIV v.)* [Medieval reliquary crosses from Bulgaria, 9th to 14th cc.] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2011).

20 Donka Petkanova, *Raznolikoto Srednovekovie otrazeno v literaturata. Knizhka za vsichki* [The various Middle Ages as reflected in the literature. A booklet for everyone] (Veliko Tărnovo: Abagar, 2006), pp. 123–30; Mincho Georgiev, *Starobălgarskata meditsina* [Old Bulgarian medicine] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2011), pp. 148–56.

21 Pope Nicholas I, ep. 99, p. 581; Angelov, *Bălgarinat*, pp. 132, 141–43, 144–45, 147–48, and 150–51; Angelov, *Dushevnostta*, pp. 205–06 and 214–22; Miltenova and Angusheva, "Apokrifi," pp. 218–20; Khrisimov, "'Otgovorite'," p. 160; Bylina,"Religijność," pp. 110–12.

22 Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* III 29, edited by Paolo Chiesa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 5–150, here 82; Aleksandar Loma, "Sveti Sava i oblakogonci" [St. Sava and the cloud-chasers], *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 50 (2013), 1041–79; Jenő Fazekas, "Hungarian shamanism: material and history of research," *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 1 (1967), 97–119; Angelov, *Bălgarinat*, pp. 134–35; Leszek P. Słupecki, *Wojownicy i wilkołaki* [Warriors and werewolves] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011), pp. 66–74 and 138–58; Stefan Iordanov, "Likantropiiata u rannite slaviani: ot 'vălko-mechkata' na indoevropeiskata (balto-slavianskata?) drevnost do vărkolaka v bălgarskiia folklor i vălkoviia v bălgarskata toponimiia" [The lycanthropy of the early Slavs: from the "wolf-bear" of the Indo-European (Balto-Slavic?) antiquity to the *vărkolak* of the Bulgarian folklore and the *vălkoviia* of the Bulgarian toponymy], *Godishnik na istoricheskiia fakultet na Velikotărnovskiia universitet "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii"* 1 (2017), no. 1, 108–92; Curta, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 524–25. The existence and duration of shamanism in Bulgaria and in the Balkans, in general, is much debated: Ancho Kaloianov, *Starobălgarskite shamani. Religiozen opit i sotsialni funktsii (VIII–XII v.)* [Old Bulgarians shamans. Religious outlook and social function] (Sofia: Rod, 2003); Ruzha Neikova, *Imalo li e shamani na Balkanite?* [Were there any shamans in the Balkans?] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo „Prof. Marin Drinov", 2006).

23 Jakub Dzieruk and Monika Freygant, "Gdy kapłan nie patrzy… Pogańska rzeczywistość w dobie chrześcijaństwa na przykładzie ośrodka w Kamieniu Pomorskim" [When the priest is not looking… Pagan reality in Christian era on the example of the center in Kamień Pomorski], in *Świat Słowian. Na pograniczu chrześcijaństwa i pogaństwa*, edited by Patryk Banasiak and Monika Freygant (Łódź/Toruń: ArchaeGraph Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2020), pp. 139–56, here pp. 145–47.

24 See, in that respect, the pertinent remarks of Ivan Bozhilov, *Sedem etiuda po srednovekovna istoriia* [Seven studies on medieval history] (Sofia: Anubis, 1995), pp. 73–94.

25 Dimităr Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto* [Bogomilism] (Sofia: Jusautor, 1993), pp. 271–72 and 278; Boian Dzhonov, "Za lichnostta na eretika ot nadpisa pri Eskus" [On the figure of an heretic in the inscription from Oescus], *Palaeobulgarica* 10 (1986), no. 2, 104–09). See also Jaroslav Šidak, "Problem popa Bogumila u suvremenoj nauci" [The problem of the priest Bogumil in the contemporary literature] *Slovo* 9–10 (1960), 193–97; Milan Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1974), p. 303. The six successors/disciples of Bogomil are mentioned in *the Synodikon of Boril* (1211), for which see Ivan Bozhilov, Anna-Maria Totomanova and Ivan Biliarski, *Borilov sinodik. Izdanie i prevod* [The Synodikon of Boril. Edition and translation] (Sofia: PAM, 2010), pp. 155 and 353 (for the English translation).

26 Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God. Dualist Religion from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 164–65; Maja Angelovska-Panova, *Bogomilstvoto vo dukhovnata kultura na Makedoniia* [Bogomilism in the spiritual culture of Macedonia] (Skopje: Az-Buki 2004), pp. 70–72.

27 Vasil Kiselkov, "Săshtestvuval li e pop Bogomil?" [Was there a priest named Bogomil?], *Istoricheski pregled* 2 (1958), 57–67; Georgi Minchev, "Za imeto Teofilos, Bogoliub, Bogomil v niakoi vizantiiski i slavianski tekstove" [On the names Theophilos, Bogoliub and Bogomil in some Byzantine and Slavic texts], *Palaeobulgarica* 37 (2013), no. 4, 43–52.

28 Charles Astruc, Wanda Conus-Wolska, Jean Gouilland, Paul Lemerle, Denise Papachryssanthou and Joseph Paramelle, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Paulicens d'Asie Mineure. Texte critique et traduction," *Travaux et mémoires* 4 (1970), 1–227, here 7–11; see also Paul Lemerle, "L'histoire des pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques," *Travaux et mémoires* 5 (1973), 1–144, here 19–21.

29 Dragoljub Dragojlović, "The history of Paulicianism on the Balkan Peninsula," *Balcanica* 5 (1974), 235–44; Hans Veit Beyer, "Die Paulikianer und Bulgarien im 9. Jahrhundert," in *Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts und das slawische Schrifttum*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev (Vienna: Bulgarisches Forschungsinstitut in Österreich, 1986), pp. 173–83.

30 Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, pp. 41–44 suspected the Paulician mission in the second half the 10th century had failed. Paulician preachers were successful only in the mid-11th century.

31 For a long time, a passage in John the Exarch's *Shestodnev* (*Six Days*, 906) was regarded as the first piece evidence for the existence of Bogomilism; however, that idea has meanwhile proved to be wrong. See Milan Loos, "Le prétendu témoignage d'un traité de Jean Exarque intitulé 'Shestodnev' et relatif aux Bogomils," *Byzantinoslavica* 13 (1952), no. 1, 59–98; Georgi Minchev and Małgorzata Skowronek, "Svedeniia o dualistichkikh eresiiakh i iazycheskikh verovaniiakh v Shestodneve Ioanna Ekzarha" [Information about the dualist heresy and pagan beliefs in John the Exarch's Shestodnev], *Studia Ceranea* 4 (2014), 95–123, here 121–22.

32 Dragoljub Dragojlović, *Bogomilstvo na Balkanu i u Maloj Aziji* [Bogomilism in the Balkan and in Asia Minor], vol. 1 (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1974), pp. 99–113 suggests the Messalians as one significant source of inspiration, an idea rejected by Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, pp. 96–97. Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 127–29, 152–55, and 162–64 suggests Zurvanist and Mithraic influences.

33 Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, p. 58 called Bogomilism a manifestation of the expansion of Byzantine culture in Bulgaria. To be sure, it is not at all easy to distinguish Byzantinization from Christianization.

34 For the text of the letter, see Ivan Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantinoslavo*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1965), p. 311. For the English translation, see Janet Hamilton, Bernard Hamilton and Yuri Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650-c. 1450. Selected Sources* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 99.

35 Theophylact in fact suggests dividing heretics into three groups, but then gives four ways of dealing with them.

36 Dujčev, *Medioevo*, p. 312; Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, p. 99. The last sentence is unclear, and we have chosen the interpretation suggested by Anna Maciejewska. According to her, members of the first group could not take communion for four months.

37 Duichev, *Medioevo*, pp. 311–15; Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 98–102.

38 Duichev, *Medioevo*, pp. 312–13; Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 99–100.

39 Georgi Minczew, "Remarks on the letter of the Patriarch Theophylact to Tsar Peter in the context of certain Byzantine and Slavic anti-heretic texts," *Studia Ceranea* 3 (2013), 113–30, here 124–28. See Benajmin Moulet, "Évêques, canons et liturgie face à l'hérésie (Byzance, VIII^{e}-XI^{e} siècles)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 87 (2009), nos. 3–4, 519–30.

40 *Užhorodský rukopisný Pseudozonar. Pravidlá mníšskeho a svetského života z prelomu 16.-17. storočia* [The Uzhhorod manuscript of Pseudo-Zonaras. Rules of monastic and secular life from the late 16th and early 17th century], edited by Peter Žeňuch, Elena Beliakova, Desislava Naidenova, Peter Zubko and Šimon Marinčák (Bratislava: Veda, 2018), pp. 6–10. The text quoted here reflects a later, Slavic canonical tradition. Collections of the Pseudo-Zonaras type existed in the Slavic-speaking world from the second half of the 14th century at the earliest.

41 Duichev, *Medioevo*, pp. 311 and 313.

42 On the relationship between alterity as a social category and the image of heresy, other religions and paganism, see David M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food. Constructing Otherness in*

Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Law (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Todd S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians. Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016); Polydoros Gkoranis, *He proslepse ton aireseon hos logotechniko motibo apo ten Eikonomachia eos kai tous Bogomilous. Paragoge orthodoxon keimenon ste Byzantine kai eterodoxon keimenon sten Palaioslabike grammateia* [The reception of heresies as a literary motif from Iconoclasm to Bogomilism. The production of orthodox texts in the Byzantine and of heterodox texts in the Old Church Slavonic traditions] (Thessaloniki: Ostracon, 2017); Bojana Radovanović, "Language of religious dissent: comparative perspective (9th-century Frankish and Byzantine authors)," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Vienna (Vienna, 2018).

43 Dujčev, *Medioevo*, pp. 301–08; Aleksandar V. Solovjev, "Svedočanstva pravoslavnih izvora o bogomilstvu na Balkanu" [Testimonies of Orthodox sources on Bogomilism in the Balkans], *Godišnjak Istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 5 (1953), 1–105, here 3–5; Dragojlović, *Bogomilstvo*, vol. 1, pp. 131–32; Minczew, "Remarks," pp. 122–23.

44 Duichev, *Medioevo*, p. 313.

45 The heresy is specifically described as "a mixture of Manichaeanism and Paulianism," which applies perfectly to Paulicianism. Some, without any justification, have gone as far as to correct the patriarch (Angelov, *Bogomilstvo*, p. 101). Theophylact, according to such views, actually meant to say "a mixture of Manichaenism and Paulicianism." This supposedly was his way to say that Bogomilism was a combination of Paulicianism, which was known to him, and the ancient heresy of Manichaeism.

46 Many scholars have accepted the Paulician interpretation of the letter, e.g., Venance Grumel, *Les Regestes des actes des Patriarches de Constantinople*, I, fasc. 2, *Les Regestes de 715 à 1043* (Paris: Socii Assumtionistae Chalcedonenses, 1936), pp. 223–24; Nina Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy. A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (Paris: Mouton, 1967); and Antonio Rigo, "Les premières sources byzantines sur le bogomilisme et les oeuvres contre les phoundagiagites d'Euthyme de la Péribleptos," in *Evropeiski-iatijugoiztok prez vtorata polovina na X-nachaloto na XI vek. Istoriia i kultura*, edited by Vasil Gjuzelev and Georgi N. Nikolov (Sofia: Bălgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 2015), pp. 528–51, here 528. So far, nobody has dealt with the contradictory identifications of the subject of the letter. Nor is there any serious and comprehensive analysis of the letter.

47 Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 26–27.

48 Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, p. 179. Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 51 (followed by Minczew, "Remarks") stretched the evidence by claiming that Paulicians disliked marriage, because Byzantine orthodox authors accused them of promiscuity.

49 Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, p. 169.

50 *Pace* Minczew, "Remarks," p. 122, the anathema that the patriarch placed on the heresy is no indication of which version of duality the heretics professed.

51 Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, p. 48.

52 Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, pp. 59–62.

53 Iuri Trifonov, "Besedata na Kozma Prezviter i neiniiat avtor" [The Sermon of Cosmas the Presbyter and its author], *Spisanie na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite* 29 (1923), 159–240; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865–1459* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000) pp. 243–46; Anisava Miltenova, "Protivbogomilska knizhnina. Prezviter Kozma" [Anti-Bogomil literature. Cosmas the Presbyter], in *Istoriia na bălgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, edited by Anisava Miltenova (Sofia: Iztok-Zapad, 2009), pp. 280–85.

54 For the manuscript transmission and the influence of the *Sermon* on the homiletic, educational and other works of the Rus' literature, see Iurii K. Begunov, *Kozma Presviter v slavianskikh literaturakh* [Cosmas the Presbyter in the Slavic literature]). Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1973), pp. 19–161.

55 He was definitely not a hierarch of the Bulgarian church, as claimed by Georgi Minczew, Małgorzata Skowronek and Jan Mikołaj Wolski, *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach* [The medieval dualistic heresy in the Balkans] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2015), p. 68.

56 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 304 and 322–24; for the English text, see Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 115–34. Sections of the Sermon have been also translated by Kiril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone*

Culture (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 68–83. For surveys of the Bogomil tenets, see Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto*; Minczew, Skowronek and Wolski, *Średniowieczne herezje*, pp. 37–57.

57 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 304–06.

58 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 327–29; See Dimitrinka Dimitrova-Marinova, "Bogomilskaia kosmogoniia v drevneslavianskoi literaturnoi traditsii" [The Bogomil cosmogony in the Old Church Slavonic literary tradition], in *Ot Bytiia k Iskhodu. Otrazhenie bibleiskih siuzhetov v slavianskoi i evreiskoi narodnoi kul'ture. Sbornik statei*, edited by Vladimir I. Petrukhin (Moscow: GEOS, 1998), pp. 38–57.

59 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, p. 329; English translation in Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 126–27.

60 Ivan Bozhilov, *Bălgarskoto obshtestvo prez 14. vek. Struktura i prosopografiia* [The Bulgarian society in the 14th century. Structure and prosopography] (Plovdiv: Bălgarsko Istorichesko Nasledstvo, 2014), pp. 204–06.

61 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 306–08 and 330.

62 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 309–13.

63 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 312–13 and 339–41.

64 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 339 and 341.

65 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 318–20 and 324–26.

66 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 320–21.

67 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 331–34.

68 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 336–38.

69 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 338–39.

70 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 340–41; Yuri Stoyanov, "Aspects of doctrinal and cultic secrecy in Bogomilism and Catharism and the problem of their provenance," *Bulgaria Medievalis* 7 (2016), 467–78.

71 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, p. 342.

72 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 341–42.

73 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 347–49.

74 Begunov, *Kozma Presviter*, pp. 312–18.

75 Bozhilov, Totomanova, and Biliarski, *Borilov sinodik*, p. 131. For a similar anathema emphasizing the docetism of Bogomil's religion, see also p. 155.

76 For docetism in Bulgaria, see Ivan Bozhilov, "Antieretica," In *Sbornik v chest na akad. Dimităr Angelov*, edited by Velizar Velkov (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1994), pp. 105–12.

77 Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, p. 71.

78 David Gress-Wright, "Bogomilism in Constantinople," *Byzantion* 47 (1977), 163–85; Antonio Rigo, "Il patriarca Germano II (1223–1240) e i bogomili," *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), 91–110; Andrew P. Roach, "The competition for souls: Sava of Serbia and consumer choice in religion in the thirteenth century Balkans," *Glasnik Skopskogo Nauchnog Drushtva* 50 (2006), no. 1, 141–57, here 145–48; Antonio Rigo, "Les prémieres sources byzantines sur le Bogomilisme et les oeuvres contre les Phoundagiagites d'Euthyme de la Peribleptos," in *Evropeiskiiat Iugoiztok prez vtorata polovina na X – nachaloto na XI vek. Istoriia i kultura. Mezhdunarodna konferentsiia, Sofiia, 5–6 oktomvri 2014 g.*, eds. Vasil Giuzelev and Georgi N. Nikolov (Sofia: Izdatelstvo za Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 2015), pp. 528–51.

79 For Thrace, see Paul Gautier, "Le *De daemonibus* du Pseudo-Psellos," *Revue des études byzantines* 38 (1980), 105–94. For in Aegean Macedonia, Emil Kalužniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius* (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1901), pp. 33 and 53 and Jan M. Wolski, "Żywot św. Hilariona z Mogleny jako źródło do dziejów dwunastowiecznego bogomilizmu. Wiarygodność tekstu" [The Life of St. Hilarion of Moglena as a source for the history of 12th-century Bogomilism. How reliable is the text?], *Słupskie Studia Historyczne* 17 (2011), 43–57, here 55–56. However, the credibility of both testimonies is under doubt.

80 The synodikon in use in Athens since the 12th century noted that "the heresy of the Messalians or Bogomils, confused and many-named, is now prevalent in every city and countryside and province, and those who introduce it do not cease to destroy the simpler folk"; see Jean Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire," *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), 1–316, here 63; English translation from Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, p. 136. A letter attributed to Patriarch Cosmas of Jerusalem (1075–1081) or to Patriarch Cosmas II Attikos of Constantinople (1146–1147), and addressed to the metropolitan of Larisa makes

a similar argument: "The darkness of Manichaeanism […] now has secretly entered almost all the country of the Bulgars, indeed, the greater part of what is called the western area"; see Jean Gouillard, "Une source grecque du synodik de Boril," *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970), 361–74, here 369–71; English translation from Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, pp. 165–66. Euthymius of the Periblepton (ca. 1045) also includes the capital in the scope of heretical activities: "Blasphemers of this kind were all around, teaching everywhere within the city and outside it"; see Paul Gerhard Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1908), p. 63; English translation from Hamilton, Hamilton and Stoyanov, *Christian Dualist Heresies*, p. 145. See also Maja Angelovska-Panovska and Andrew P. Roach, "Punishment of heretics: comparison and contrast between Western and Eastern Christianity in the Middle Ages," *Istorija* 47 (2012), no. 1, 145–71.

81 *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, vol. 104, col. 1148. Such severe punishments could even include burning at stake. Balsamon was appalled (*Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. 104, col. 1112).

82 Edina Bozóky, *Le livre secret des Cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis. Apocryphe d'origine bogomile* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980). Some include in the group of Bogomil apocrypha several other texts, such as the *Vision of Isaiah* and the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*. See Vera Stojčevska-Antik, "Od crkovnoto bogomilsko I psevdo-bogomilsko nasledstvo" [On the authentic Bogomil and pseudo-Bogomil legacy], *Godishen zbornik na Filoloshkiot fakultet* 4 (1978), 275–88; Anisava Miltenova, "Littérature apocryphe bogomile et pseudo-bogomile dans la Bulgarie médiévale," *Slavica occitania* 16 (2003), 37–54; Yuri Stoyanov, "The debate on medieval Western Christian dualism through the prism of Slavonic pseudepigrapha," *Scrinium* 14 (2018), no.1, 334–50.

83 Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto*, pp. 395–400; David Zbíral, "Vztah bogomilství a katarství" [The relation between Bogomilism and Catharism], *Religio: Revue pro religionistiku* 12 (2004), no. 1, 77–94; Bernard Hamilton, "Bogomil influences on Western heresy," in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages*, edited by Michael Frassetto (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), pp. 93–114; Piotr Czarnecki, *Kataryzm włoski. Historia i doktryna* [Italian Catharism. History and doctrine] (Cracow: Nomos, 2013), pp. 97–171; Piotr Czarnecki, *Geneza i doktrynalny charakter kataryzmu francuskiego (XII–XIV w.)* [The genesis and the doctrinal character of French Catharism, 12th to 14th cc.] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017), pp. 37–163.

84 Tadija Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije* [A diplomatic collection for the kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia], vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti I umjetnosti, 1904), pp. 333–34; Elma Hašimbegović, "Prve vijesti o pojavi hereze u Bosni" [The first informations about the appearance of the heresy in Bosnia], *Prilozi. Institut za Istoriju u Sarajevu* 32 (2003), 39–46.

85 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 2, pp. 350–52; vol. 3, pp. 14–15; Hašimbegović, "Prve vijesti," pp. 42–43.

86 Ivan Majnarić, "Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji to u Bosni nije bio?" [The papal legate John de Casamaris and the 1203 act of abjuration in Bilino polje: The papal legate who was not a legate in Bosnia?], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znatnosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru* 50 (2008), 1–13, here 2–3. For the wider context, see Ivan Majnarić, *Papinski legati na istočnojadranskoj obali (1159–1204.)* [Papal legates in the East Adriatic region (1159–1204)] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2008).

87 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 2, pp. 350–52.

88 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, pp. 14–15.

89 The question of whom Kulin viewed as suspect of heresy is a matter of some debate, because of the different meanings of the adverb *autonomasice*, which the pope's letter uses to describe Kulin's opinion of those people (Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 2, p. 351). The word could mean "in its fullest sense" or "living under one's own laws" (derived from the Greek word *autonomos*) See Salih Jalimam, "Bosanski 'krstjani' u društvenom i političkom životu srednjovjekovne Bosne i Huma" [Bosnian *krstjani* in the social and political live in medieval Bosnia and Hum], in *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, edited by Franjo Šanjek (Sarajevo/Zagreb: Institut za istoriju, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), pp. 179–91, here 184. The difference between the two meanings has serious implications: either Kulin regarded those people as lacking discipline or he viewed them as true Christians. Given that, according to Pope Innocent, the ban valued them more than the Catholics, the first translation seems improbable.

90 Franjo Šanjek, "Abjuracija bosansko-humskih krstjana u kontekstu heredoksnih pokreta na krščanskom zapadu u 12./13. stoljeću" [The abjuration of the Bosnian Christians in the context

of the heterodox heresy in Western Christendom during the 12th and 13th centuries], *Prilozi instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu* 32 (2003), 11–17, here 15; Sima Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici i duhovnici* [Workers, soldiers, and churchmen] (Belgrade: Equilibrium, 1998), pp. 214–39, here 216–17; Francesco Dall'Aglio, "Innocent III and South-Eastern Europe: Orthodox, heterodox, or heretics?," *Studia Ceranea* 9 (2019), 11–25, here 15. The congregation is known traditionally as the "Bilinopol abjuration" (a word meaning "renouncing heresy"). In the earlier literature, *Bolino Poilo* was identified with Bilino Polje near Zenica, but this has been recently challenged by Ante Škegro, "Bilino Polje. Primjer jedne historiografske kontroverze" [Bilino Polje. An example of historiographic controversy], in *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, edited by Franjo Šanjek (Sarajevo/Zagreb: Institut za istoriju, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), pp. 351–69, who prefers a site near present-day Visoko, about 50 kilomters away from Zenica.

91 Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko–humski krstjani u povjesnim vrelima (13.-15. st.)* [Bosnian-Hum *krstjani* in historical sources (13th to 15th cc.)] (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003, p. 81, note 22 wanted to translate the word *conventus* as a reference to a Cathar community, but this was the commonly used word for a Catholic monastery. See Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin–français des auters du Moyen-Age* (Turnholti: Brepols, 1975), p. 249.

92 Dragutin Kniewald, "Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora o bosanskim krstjanima" [The trustworthiness of the Latin sources regarding the Bosnian *krstjani*], *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 270 (1949), 115–276, here 127–29 went too far when reading in this document that the superiors of the Bosnian monasteries professed dualist beliefs. Kniewald had followers, who were more moderate in their statements: Ćirković, "Dualistička heterodoksja," pp. 218–19; Dominik Mandić, *Bosna i Hercegovina. Povjesno-kritička istraživanja* [Bosnia and Hercegovina. Historical-critical investigations], vol. 2 (Chicago: Ziral, 1979), pp. 95–97 and 166–68; Franjo Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare, XII^e^-XIV^e^ siècles* (Brussels/Paris/Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1976), pp. 47–52; Mladen Ančić, "L'abiura di Bilino Polje nel contesto europeo dell'epoca," in *Giovanni da Casamari in Dalmazia e Bosnia*, a cura di Nenad Veselic (Rome: La Musa Talía, 2019), pp. 127–47. Equally preposterous is the claim of Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), p. 33 that the papal envoy consciously omitted the issues of duality in order to settle the dispute; for a cover-up interpretation, see also Lujo Margetić, "Neka pitanja Abjuracije iz 1203. godine" [Some questions regarding the 1203 abjuration], *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, edited by Franjo Šanjek (Sarajevo/Zagreb: Institut za istoriju, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), pp. 27–104, here 37–42.

93 Mandić, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, vol. 2, pp. 53–78 and 86–90; John V. A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church. Its Place in State and Society from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century. A New Interpretation* (London: Saqi, 2007), pp. 62–65.

94 Dalmatian heretics were the target of the archbishop of Split, Bernard.

95 Today: Saint-Félix-Lauragais. For a survey of scholarship regarding this document, see David Zbíral, "La charte de Niquinta et le rassemblement de Saint-Félix, état de la question," in *1209–2009, Cathares: une histoire à pacifier? Actes du colloque international tenu à Mazamet les 15, 16 et 17 mai 2009 sous la présidence de Jean-Claude Hélas*, edited by Anne Brenon (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2010), pp. 31–44.

96 David Zbíral, "Edition critique de la charte de Niquinta selon les trois versions connues," in *1209–2009, Cathares: une histoire à pacifier? Actes du colloque international tenu à Mazamet les 15, 16 et 17 mai 2009 sous la présidence de Jean-Claude Hélas*, edited by Anne Brenon (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2010), pp. 45–52, here 47.

97 Mandić, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, vol. 2, pp. 145–48; Jaroslav Šidak, *Studije o Crkvi bosanskoj i bogumilstvu* [Studies on the Bosnian Church and Bogomilism] (Zagreb: Liber, 1975), pp. 177–210, here 178–79; Margetić, "Neka pitanja," pp. 95–102; Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 106–09.

98 Aleksandr V. Solov'ev, "Autour des Bogomiles," *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 81–104, here 96–97; Šidak, *Studij*, pp. 211–24; Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 123–24; Stoyanov, *The Other God*, pp. 220–22.

99 Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, pp. 155–233 (the text is based on the earlier sources against the Cathars).

100 Glosses from the Bosnian Gospels are an interesting evidence of Patarene theology; see Mehmed Kardaš and Erma Ramić-Kunić, "Katalog rukopisa bosanske crkvenoslavenske pismenosti" [The catalogue of Bosnian manuscripts written in Old Church Slavonic], *Kirilometodievistika* 12 (2018), 117–57, here 132–33; Lejla Nakaš, "Twenty previously unpublished marginal glosses from the

Bosnian Vrutok Gospels," *Forum Bosnae* 58–59 (2012), 194–229; Georgi Minchev, "John the Water-Bearer (Ивань Водоносьць). Once again on dualism in the Bosnian Church," *Studia Ceranea* 10 (2020), 415–24.

101 Šefik Bešlagić, *Stećci. Kultura i umjetnost* [*Stećci*. Culture and art] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982), pp. 485–513; Branka Purgarić-Kužić, "Dosadašnja istraživanja o stećcima" [Previous research on the *stećci*], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 28 (1995), no. 1, 242–53; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Stećci: bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka* [*Stećci*: Bosnian and Hum marbles of the Middle Ages] (Sarajevo: Rabic, 2009), pp. 17–54 and 233–51.

102 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela* [Complete works], edited by Tomislav Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1999), pp. 32–36.

103 To be sure, dualist heretics were sometimes accused of Arianism. See Yves Maria-Joseph Congar, "*Arriana haeresis* comme désignation du néomanichéisme au XIIe siècle," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 43 (1958), no. 3, 449–61; Solovjev, "Svedočanstva," p. 20; Dragojlović, *Bogomilstvo*, vol. 1, pp. 83–84.

104 Heretics may have come to Bosnia from the opposite direction, namely from Italy via the Dalmatian cities. See Dragoljub Dragojlović, *Krstjani i jeretička crkva bosanska* [*Krstjani* and the heretical Bosnian Church] (Belgrade: SANU Balkanološki institut, 1987), pp. 118–24 and 129–30; Manuel Lorenz, "Bogomilen, Katharer und bosnische 'Christen'," in *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen: Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Balázs J. Nemes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 87–136, here 120–21.

105 Błażej Szefliński, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna autokreacja postać literacka* [Three faces of St. Sava Nemanjić. Historical figure, and the self-creation of a literary character] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016), pp. 120–22.

106 Jean Gouillard, "Une source grecque du Sinodik de Boril: la lettre du patriarche Cosmas," *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970), 361–74; Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto*, pp. 376–81.

107 Ćirković, "Dualistička heterodoksja," p. 218; Dženan Dautović, "Historiographic controversy about the Crusades against Bosnian heretics," *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 3 (2020), no. 4, June, 63–77, here 65–67.

108 Mandić, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, vol. 2, p. 170, n. 11 and p. 69, claimed that Acontius's mission was successful. However, his source for that statement is questionable (Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 182, n. 27).

109 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, p. 243. See Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," pp. 183–84; Dautović, "Historiographic controversy," pp. 67–68.

110 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, pp. 305–06. See Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 184.

111 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, pp. 361–62.

112 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, pp. 379–80.

113 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 3, pp. 388–89; Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 188.

114 Šidak, *Ecclesia Sclavoniae*, pp. 191–92; Ćirković, "Dualistička heterodoksja," pp. 219–20; Dautović, "Historiographic controversy," pp. 68–70.

115 Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 197.

116 Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 195; Ćirković, "Dualistička heterodoksja," p. 221.

117 Šidak, "*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*," p. 195; Ćirković, "Dualistička heterodoksja," p. 221.

118 Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik*, vol. 4, pp. 341–42.

119 Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 133–34.

120 It is worth noting an episode of the 1280s, when Stefan Dragutin, who ruled over part of Bosnia, supposedly led to the conversion of many a "heretic" there; see Danilo, *Život kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih* [The lives of Serbian kings and archbishops], edited by Lazar Mirković and Nikola Radojčić (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1935), p. 34.

121 See Dall'Aglio, "Innocent III," p. 23; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na križištu povijesti (sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska), 1387–1463* [At the crossroads of history (the Holy Crown of Hungary and the Holy Crown of Bosnia, 1387–1463)] (Zagreb/Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2006), pp. 587–613.

122 Augustino Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia. Ab Honorio PP. III. usque ad Clementem PP. VI. 1216–1352* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1869), pp. 166–67.

123 Yuri Stoyanov, "Between heresiology and political theology: The rise of the paradigm of the medieval heretical Bosnian Church," in *Teologie politiche. Modelli a confronto*, edited by Giovanni Filoramo (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005), pp. 163–80; Pejo Ćošković, *Crkva bosanska u XV. stoljeću* [The Bosnian Church in the 15th century] (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju. Historijske

monografije, 2005), pp. 21–72; Srećko M. Džaja, "Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska u procijepu suprotstavljenih kontekstualizacija" [The medieval Bosnian Church in the gap beetween opposing contextualizations], *STATUS. Magazin za političku kulturu i društvena pitanja* 10 (2006), 250–55; Dženan Dautović, "Novi prilozi poznavanju vjerskih prilika srednjovjekovne Bosne u inostranoj historiografiji" [New contributions in the foreign historiogrraphy to the knowledge of the religious circumstances in medieval Bosnia] *Bosna franciscana* 48 (2018), 203–12; Dženan Dautović, "Crkva bosanska: moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005–2015)" [The Bosnian Church: Modern historiographical currents, debates, and controversies], *Historijska traganja* 15 (2015), 127–60.

21

CRUSADES AND EASTERN EUROPE

Aleksandar Uzelac

During the 11th and 12th centuries, many pilgrims and crusading expeditions passed through East Central and Southeastern Europe. Some of them were part of the First (1096–1099), Second (1147–1149) and Third Crusade (1189–1192), others were related to smaller crusading enterprises, such as the so-called Crusade of 1101, and the rest were independent ventures. Many of these expeditions have been studied in detail, particularly those related to the First and Fourth Crusade, while others received less attention from scholars. There is a rich literature about the impact of the crusades on Byzantium, but their consequences on the South Slavic lands and on Hungary have only been studied from local perspectives. There has so far been little attempt to make an overview of the impact of the western pilgrimages and crusades on the whole of East Central and Southeastern Europe.[1]

Early pilgrims

The pilgrimage route that followed the so-called Bavarian road, through Bavaria, Austria and Hungary, was well established before Pope Urban II's call in Clermont in 1095, and the "official" beginning of the Crusade era.[2] Its emergence in the early 11th century was the consequence of two important events. The first was the baptism of the Hungarian King Stephen I (1000–1038), and the introduction of his kingdom and his people into the Christendom. According to the French chronicler Rodulfus Glaber, "after that, almost all those from Italy and Gaul who wished to go to the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem abandoned the usual route by the sea, making their way to the country of King Stephen." Both Glaber and the Hungarian tradition attest that King Stephen personally took care to facilitate the traffic of pilgrims; he built a church in Constantinople, and a monastery in Jerusalem, which served the needs of travelers.[3] The second event was the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria under Basil II (976–1025), and the reopening of the strategic communication along Via Militaris or Via Diagonalis. That road served as the main travel artery linking Byzantium with Hungary; it connected Belgrade and Constantinople, through Niš, Serdica (Sofia), Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Adrianople (Edirne).[4] For participants in the early crusades, the road had such significance that many of them believed it had been constructed by Charlemagne, "the miraculous king of the Franks."[5] Nevertheless, at least during the First Crusade,

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the strategic importance of the Via Militaris was overshadowed by another road across the Balkans, namely, the Via Egnatia, easily accessible from the ports in Southern Italy, which connected Durazzo (Durrës) and Constantinople through Thessaloniki.[6]

The first pilgrim expedition that used the Bavarian road to reach the Holy Land was led by William II Taillefer, count of Angoulême, in 1026. William was graciously welcomed by King Stephen I.[7] According to a 12th-century note, no one from the West had traveled to these parts before him, "because at that time Christianity in Hungary and Sclavonia (a common designation for South Slavic lands on the Eastern Adriatic) was still a novelty."[8]

A dozen other pilgrimages from Western Europe across Hungary and Byzantium are recorded prior to the First Crusade.[9] The *vita* of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai, who traveled in 1054, provides the most detailed insight into the hardships of the pilgrims on their journeys. In Hungary, Lietbert and his followers had to overcome the initial suspicion of King Andrew I (1046–1060). In the "Bulgarian desert," between Belgrade and Niš, they barely avoided the attack of the Pechenegs settled there by the Byzantine government. Eventually, they were forced to abandon the route to Constantinople, and to turn towards Thessaloniki.[10] The participants in the so-called Great German Pilgrimage, which took place exactly a decade later, at the time of the incursion of the Turkic Uzes into the Balkans, faced similar problems. That was the largest group of pilgrims crossing the Balkans before the First Crusade; the number of participants may have been between 7,000 and 12,000, but there was no "safety in numbers" for the travelers.[11] One of the leaders of the expedition, Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, bitterly remarked that "Hungarians served us without faith, Bulgarians secretly preyed upon us, we had to flee from the open raging of the Uzes, and we saw the Greek and imperial arrogance of the citizens of Constantinople."[12]

A note on the local geography needs to be inserted here. Much like Lietbert's biographer, the chroniclers of the early crusades frequently mentioned the Bulgarian Desert or the Bulgarian Forest, as a hardly passable, densely forested and sparsely populated region, sometimes extending as far as the Gates of Trajan (modern Ihtiman Pass, east of Sofia). Odo of Deuil, chaplain of King Louis VII of France, and a participant in the Second Crusade, described it in 1147 as a "wooded meadow or fodder-growing woodland," adding that "it abounds in good things which grow of their own accord and would be suitable for other things if the region had cultivators."[13] Other authors were under the grim impression of its barbaric inhabitants, hostile towards the pilgrims and the crusaders. While Lietbert of Cambrai had to cope with Pechenegs, whose presence in the Bulgarian Forest is regularly recorded by western observers until mid-12th century, Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was ambushed there on his pilgrimage in 1172 by the Serbs.[14] Seventeen years later, the army of Frederick I Barbarossa had to endure the attacks of "Greeklings, Bulgarians, Serbs and the semi-barbarous Vlachs."[15] Besides its bellicose population, the inhospitable character of the Bulgarian Forest was the result of the Byzantine policies, which aimed at keeping the border regions in a state that would make them difficult to pass, as noted by prominent 12th-century chronicler William, Archbishop of Tyre.[16] After reaching Philippopolis, a traveler would enter the cultivated and densely populated region of Thrace, while the "noble and beautiful city of Constantinople,"[17] with its rich markets, splendid palaces, multitude of beautiful churches, and precious relics that surpassed even those of Rome and Jerusalem, offered an extreme contrast to the wastelands of the Balkan interior.

For early pilgrims and crusaders, therefore, the name "Bulgaria" was generally attached to the sections of Via Militaris from Belgrade to Philippopolis, as well as to the littoral around Durazzo and Valona,[18] and to the northeast part of the Balkan Peninsula, up to the

mouth of the Danube.[19] In such a way, from the western perspective, Bulgaria did not correspond to the Byzantine theme by the same name, but reflected the extent of the early medieval Bulgaria, before the Byzantine conquest.[20] Returning to the words of William of Tyre,

> the uncivilized race of the Bulgarians, descending from the north, had seized all the countries from the Danube even to the royal city and, again, from that same river to the Adriatic Sea. As a result […] the entire tract, which is said to be a journey of thirty days in length and ten or more in width, is called Bulgaria, the wretched Greeks themselves being ignorant that the very name testifies to their disgrace.[21]

Logistics and preparations

The crusading armies experienced the same difficulties as their pilgrim predecessors. The most important challenge was logistics: in order to replenish their supplies of food, beasts of burden and even weapons, the crusaders needed the access to the local markets. However, Hungarian and Byzantine authorities were often unwilling to allow them access, or were unable to secure supplies in large quantities. In both cases, this caused violent incidents.[22]

The logistic problems were the most obvious during the First Crusade. The first crusaders appeared in Hungary as early as the spring of 1096, but the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Comnenus (1081–1118) and Niketas Karikos, the *doux* of the theme of Bulgaria, did not expect them before autumn.[23] Moreover, these first crusaders were not experienced soldiers, but ordinary folk, led by charismatic preacher Peter of Amiens (Peter the Hermit) and his lieutenant Walter Sans Avoir (a name mistakenly translated into English as Walter the Penniless). This "army" consisted of "as many sinful as pious men, adulterers, murderers, thieves, perjurers, robbers, that is to say, every sort of people of Christian faith, indeed even the female sex."[24] Unsurprisingly, once on Byzantine territory, they were suspected to be offenders and spies by the garrison commander in Belgrade, who refused to let them in.[25]

However, in autumn of 1096, when the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lotharingia, appeared on Via Militaris, the Byzantine authorities were better prepared to deal with the supply issues. The duke was welcome in Belgrade, and large quantities of wheat, barley, meat and wine were prepared for his men in Niš and Serdica.[26] The imperial officials were quick to understand that access to the markets and a steady flow of provisions to the crusaders was the necessary condition for lower incidence of violence.

The Second and Third crusades were thoroughly prepared. Envoys of King Conrad III (1138–1152) visited Alexios' grandson, Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), several months in advance, to announce his arrival and to request access to the markets and supplies for his army.[27] Conrad's successor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190), prepared for an entire year for the Third Crusade. He sent emissaries to the lands that his expedition was about to cross, in order to arrange the terms of passage and supply. The arrangements included such details as fixed prices for buying oxen and fodder in Hungary.[28] Nonetheless, even such deals could not prevent frequent price-gouging. Odo of Deuil recorded that in the town of Braničevo, between Belgrade and Nish, local merchants accepted deniers struck in Paris at a very unfavorable exchange rate,[29] and Barbarossa's followers encountered similar practices in Hungary.[30]

The unknown terrain and natural obstacles, such as large rivers, presented serious problems for the armies of the First Crusade. In the spring of 1097, the soldiers of Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois were terrified when they had to cross a swift stream of water,

called "River of the Daemon" (probably Shkumbin in Albania).[31] Peter the Hermit did not have enough ships to cross the Sava between Zemun and Belgrade, so many of his followers had to use "timbers, joined together and tied with osiers."[32] Similarly, the army of Godfrey of Bouillon had to build a pontoon bridge out of wood and reeds in order to cross the swollen River Drava.[33] Beginning with the Second Crusade, the crusaders regularly used waterways for the transport. On the expedition of Conrad III in 1147, much of the baggage and provisions came on boats and rafts on the Danube, which was navigable from Regensburg to Braničevo.[34] Henry the Lion traveled on river vessels through Hungary.[35] Even so, no preparations could possibly be of much use in the Bulgarian Forest. Conrad's Germans crossed it "at the cost of much toil and difficulty of the way"[36]; the army of Louis VII, which followed into their footsteps, realized that the carts "afforded more hope than usefulness," while death of horses was a common occurrence in Bulgaria.[37]

Although difficulties could not be avoided, careful and extensive preparations eased and shortened the arduous travels. During the Second Crusade, Conrad's army traveled 112 days from Regensburg to Constantinople, and the voyage of the French expedition from more distant Metz lasted two days less. By comparison, Godfrey of Bouillon needed 130 days to reach the Byzantine capital from his homeland.[38] During the First Crusade, the army of Count Raymond IV of Toulouse crossed "Sclavonia," from Istria to Dyrrachium (Durrës) in 40 days, according to the words of the count's chaplain Raymond of Aguilers.[39] Three more months was needed to reach Constantinople along Via Egnatia. However, Raymond traveled during the winter time, and his choice of an overland route was unique in the history of the crusades, never to be repeated again.[40]

Incidents on the road

The passage of some armies during the First Crusade along the Via Egnatia was peaceful, at least relatively. That was the case with Hugh of Vermandois and his men in the autumn of 1096.[41] This is also true for the companies of Robert of Flanders, who crossed the sea in December 1096, and for Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, who landed near Dyrrachium at the beginning of April 1097.[42] William II of Nevers, who followed the same route during the Crusade of 1101, forbade theft, looting, plundering and unlawful fighting to his soldiers "under the pain of death." There were no incidents recorded for the passage of his army, but that was an exceptional case.[43] Much more often, the passage did not go without violence.

The people's crusaders were the first challenge for Hungarian and Byzantine authorities. The leader of Peter's vanguard, Walter Sans Avoir, who was a minor nobleman from Northern France with some military experience and enough common sense to avoid conflicts, could nonetheless not prevent clashes with the locals. Those took place after his men were forbidden entrance into Belgrade, and raided herds of cattle in the countryside.[44] Unlike his lieutenant, Peter the Hermit, who came two weeks later, with a purportedly 40,000-strong "army," could not impose even the minimum of discipline.[45] In the land of the Hungarians, Peter's followers

> wilfully and wantonly ignored their hospitality and generosity, arbitrarily waging war against them… and in an accursed rage they burned the public granaries, raped virgins, dishonoured many marriage beds by carrying off many women, and tore out or burned the beards of their hosts.[46]

Before leaving Hungary, they stormed and pillaged Zemun, allegedly because the Hungarian border commander had conspired with *doux* Niketas to attack the crusaders during their crossing of the Sava.[47] The accusation seems unfounded, although the Hungarians and the Byzantines, alarmed by the size and behavior of Peter's "army," may have well shared information about its whereabouts and movement. Peter's men continued to cause incidents after arriving in Niš. The troublemakers were certain Germans who got into a dispute with a local merchant, and in the process set on fire several mills in the vicinity of the town. This triggered the reaction of Niketas, who gathered his soldiers and ordered an attack on Peter's camp outside the town. Peter's men were utterly defeated, a quarter perished in the bloody battle, and many fell into captivity.[48]

After other similar ragtag groups responsible for the massacres of the Jews in the Rhineland and throughout the German lands entered Hungary, King Coloman (1095–1116) decided to forbid their passage. He used force to expel from the kingdom the groups led by Emicho of Flonheim and a priest named Gottschalk. He also annihilated the followers of the preacher Folkmar near Nitra.[49] When Godfrey of Bouillon came to Hungary, Coloman asked for hostages in exchange for safe passage. Such precautions proved unnecessary, as Godfrey imposed a strict discipline on his soldiers.[50]

The Byzantine authorities could deal, by force, if necessary, with undisciplined, poorly armed and starving rabble that followed Peter the Hermit, but controlling armies of trained soldiers and their leaders was a much more difficult task. During the First Crusade, the most serious challenge was to restrain Godfrey of Bouillon and his men. The troubles with his army suddenly began after the crusaders arrived in Philippopolis, and heard a false rumor that Emperor Alexios had thrown his guest Hugh of Vermandois into the dungeon. During the winter months of 1097, the crusaders skirmished with the imperial soldiers in Adrianople, Selymbria and in the outskirts of Constantinople. Alexios had to take measures meant to curb the bellicose impulses of the Crusaders. Instead of employing brute force against them, he gradually reduced their supplies and provisions, and Godfrey eventually agreed to cease hostilities through Hugh's mediation.[51] Such tactics were not always successful. A century later, the Byzantine government failed to keep at bay Frederick I Barbarossa's crusaders, and much worse happened during the Fourth Crusade.

Some crusading armies lacked strong leadership, while others were too numerous, or took too long on the journey. All three factors contributed to the particularly troublesome passage of Lombard crusaders, led by Archbishop Anselm of Milan and Count Albert of Biandrate. They set out on September 1100, following the road from Aquileia to Hungary, over the Carinthian Alps.[52] They spent the wintertime "in the towns of Bulgaria," and in the spring of 1101, they continued their journey to Thrace.[53] Their brutal dealings with the local inhabitants appalled both the government in Constantinople and Albert of Aachen who later recorded their deeds. After Alexios denied them supplies, the Lombard marauders robbed an imperial palace on the shores of Bosporus, killed one of the emperor's relatives, as well as the emperor's pet lion.[54] Rumors about those events apparently served as the basis for belief among Westerners that the Byzantine emperor was guarded by lions and leopards.[55]

The lack of strong leadership was also conspicuously on display during the German expedition of the Second Crusade. In Philippopolis, Conrad III was a guest of Michael Italikos, the archbishop of the city, and one of the greatest intellectuals of the Comnenian era.[56] Although delighted with the wisdom and eloquence of his host, and despite his best intentions, Conrad was unable to stop conflicts between his crusaders and the locals erupting in the so-called Latin quarter, outside the city walls. Another serious incident took place in Adrianople, when one of German noblemen, who lay ill, was killed by Greek brigands

in a monastery within the city, where he had been lodged. Conrad's nephew, Frederick of Swabia (the future emperor Barbarossa), took justice into his own hands: he not only killed the apprehended perpetrators, but also burned the monastery to the ground.[57] Odo of Deuil, who traveled with the army of Louis VII, noted that the Byzantines "closed their cities and fortresses and offered their wares by letting them down from the walls on ropes," explaining that caution was in reaction to the barbaric behavior of the Germans, who had passed before the French army. Although not particularly well disposed to the Greeks, Odo was later forced to admit that "the Germans were unbearable even to us."[58]

Besides securing access to markets and supplies, the Byzantine government used other means to prevent the violent behavior of the crusaders on its territory. Ekkehard of Aura, a participant in the expedition led by Duke William IX of Aquitaine in 1101, relates that the imperial messengers kept a close eye on the crusaders' movements, while Pecheneg detachments harassed small groups of the crusaders who roamed around separated from the main forces.[59] Frequently described by modern historians as a kind of "imperial police force," the mercenary contingents of Pechenegs, Cumans and Turkopoles also clashed with the armies of the First Crusade on the Via Egnatia. The Norman contingent, led by Bohemond and his nephew Tancred, even battled them on the banks of the Vardar River at the beginning of 1097.[60] As Raymond of Toulouse was traveling through Pelagonia, the Pechenegs wounded and temporarily captured the papal legate, Bishop Adhemar of Puy.[61]

Diplomacy and conflicts

When Emperor Alexios I sent his ambassadors to the Council of Piacenza at the beginning of 1095, he could have hardly foreseen that his call for help against the Turks would lead to the events in Clermont and to the First Crusade.[62] On the other hand, while he at least anticipated the movements of the Western armies on Byzantine soil, his grandson Manuel neither expected nor particularly wished their presence at the time of the Second Crusade. For him, a serious concern was that the crusaders would ally themselves with Roger II of Sicily in his ongoing war against Byzantium. Although "distrustful and suspicious lest they be wolves coming in sheep's clothing,"[63] Manuel made sure that everything was ready to accommodate the needs of the German and French army.

During the First Crusade, in addition to Emperor Alexios and King Coloman, a third ruler in the region that got involved in crusading politics, was Bodin, the "king of the Slavs." In January 1097, he welcomed Count Raymond of Toulouse and his army in Scutari (Shkodër).[64] The choice of the Raymond's route through desolate, impassable and mountainous "Sclavonia" has puzzled historians for a long time. The most likely is that Raymond's choice was associated with the dealings between Pope Urban II and Bodin. The Slavic ruler needed to be on good terms with the pope and he could offer the crusaders valuable travel assistance.[65]

During the Second Crusade, the Hungarian King Géza II (1141–1162) had to deal with serious consequences of the passage of the German and French armies. He was not on good terms with Conrad, but he allowed the Germans access to markets and helped them with supplies, in order to see them leaving his realm as soon as possible.[66] The arrival of Louis VII was of different kind of challenge. A claimant to the throne named Boris, King Coloman's son by a Rus' princess, was traveling with the French. During the negotiations between Louis VII and Géza II, it was decided that the pretender would be escorted by crusaders outside Hungary, and left in Constantinople. A potential conflict was thus avoided, and Louis VII cemented the deal by agreeing to be the sponsor of Géza's children at the baptismal font.[67]

Relations between the Hungarian court and Barbarossa were cordial. The royal couple, King Béla III (1172–1196) and Queen Margaret, who was the daughter of Louis VII, held a welcome reception for the emperor at Esztergom, organized a hunting party and endowed him with precious gifts, including three camels and a double-skinned tent of great beauty. The Hungarian king also prepared supplies for poorer crusaders.[68] Unlike Hungary, participants in the Third Crusade proved to be far more of a problem for the imperial government in Constantinople. In fact, the Third Crusade greatly influenced the Byzantine relations and conflict with the Serbian grand župan Stephen Nemanja (1168–1196) and with leaders of the rebellion in Bulgaria, Peter and Asen.

Troubles were already in sight at Christmas 1188, when foreign envoys appeared at Barbarossa's court in Nuremberg to finalize the terms of the passage of his army. The Serbian embassy enthusiastically promised a worthy reception, supplies and access to markets for the crusaders in Niš, which Nemanja had taken several years earlier.[69] The Byzantine delegation sent by Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) and led by John Doukas Kamateros was not met with approval. The government in Constantinople feared that the crusade was just an excuse for an invasion of Byzantium, so the envoys requested additional assurances from Barbarossa. Although the Byzantine delegation and chosen German nobles took an oath of friendship on the Gospels, the mutual distrust prevailed, and an anonymous participant in Barbarossa's expedition (often, though incorrectly called Ansbert), bitterly pointed out that "the poison of the snake" was on the lips of the Byzantines.[70]

After Barbarossa's army crossed the Sava and entered the Byzantine domain in early July 1189, the enmity of local *doux* of Braničevo quickly led to tense relations. According to the testimonies of the crusaders, the *doux* showed his true nature when he directed them forward to peripheral and hardly passable roads, away from the main arteries of communication. Ambushes and attacks by locals that crusaders had to endure were allegedly orchestrated by him.[71] In Ravno (modern town of Ćuprija), halfway between Braničevo and Niš, messengers sent from Constantinople expressed regrets over the incidents and promised on behalf of the emperor that the crusaders would be properly welcomed in Serdica. However, hardly anyone among the Barbarossa's followers believed their words.

The welcome reception organized by Stephen Nemanja and his brother Stracimir in Niš at the end of July gave the crusaders a much-needed respite. As promised in Nuremberg, gifts in wine, mead, livestock and grain were prepared for the German nobles, various exotic animals for the emperor and access to the markets for the ordinary soldiers. The arrival of the crusaders was seen by Nemanja as a golden opportunity to achieve his goals in the fight against Byzantium. During the meeting with Barbarossa, he expressed the wish to become his vassal, and he offered military support, if the emperor would go to war against Constantinople. Nemanja's proposals were echoed by Bulgarian envoys who met with the emperor in Niš. Diverting the crusade was, at that moment, out of question, and Barbarossa silently passed over Nemanja's schemes. The only Serbian offer that was accepted was the arrangement of marriage between one of Nemanja's nephews and a daughter of Berthold IV of Andechs, the margrave of Istria.[72]

In mid-August 1189, two weeks after they left Niš, the crusaders found Serdica deserted. There were no lodgings or supplies. Moreover, the road to Philippopolis was closed by the Byzantine army bent on blocking passage through the Gates of Trajan. The Germans had to fight their way through. In the valley of the Maritsa, they were greeted by another delegation sent by Isaac II, which informed Barbarossa that the German envoys previously sent to Constantinople had been thrown into the dungeon and that further advance would be taken as a hostile act.[73] Tensions quickly escalated. And Philippopolis was likewise deserted.

The crusaders lingered for almost three months in the valley of the Maritsa, forced to sustain themselves by pillaging the countryside. They established garrisons in Berrhoe (Stara Zagora), Stenimachos (Asenovgrad) and Adrianople, and defeated the imperial forces led by the general Manuel Kamitses near the fortress of Prusinon. The local Armenian community sided with the crusaders, traded with them and informed them about the movements of the Byzantine forces.[74]

Meanwhile, negotiations between Barbarossa and Isaac II continued, but an agreement seemed less and less possible. Without Byzantine assistance, it was impossible to transfer the army to Asia Minor, and the crusaders began to entertain the idea of attacking Constantinople in the next spring. Such thoughts were fueled by rumors that Isaac II had entered into a secret agreement with the Muslim leader Saladin.[75] On Barbarossa's orders, Berthold of Andechs was sent back to negotiate the details of the attack with the Serbs, and messengers from Peter of Bulgaria appeared in the crusaders' camp, promising "40,000 Vlachs and Cumans," twice as many men at arms as the Serbs were ready to mobilize for the cause. In return, Peter wanted nothing less than the crown of the "Kingdom of Greece."[76]

Those plans were diverted at the last moment. Fearing the might of the crusaders, as well as prospects of their alliance with Nemanja and Peter, the Byzantines eventually caved in to the demands. On February 14, 1190, the agreement was concluded, through which Isaac II agreed to provide supplies to Barbarossa's army, to pay a tribute in silver coins and to organize the transport of the crusaders to Asia Minor.[77] The crusaders left the Balkans in the spring of 1190, and Isaac II used their departure to push against both Serbs and Vlachs, albeit with little success.

Perceptions and prejudices

The unflattering remarks of Bishop Gunther of Bamberg about the local population in East Central and Southeastern Europe were frequently repeated by the chroniclers of the early crusades. For Raymond of Aguilers, the Slavs in Dalmatia were "angry by nature" and "ignorant of God."[78] The Norman chaplain Ralph of Caen noted that the Byzantines had "a habit of attacking even those whom they had earlier invited as guests."[79] To Otto of Freising, a cousin and a follower of Conrad III, the Hungarians were disgusting in physical appearance, habits and language.[80] According to William of Tyre, the Bulgarians were an "uncivilized race," and the Serbs "rude and undisciplined people, dwellers of the forests and mountains and ignorant of agriculture."[81] Arnold of Lübeck, who followed Henry the Lion on his pilgrimage, was even more grossed out at the barbaric nature of the Serbs, "the sons of Belial."[82] The latter label must be interpreted morally rather than religiously, for Arnold used it occasionally for his fellow Catholics.[83] Similarly, to William of Tyre the troublemakers in Peter the Hermit's "army," whom he blamed for the incidents in Niš, were "the sons of Belial of the Teuton nation."[84]

Western chroniclers (or at least most of them) were well aware that the crusaders were responsible for most of the incidents on the road. Their reports even reflect the attitude of the local population in cities and towns, which was not unsympathetic to the crusading cause. According to Albert of Aachen, after seeing followers of Peter the Hermit in their miserable state, the citizens of Serdica and Philippopolis took pity on them and gave them money, horses and mules.[85] Odo of Deuil noted that the Greek clergy "received the French king with due reverence and honor, issuing forth from their cities with icons and other Greek paraphernalia."[86] Barbarossa's followers were full of praise for Nemanja and Stracimir for their hospitality.[87]

The accounts of local people that one can find in the chronicles of the crusades are admittedly "poor, heavily biased and unreliable."[88] On the other hand, there are no contemporary, local account against which such views may be gauged; one cannot simply find out what Serbs, Bulgarians or Vlachs thought about the First, the Second and the Third Crusade. The only glimpse into local attitudes is that provided by the Hungarian tradition recorded in the mid-14th-century Illuminated Chronicle concerning the passage of Peter the Hermit and treacherous sack of Zemun by his followers.[89] The Byzantine perspective on the First Crusade is largely that of Anna Comnena, the learned daughter of Emperor Alexios I. She presented the Latins and the Franks (or "Kelts," as she called them)

> with the classical features of a barbarian horde: they were numerous, they squabble and quarrel, they lie and betray each other, they become excessively ambitious, while they have no insight into the paucity of their absurd aspirations, and they are excessively violent and greedy.[90]

To Anna, Hugh of Vermandois was ridiculously proud, and Godfrey of Bouillon "a very rich man, extremely proud of his noble birth, his own courage and the glory of his family."[91] The Norman leader Bohemond was "by nature a liar" with an uncontrollable lust for money.[92] Only Raymond of Toulouse was worthy of praise, because "he honoured truth above all else, and outshone all Latins in every quality."[93]

The echoes of the Second Crusade in local tradition are more nuanced. The Illuminated Chronicle sharply contrasts the two armies and their leaders. Conrad "displayed the wrath of a tyrant and a plunderer," while Louis VII was the "excellent king of the Franks who behaved with respect," and a true pilgrim of Christ.[94] Likewise, the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos marked the difference between the Germans and the French in the arts of war, behavior, and the character of their leaders.[95] Conrad "was entirely heedless of what was happening," while the French king was intent at "doing no harm to the Romans."[96]

Niketas Choniates, the main Byzantine source for the Third Crusade, was far more critical of Isaac II than of Barbarossa. He blamed Kamateros and other emissaries from Constantinople for the conflict created by the "ignorance of their obligations and their unmanliness."[97] He also praised the western emperor as

> a man who deserved to enjoy a blessed and perpetual memory and justly to be deemed fortunate in his end by prudent men… not only because he was wellborn and ruled over many nations… but also because his burning passion for Christ was greater than that of any other Christian monarch of his time.[98]

Needless to say, much like with Anna's warm description of Raymond of Toulouse, the Hungarian praise of Louis VII, or the gratitude of Barbarossa's followers for the Serbian rulers, Choniates's accolades were only for the German emperor, not for his people.

The occasional friendships established between the leaders of the crusading armies and the local elite did not significantly change the denigrating and stereotyped perceptions of the people of the region in the eyes of the western observers. The same is also true about local perceptions of the crusaders. After the Fourth Crusade, the image of the crusaders as uninvited guests, "barbarians and savage by nature," as Choniates exclaimed, became firmly entrenched in the Byzantine tradition.[99]

Impact and consequences

The peoples of East Central and Southeastern Europe were not just observers and eyewitnesses of pilgrimages and crusades. Some of them became active participants. The *vita* of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai mentions a multitude of people flocking to him in Hungary and joining his pilgrimage.[100] According to Ralph of Caen, there were Hungarians and Rus' in the Christian army besieging Antioch in 1097.[101] The tense relations between Géza II and Conrad prevented a Hungarian participation in the Second Crusade, but some Hungarian noblemen joined in the French army.[102] Meanwhile, Conrad was accompanied by Duke Vladislav II of Bohemia (1140–1158) and a certain "King of the Poles" (probably Henry of Sandomierz).[103] A Czech contingent was also present in Barbarossa's army, and the Czechs showed their military prowess during the crisis in Thrace and in the fight against the Byzantine militia.[104] Barbarossa's expedition also included Hungarians. The contingent of 2,000 men sent by Béla III and led by Bishop Ugrin of Győr joined the crusaders, but was recalled before the expedition crossed to Asia Minor, because of Béla's agreement with Isaac II. Nonetheless, three Hungarian noblemen remained with the army.[105] One of them was a certain "Nicholaus de Hungaria," who was apparently captured in the fighting around Acre in 1191.[106]

The appearance of the military orders in the Árpádian kingdom and on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea was another indirect consequence of the early crusades. In the 1160s, the Templars received from the pope the formerly Benedictine abbey at Vrana, in Dalmatia. At about the same time, a Hospitaller convent was established in Székesfehérvár.[107] Initially, the Templars were supported by donations from local magnates, such as Ban Borić of Bosnia, but during the reign of Béla III, the two orders gained royal support and their possessions and influence gradually grew. The Templars became a strong internal force and crown allies in Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, and the Hospitallers in the lands between the Drava and the Danube. Beginning with the early 13th century, they also made their presence visible in Dalmatia.[108]

The reign of Béla III was also marked by the increasing popularity of the crusading idea in higher circles of the Hungarian society. A turning point became the canonization of King Ladislas I in 1192. He was portrayed as a Christian warrior-king, who had vowed to go to Jerusalem on a Crusade.[109] He became a model for Béla to take the crusader's oath and to collect a treasury in order to finance an expedition. The enterprise, probably planned in an alliance with Barbarosa's son Henry VI, never took place because the king died in 1196.[110] The pledge of Béla's older son Emeric to join the forthcoming campaign also remained unfulfilled because of the conflict with Venice in the Fourth Crusade.[111] The crusading oath then passed onto his younger son Andrew in accordance with *Licet universis*, Pope Innocent III's bull establishing the hereditary character of such oaths.[112] Andrew eventually fulfilled his crusading vows by mounting his own crusade (which became part of the Fifth Crusade), and his expedition became the most prominent Hungarian involvement in the crusading enterprises.

In the summer of 1217, Andrew hired large vessels from Venice, Ancona, Zadar and other cities along the Adriatic coast, and directed them to Split, from where he was about to set out to the Holy Land.[113] According to Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato, the king was followed by 10,000 knights from Hungary, the "Saxons" of Duke Leopold VI of Austria, and a multitude of commoners.[114] Although the figure has only a symbolic value, Andrew's army was certainly not small according to the standards of the earlier crusades.[115] The king and his men arrived in Acre in early October 1217, but they achieved nothing substantial in

the Holy Land.[116] Already in January 1218, Andrew was on the way home, carrying with himself valuable relics he had bought in Palestine: the skulls of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr, and St. Margaret of Antioch, the right hands of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, "a piece of Aaron's rod and one of the six vessels in which Christ changed the water into wine."[117] On the overland route through Anatolia and the Balkans, he was engaged in several matrimonial projects; he betrothed his son Béla to the daughter of the Nicaean emperor Theodore I Laskaris and his daughter Maria to the Bulgarian emperor John II Asen.[118]

Subjects of the Byzantine emperor also occasionally took part in the crusades, although on a much smaller scale. Albert of Aachen recorded that "a certain Bulgar" was with Peter the Hermit, and served as his messenger and translator in negotiations with *doux* Niketas in Niš.[119] Greeks and Armenians joined the German army in the Third Crusade, and according to the agreement between Barbarossa and Isaac II that was concluded on February 14, 1190, they were to be pardoned by the government in Constantinople.[120] Involvement of people from Southeastern Europe in the crusading campaigns was evidently sporadic, but the early crusades had other profound effects on the region. Their first consequence was the establishment of closer ties between the region and Palestine. A German priest named John of Würzburg, who visited the Holy Land in 1165, noted that, among other nations, the Rus', the Czechs, the Greeks and the Bulgarians all had their own churches and places of worship there.[121] Prior to the Third Crusade, Stephen Nemanja sent gifts to the churches and monasteries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, thus initiating the Serbian contacts with the Holy Land.[122] The crusades probably encouraged pilgrimages from the Eastern Adriatic as well, although very little is known about that before the late 13th century.[123] Some local legends recorded from the 14th century onward were undoubtedly influenced by the passage of the crusading armies. One of them tells the story of how the Croatian King Zvonimir was allegedly killed by his people, who were reluctant to join him on a crusade.[124] Another legend, inspired by the return of the English King Richard I Lionheart (1189–1199) from the Third Crusade in 1192, and his short stay in Dubrovnik, served as a basis for the story of a crusader king who indebted the people of the city with his immense contribution for the construction of the cathedral church.[125]

The early crusades left important archaeological traces in Southeastern Europe: 12th-century helmets of Western origin, found in Pernik (Bulgaria) and in Braničevo (Serbia),[126] as well as spurs and swords from the same period discovered on various sites. All of them have been related to the passage of the crusading armies, but they may just as well indicate the spread of western military technology as a consequence of the crusades. Particularly intriguing finds are a pair of gilded bronze spurs and a gilded bronze ring discovered in a grave of a western warrior in Kunovo-Čuki (northern Macedonia),[127] as well as a spur from the grave of the Serbian magnate Grd in Trebinje (Herzegovina).[128] The so-called Pirlitor sword, named after a mountain in Montenegro where it was found, also deserves a mention. It is a double-edged blade dated to the mid-12th century, forged in a western workshop, but ornamented in eastern manner.[129] Pilgrim objects, such as pendants made out of seashell valves, believed to be the badges of pilgrims returning from Santiago de Compostela, have been discovered in Budapest, in the late Romanesque church of Novo Mesto Zelinsko (Croatia), and in Braničevo.[130]

Fourth Crusade and its aftermath

Besides the liberation of Jerusalem, Pope Urban II's speech in Clermont was motivated by a sincere desire to unite the Western and Eastern Churches, which were in a schism since

1054. However, those efforts never materialized. The Fourth Crusade made the split of the churches permanent and its outcome had more influence in attaching the bad name to the crusades than any other event.

The Fourth Crusade had its prehistory. Innocent III's crusade bull was issued as early as August 1198. The response was weak, the appeal was largely ignored, and it took more than a year before the noblemen of Northern France and the Low Countries would take the cross. In April 1201, the crusaders concluded a treaty with Venice, which secured their shipping to Alexandria, but their numbers were much smaller than expected. Unable to pay for the transport, and in order to postpone the payment, the leaders of the crusade made a deal with the doge Enrico Dandolo to help him recover Zara (now Zadar) in Dalmatia, a city taken two decades earlier by Hungary. In November 1202, the city was besieged and stormed by the crusaders, despite the protests of the papal legates in the expedition, the pope himself and the fact that the defenders of Zara had hanged banners with crosses on the city walls.[131] Besides the restoration of Venetian rule, this event did not have any significant consequences on the region in the Eastern Adriatic. For Thomas of Spalato, who wrote several decades later, Zara was a cradle of heretics, and its downfall on the day of its patron Saint, St. Chrysogonus (November 24), was divine punishment.[132]

Some crusaders refused to participate in the attack on Zara and left for Hungary; many others abandoned the army during the winter, after serious frictions arose between the crusaders and the Venetians.[133] Those who stayed were penniless and without provisions, and it seemed that the crusade was destined to fail, but an unexpected offer revived the enterprise. Prince Alexios, the son of Isaac II Angelos, who had been deposed and blinded by his brother Alexios III (1195–1203), came to ask for the crusaders' help to restore his father on the throne. In return, he offered to cover the expenses of the expedition to Constantinople, and from there to the Holy Land. The majority of the remaining crusaders initially opposed the diversion of the campaign, only to be gradually persuaded by Dandolo, who became the staunch supporter of the plan.[134] The fleet arrived at Bosporus and after a short siege launched a successful assault, taking the city on July 18, 1203. The success was owed largely to the fact that there was no popular support for Alexios III either among the civilians, or among military. The deposed emperor fled, the citizens released Isaac II from the dungeon and the crusaders delivered their promise. However, Prince Alexios, now crowned as a co-emperor with his father, was not able to fulfil his part of the agreement. Relations between the crusaders and Byzantines quickly deteriorated. Meanwhile, Alexios IV lost the popular support and at the beginning of the next year he was deposed and strangled.

That was the key event that influenced the outcome of the Fourth Crusade. Stranded outside the walls of Constantinople, in February 1204, the crusade leaders eventually decided to conquer the city for themselves. Their first assault on April 9 was driven off by the defenders, but the second, on April 12, was successful. Constantinople was mercilessly plundered for three days, numerous precious artworks and relics were stolen, thousands were probably killed before the order was restored, many others fled the city and the Byzantine Empire ceased to exist. According to a participant of the crusade, the Picardian knight Robert de Clari, "never since the world was established was so great wealth, or so noble, or so magnificent, either seen or won—not in the days of Alexander, or of Charlemagne."[135]

Besides the main events of the Fourth Crusade, very briefly summarized here,[136] frequently repeated misconceptions about its background deserve short remarks. Like the previous crusades, the fourth was also a religious undertaking, at least in the eyes of its participants.[137] The majority of the crusaders who answered the pope's call did not take part in the conquest of Constantinople and went either directly, or from Dalmatia, to the

Outremer.[138] The idea of conquering Constantinople occasionally appeared in earlier crusading enterprises and, at least during the Barbarossa's expedition it came close to realization. Finally, one may convincingly argue that the outcome of the Fourth Crusade was not the result of the well-conceived master plan by Dandolo and the Venetians, but rather of unexpected events, with far-reaching consequences.

The conquest led to the full reshaping of political borders in the European southeast. According to the *partitio Romaniae* drawn by the committee of 12 Venetians and 12 crusaders, the Byzantine territories were to be divided as fiefs between the interested parties. The agreement gave control of one-fourth of the Byzantine territory with Constantinople to the Latin emperor that was to be elected after the conquest; Venice was to acquire three eighths (including the parts of the capital, with Hagia Sophia); and the remaining three eighths were apportioned among the other leaders of the crusade.[139] The election of Baldwin of Flanders on the imperial throne, instead of the more respected leader Boniface of Montferrat, led to new conflicts among the conquerors, and the stipulations of the partition were never fully implemented. In the following years, Venice took the ports of Koroni and Methoni on the southwestern coast of Peloponnese, as well as a number of islands in the Aegean, thus securing the sea route to Constantinople and a base for the (later) conquest of Crete. Meanwhile, Boniface took the widow of Isaac II as his wife, and obtained the assistance of members of the Byzantine provincial elite in order to carve his own kingdom. In 1205, he conquered Thessaloniki and parts of Macedonia and Thessaly. Farther south, he supported the Burgundian knight Othon de la Roche to declare himself as lord of Athens, and William of Champlitte, the son of the viscount of Dijon, to establish the Principality of Achaea in the Peloponnese.[140]

The economic consequences of the conquest were equally tremendous. Riches and relics of Constantinople were transferred to the west and Byzantine minting of golden coins was interrupted for decades. The city decayed under the Frankish rule and ceased to be a major consumption center and the dominating economic force.[141] Political fragmentation and economic decay was followed by the establishment of the western institutions and legal codes, consequently making a long-lasting social impact on the Greek parts of the Balkan Peninsula and on the Aegean islands.

Notes

1 With the notable exception of Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 534–55.

2 Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, edited by Jules Chavanon (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), p. 189.

3 *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, edited by Neithard Bulst, translated by John France and Paul Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 96–97; "*Legenda sancti Stephani regis* maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta," edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 363–440, here p. 386; Judit Csákó, "A XI. századi Magyarország a francia kutfők tükrében" [Eleventh-century Hungary in the light of French sources], *Fons* 18 (2011), no. 2, 147–208, here 164–67.

4 Anna Avramea, "Land and sea communications, fourth-fifteenth Centuries," in *Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 57–90, here pp. 65–66; Krasimira Gagova, *Trakiia prez bălgarskoto srednovekovie. Istoricheska geografiia* [Thrace in the Bulgarian Middle Ages. Historical Geography] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski," 2002), pp. 102–04; Elena Koicheva, "Civitates et castra on Via Militaris and Via Egnatia: early crusaders' view," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 44 (2006), 139–45; Both names—Via Militaris and Via Diagonalis—are modern inventions. In the Middle Ages, the road

was known simply as "basilike hodos" (the imperial road), which was a general designation for all the roads used by the imperial messengers and officials, and whose maintenance fell on the shoulders of the state authorities; see Klaus Belke, "Roads and travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine period," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, edited by Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 73–90, here pp. 87–90 and Liliana Simeonova, "Diagonalen păt: riadko izpolzvaniiat păt na balkanskoto Srednovekovie" [Diagonal road: Rarely used road in the Balkan Middle Ages] *Mediaevalia* 5 (2012), 1–9.

5 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972), p. 2; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), pp. 1–117, here p. 11.

6 Avramea, "Land and sea," pp. 68–72; Belke, "Roads and travel," pp. 73–79; Liliana Simeonova, "The Via Egnatia—the most actively used overland route in the Balkans," *Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia* 1 (2014), 73–77.

7 Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, pp. 189–90.

8 *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, edited by Jacques Boussard (Paris: Librairie d'argences, 1957), p. 18.

9 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 35–36; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Zapadnite păteshestvennici v 'Deserta Bulgariae' predi părviia krăstonosen pokhod" [Western travelers in the "Deserta Bulgariae" before the First Crusade], *Epokhi* 25 (2017), 196–202.

10 *Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulfo monacho S. Sepulcri Cameracensis*, edited by Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS 30.2 (Leipzig: K. Hiersemann, 1934), pp. 838–66, here pp. 854–55; Aleksandar Uzelac, *Krstaši i Srbi: XI–XII vek* [Crusaders and Serbs: Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries] (Belgrade: Utopia, 2018), pp. 29–30.

11 Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon*, edited by Georg Waitz, MGH SS 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), pp. 491–568, here pp. 558–59; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, edited by Wilhelm Giesebrecht and Edmund L. B. von Oefele, MGGH SS 20 (Hannover: Hahn, 1868), pp. 772–824, here p. 815.

12 *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, p. 815. On the pilgrimage see Jaroslav Nemeš, "Lampert z Hersfeldu: Veľke nemecke putovanie do Jeruzalema v rokoch 1064–1065" [Lampert of Herschfeld: The Great German Journey to Jerusalem in 1064–1065] *Kultúrne dejiny* 14 (2014), no. 2, 238–51.

13 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem. The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, edited and translated by Virginia G. Berry (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), pp. 30–33.

14 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, edited by Johann M. Lappenberg, MGH SS 21 (Hannover: Hahn, 1869), pp. 100–250, here pp. 118–19.

15 *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, edited by Anton Chroust, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. Nova Series 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 27–29 and 132–33. Translation: *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by Graham A. Loud (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 59–61.

16 William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, edited by Robert B. C. Hugyens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 166. Translation: William, Archbishop of Tyre, *History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea*, translated by Emilly A. Babcock and August C. Krey, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 122. See also Alexandru Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th–12th Centuries* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 169–70.

17 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), p. 176. Translation: Fulcher of Chartres, *History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, translated by Frances R. Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 79. See also Krijne Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium 962–1204. Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 170.

18 Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos,* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), pp. 113–263, here p. 152. Translation: *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's `Gesta Dei per Francos'*, translated by Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 58.

19 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 33; transl., p. 64.

20 Francesco dall'Aglio, "*In ipsa silva longissima Bulgariae*: Western chroniclers of the Crusades and the Bulgarian Forest," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 1 (2010), pp. 405–18, here p. 407; Uzelac, *Krstaši*, pp. 15–16.

21 William of Tyre, *Chronicle*, p. 166; transl., p. 121.
22 For the logistic issues and their impact on the relations between the crusaders and Byzantium, see Gregory Bell, "In starvation's shadow. The role of logistics in the strained Byzantine-European relations during the First Crusade," *Byzantion* 80 (2010), 38–71; Alan Murray, "The middle ground: The passage of Crusade armies to the Holy Land by land and sea (1096–1204)," in *A Military History of the Mediterranean Sea. Aspects of War, Diplomacy and Military Elites*, edited by Georgios Theotokis and Aysel Yildiz (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 185–201, here pp. 190–91.
23 Niketas' full name and title are known from his preserved seals, see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, p. 98 and Robert Mihajlovski, "A collection of medieval seals from the fortress Kale in Skopje, excavated between 2007 and 2012," *Byzantion* 86 (2016), 261–316, here pp. 279–80. The chroniclers of the crusades made him "princeps Bulgarorum," as in Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 12–15.
24 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 4–5.
25 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 10–11.
26 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 70–73.
27 *Annales Herbipolenses*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), pp. 1–12, here p. 3; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 132–33.
28 *Chronica regia Coloniensis (Annales maximi Colonienses)*, edited by Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. 18 (Hanover: Hahn, 1880), p. 139.
29 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 40–41; Angeliki Laiou, "Byzantine trade with Christians and Muslims and the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki Laiou and Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), pp. 157–96, here pp. 170–72.
30 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 26; transl. pp. 58–59; Alan Murray, "Finance and logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, edited by Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 357–68, here pp. 363–65.
31 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, pp. 172–73; transl. p. 77.
32 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 18–19.
33 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 70–71.
34 Murray, "Middle ground," p. 189.
35 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 117.
36 Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, edited by Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptores rer. Germ. 45 (Hanover/Leipzig: Hahn, 1912), p. 65. Translation: Otto of Freising and his continuator Rahewin, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, translated by Charles Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 80.
37 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 24–25.
38 Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p. 189. See also John Nesbitt, "The rate of march of crusading armies in Europe: A study and computation," *Traditio* 19 (1963), 167–81, here 178–79. The French contingents were able to advance faster, as they used the bridges previously built by the Germans, Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 32–33.
39 *Le «Liber» de Raymond d'Aguilers*, edited by John H. Hill and Laurita Hill (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969), p. 37. Dall'Aglio, "*In ipsa silva longissima*," p. 408 takes the 40-day march as a biblical reference. Nevertheless, considering the distance and harsh terrain, it is quite possible that the trip truly took that long; see Nesbitt, "Rate of march," pp. 175–76 and Uzelac, *Krstaši*, p. 75.
40 As early as in 1028, Richard of Verdun, abbot of St. Vannes, traveled "through Illyricum and the desert" on his voyage to Palestine; see *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Virdunensis et Divionensis, abbatis Flaviniacensis*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1848), pp. 280–503, here p. 394; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 36. This is the only expedition across the lands on the shore of the Eastern Adriatic known before the First Crusade.
41 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, pp. 154–56; transl. p. 72; Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, edited by Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2001), pp. 301–03. Translation: Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, translated by Edgar R. A. Sewter (London: Penguin, 1969), pp. 313–15. For Hugh of Vermandois, see also Elena Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi i balkanite* [First Crusades and the Balkans] (Sofia: Vekove, 2004), pp. 54–57.

42 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, pp. 171–75; transl. pp. 77–78. On the route of Robert and Stephen, see Toni Filiposki, "The Via Egnatia, Ohrid and the First Crusade (1096–1097) according to the Western sources," in *Space, Landscapes and Settlements in Byzantium: Studies in Historical Geography of the Eastern Mediterranean Presented to Johannes Koder*, edited by Andreas Kulzer and Mihailo St. Popović (Vienna/Novi Sad: Academic Publishing 2017), pp. 113–30, here pp. 120–27.
43 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 618–19.
44 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 8–13. Albert calls Zemun "Malevilla" ("evil town"); see Csákó, "A XI. szazadi," pp. 188–89. For Walter Sans Avoir and his trip to Constantinople: Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi*, pp. 33–36.
45 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 26–27.
46 Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta*, p. 142; transl. p. 48; Csákó, "A XI. századi," pp. 182–83.
47 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 12–17. On Peter's passage through Hungary, see Jana Chmeľová, "Uhorsko a križiacke výpravy od konca 11. storočia do druheho desaročia 13. storočia" [Hungary and the Crusades from the end of the eleventh to the second decade of the thirteenth century], *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave—Historica* 46 (2005), 15–58, here 21–23.
48 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 18–27; Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi*, pp. 42–46.
49 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 44–59; Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. 5 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895), pp. 11–40, here pp. 20–21; Chmeľová, "Uhorsko a križiacke výpravy," pp. 23–26.
50 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 68–71. On the passage of Godfrey's army through Hungary, see Chmeľová, "Uhorsko a križiacke výpravy," pp. 26–29 and Simon John, *Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c. 1060–1100* (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 119–20.
51 These events are described in detail in Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, pp. 72–87 and Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, pp. 308–14 (transl pp. 318–23). See also Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi*, pp. 57–59 and John, *Godfrey of Bouillon*, pp. 121–27.
52 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 586–87; Miha Kosi, "The age of the Crusades in the South-East of the Empire: Between the Alps and the Adriatic," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 123–65, here p. 127.
53 *Annalista Saxo*, edited by Georg Waitz, MGH SS 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1848), pp. 542–777, here p. 735; Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, p. 29.
54 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 588–91.
55 Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, edited by Augustus Le Prevost, vol. 4 (Paris: Renouard, 1838–1855), p. 124; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 342–43.
56 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, edited by Jean Louis van Dieten (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 62–63. Translation: *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, translated by Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 36–37.
57 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 63–64; transl., p. 37; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 42–43; Phillips, *Second Crusade*, p. 71. On the Latin quarter ("burgum Latinorum") of Philipopolis, see Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi*, pp. 103–04.
58 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 42–45.
59 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, p. 29.
60 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), pp. 587–715, here pp. 607–09. Translation: *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, translated by Bernard Bachrach and David Bachrach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 24–28; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 16–17. On Bohemond's route, see Filiposki, "Via Egnatia," pp. 113–15.
61 *Le «Liber» de Raymond*, pp. 38–39; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 19–20. On Raymond's travel from Dyrrachium to Constantinople, see Koicheva, *Părvite krăstonosni pokhodi*, pp. 73–75.
62 Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade. The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 24–25 and 99–100; Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 55–57.
63 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 61–62; transl. pp. 35–36.
64 *Le «Liber» de Raymond*, pp. 36–37. For Aguilers, Bodin was only a "king of the Slavs." Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, vol. 3, pp. 485–86 called him by name. The passage of Raymond's

army through "Sclavonia" is briefly mentioned in Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, pp. 18–19 and in *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 5.

65 Uzelac, *Krstaši*, pp. 76–83. Frankopan, *First Crusade*, p. 116 offers a different interpretation, according to which Raymond travelled through "Sclavonia" in order to subdue Bodin. By contrast, Murray, "Middle ground," pp. 187–88 believes that Raymond's decision could be easily explained in terms of his inability to transfer a large army across the sea.

66 On Conrad's passage through Hungary, see Chmeľová, "Uhorsko a križiacke výpravy," pp. 31–32 and Zsolt Hunyadi, "Hungary and the Second Crusade," *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged* 9–10 (2009–2010), pp. 55–65, here pp. 60–63.

67 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 30–31, 34–39; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto saec. XIV = The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*, edited and translated by János M. Bak and László Veszprémy (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2018), pp. 312–13; Hunyadi, "Hungary and the Second Crusade," pp. 63–65.

68 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 25; trans. p. 58; Chmeľová "Uhorsko a križiacke výpravy," pp. 38–40.

69 *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 142.

70 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 15–16; transl. pp. 45–46.

71 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 27–29 and 132–33; transl. pp. 59–61.

72 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 29–35 and 134–35; trans. pp. 61–65. The meeting in Niš is also mentioned in *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 145 and Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 172. On the meeting, see Ferdinand Opll, "Das *Treffen* von *Nis* vom Juli 1189 in seinem historischen Umfeld," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 97 (1989), 435–42; Uzelac, *Krstaši*, pp. 160–68. The arranged marriage between Nemanja's nephew and Berthold's daughter was to be concluded the following year, but it never happened.

73 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 35–40; transl., pp. 65–70; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 402–04; transl., pp. 221–22.

74 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 408–09; transl., pp. 224–25. On the crusaders taking Berrhoe and Stanimaka see *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 44–45; transl., pp. 73–74; Gagova, *Krăstonosnite pokhodi*, pp. 109–10. For Prusinon see Gagova, *Trakiia*, p. 284. For the involvement of the Armenians, see Elena Koicheva, "The Armenians: Traders and friends of Frederick Barbarossa in the Balkans during the Third Crusade (1189–1990)," *Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia* 1 (2014), 106–13.

75 Harris, *Byzantium*, pp. 144–45.

76 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 58; transl., pp. 84–85. The fact that Nemanja offered 20,000 men for the attack on Constantinople results from the remark of "Ansbert," according to which the emperor "held an army of more than 60,000 Serb and Vlach auxiliaries ready"; see *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 68; transl., p. 94.

77 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 64–66, transl., pp. 90–92; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 411–12; transl., p. 226.

78 *Le «Liber» de Raymond*, pp. 37–38.

79 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 606; transl., p. 23.

80 Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, pp. 50–51; transl., pp. 66–67.

81 William of Tyre, *Chronique*, p. 916; transl., vol. 2, pp. 348–49.

82 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, pp. 118–19.

83 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 133.

84 William of Tyre, *Chronique*, pp. 144–45; transl., vol. 1, p. 101.

85 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 28–29.

86 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 44–45.

87 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, p. 35; transl., p. 65.

88 Dall'Aglio, "*In ipsa silva longissima*," p. 412.

89 *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, pp. 266–67.

90 R. D. Thomas, "Anna Comnena's account of the First Crusade: History and politics in the reigns of the emperors Alexius I and Manuel I Comnenus," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), no. 1, 269–312, here 273. See also Gagova, *Krăstonosnite pokhodi*, pp. 34–36.

91 Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, p. 298; transl., p. 311.

92 Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, p. 319; transl., p. 328.

93 Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, p. 320; transl., p. 330.

94 *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, pp. 310–13.
95 John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum,* edited by August Meineke (Bonn: Weber, 1836), pp. 84–85. Translation: John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, translated by Charles Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 70.
96 John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, pp. 71 and 82; transl., pp. 61 and 68.
97 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 402; transl., p. 221.
98 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 416; transl., pp. 228–29. See also Harris, *Byzantium*, pp. 147–51.
99 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 598; transl., p. 328.
100 *Vita Lietberti*, p. 854.
101 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 676; transl., p. 118.
102 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, pp. 10–11.
103 John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, p. 84; transl., p. 70; Curta, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 541–43. On the Czech participation in the Second Crusade, see also Vera Hrochová, "La participation tchèque aux deuxième et troisième croisades," in *Le partage du monde. Echanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, edited by Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 279–86, here pp. 279–83. On the Polish participation and the identification of the "Polish king," see Mikołaj Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 45–65.
104 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 63 and 77; transl., pp. 89 and 98; Hrochová, "La participation tchèque," pp. 283–84.
105 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 18 and 52–53; transl., pp. 48 and 80; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 171.
106 *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi*, edited by William Stubbs (London: Longman & Green, 1864), pp. 74 and 246. Translation: *Chronicle of the third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi*, translated by Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 82 and 234; James Ross Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218," *The International History Review* 3 (1981), no. 4, 467–81, here 471–72.
107 Josip Kolanović, "Vrana i templari" [Vrana and the Templars], *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru* 18 (1971), 207–26*;* Zsolt Hunyadi, "The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: commanderies, personnel, and a particular activity up to c. 1400," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 253–68, here p. 253.
108 Kosi, "Age of the Crusades," pp. 136–39; Hunyadi, "Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary," pp. 254–55.
109 *Legenda S. Ladislai regis*, edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), pp. 507–27, here p. 521.
110 Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades," pp. 472–75.
111 *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, pp. 168–69; Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades," pp. 475–76.
112 Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades," p. 475.
113 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum pontificum atque Spalatensium. History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, edited by Olga Perić, translated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and James R. Sweeney (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), pp. 158–59.
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115 Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades," p. 479; László Veszprémy, "The crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary, 1217–1218," *Iacobus*: *revista de estudios jacobeos y medievales* 13–14 (2002), 87–110, here 91–93.
116 On the Hungarian military activities in the Holy Land during the Fifth Crusade, see Veszprémy, "The crusade of Andrew II," pp. 94–97 and Curta, *Eastern Europe*, pp. 554–55.
117 *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, pp. 322–23; Veszprémy, "The crusade of Andrew II," pp. 102–03.
118 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia*, pp. 164–65.
119 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, pp. 24–25.
120 *Quellen zur Geschichte*, pp. 65–66; transl., p. 91.
121 *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV,* edited by Titus Tobler (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1874), pp. 189–90.
122 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela* [Complete Works], edited by Tomislav Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1999), p. 42; Uzelac, *Krstaši*, p. 183.

123 Zoran Ladić, "Medieval pilgrims from the Eastern Adriatic coast to Terra Sancta and Jerusalem," in *Viaggio verso Gerusaleme: culture, economie e territori*, edited by Anna Trono, Marco Leo Imperiale, and Giuseppe Marella (Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2014), pp. 95–111, here pp. 98–102.

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125 Josip Lučić, "O najranijim vezama Dubrovnika s Engleskom i Španjolskom" [On the earliest ties of Dubrovnik with England and Spain], *Historijski zbornik* 27–28 (1974–1975), 183–200, here pp. 187–94; Ivica Prlender, "An Eastern Adriatic merchant republic (Dubrovnik) facing the temptations of the Crusades," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 173–86, here pp. 173–74.

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132 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 144–49.

133 Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, edited by Phillipe Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1956), pp. 14–15. Translation: Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, translated by Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 44–45. See also Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople, avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, edited by Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1882), pp. 44 and 56–62. Translation: Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, translated by Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963). pp. 47 and 52–54.

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138 Benjamin Kedar, "The Fourth Crusade's second front," in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), pp. 89–110; Constable, *Crusaders*, pp. 331–32.

139 Antonio Carile, "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romaniae," *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 127–305, here 217–22; Harris, *Byzantium*, pp. 177–78.

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22

THE BALTIC CRUSADES (1147–1300)

Gregory Leighton

The study of Eastern and Northeastern Europe's medieval history has recently experienced an explosion of scholarly interest, especially in the English- and German-speaking world. Long gone are the days of isolation caused both by linguistic barriers and by political confrontation. Now a variety of articles and monographs discussing some aspect of the region's history are published every year.[1] This is particularly true for the crusading movement and, to a lesser extent, for the history of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, the Knights of Dobrin and the Teutonic Order. Such a closing of the gap has been enthusiastically noted most recently by Udo Arnold, a preeminent expert on the history of the Teutonic Knights, at the twentieth meeting of the biennial *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, which took place in Toruń (Poland) in September of 2019.[2]

Nonetheless, the seeds of this renewal were planted a while ago. Following the introduction of the "pluralist" theory of the crusades by Jonathan Riley-Smith, a series of now classic works in English emerged that form the backbone for any studies of the crusading movement in the Baltic region.[3] These are the works of James A. Brundage, William Urban and Eric Christiansen.[4] They spurred a series of edited collections of studies that have significantly impacted the ways in which the Baltic region and its history are now approached by students and scholars not familiar with the area. Those collections covered many topics, such as conversion and the clash of cultures on the Baltic frontier, the expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic lands, as well as the comparison between crusading in Iberia and crusading in the Baltic region.[5] Several key sources have also been translated into English, especially the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* and Nicolaus von Jeroschin's *Chronicle of Prussia*, two texts that have largely opened up the field of the history of the Teutonic Order to a broader audience.[6] The literature on the military orders in the Baltic region in English remains, however, modest, when compared to that of the military orders in the Holy Land.[7]

This chapter will outline the major points in the history of the crusading movement in the Baltic, starting with a discussion of the history and chronology of the crusading movement. I will first consider the rhetorical elements present in the so-called Magdeburg Letter of 1108. This document is of great significance because it is one of the earliest instances in the crusading movement, when key themes associated with the crusade to the Holy Land, namely, that of Jerusalem and the liberation of the holy places, were applied to a region with no prior

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connections to Christianity. Following a brief outline of the Wendish Crusade, I will then turn to the rise of the crusading movement in Livonia and the establishment of the local military orders, first of all the Livonian Brothers of the Sword. I will conclude with a discussion of the situation further to the south, in Prussia, where Christian of Oliva founded the Knights of Dobrin, based on the model of the Sword Brothers. This period experienced key changes from the point of military technology, the introduction of new building methods and the establishment of an administrative structure both in Livonia and in Prussia. The final two sections of this chapter will discuss the arrival of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and its role in the Baltic crusades from the 1230s to the end of the century. The situation in which the Order found itself in Prussia was quite different from that in Livonia, in terms of administration and governance. The Teutonic Order was able to establish itself, in addition to receiving support from seasonal crusaders and the popes (e.g., through continued preaching campaigns on the Order's behalf). However, this period also coincided with political unrest, in both Livonia and Prussia. In Livonia, a main issue was the conflict between the Teutonic Knights and the bishops of Livonia for hegemony. In Prussia, the uprisings of the 1240s and 1260s placed considerable stress on the Order's fledgling administration of the land, though the Knights were able to overcome those setbacks and ultimately conquer the Prussians by the end of the century. In conclusion, I will analyze the complex motivations and experiences of crusaders and crusading in the Baltic region to 1300, incorporating the newest and most current research from English, German and Polish research. I will discuss martyrdom, pilgrimage rituals and the relationship of crusading to the Virgin Mary.

Beginnings (1147–1237)

Crusading in the Baltic, unlike the expeditions to recapture the *sepulchrum Domini* in Jerusalem or the wars aimed at reconquering Christian territories in Spain, focused on conversion, among other things.[8] There were no holy sites to recapture, no pilgrimage shrines to defend and no Christian populations to protect. Nonetheless, enthusiasm for crusading spread to the Baltic area as well. The lands east of the Elbe River had been described as "our Jerusalem" (*nostra Hierosolyma*) as early as 1108, in the letter attributed to Adelgot, Archbishop of Magdeburg, though it is difficult to discern why was that letter written in the first place.[9] Whatever the intention of the letter's author may have been, there was no holy war in the region, for the remission of sins, until four decades later. Because of St Bernard of Clairvaux and his preaching of the crusade, Eugenius III granted an indulgence to the princes of the Holy Roman Empire to form the northern arm of the Second Crusade.[10] In the papal bull *Divina dispensatio* issued in 1147, Eugenius equated the fate of the Holy Land with the lands of the pagan Slavs, whom the crusaders were "to subjugate" (*subjugare*) to the Christian faith.[11] Known as the Wendish Crusade, this was a largely unsuccessful enterprise, with no significant conversion accomplished. It, nonetheless, sparked the idea of crusading in the Baltic region.[12] One should also note here the "proto-crusades" of the Piasts against the Prussians, such as that of Henry of Sandomierz in 1166.[13]

Nearly 20 years later, in 1186, Meinhard, a monk from the Segeberg Abbey in Holstein, was consecrated as bishop of Üxküll (now Ikšķile, in Latvia). He had begun preaching in Livonia (now Latvia and Estonia) around 1184, with the goal to convert the peoples living in the valley of the Düna (Daugava) River. Along with German merchants, he built the first stone church in Livonia, on the island of Üxküll in 1186. Its purpose was to shelter the newly converted people.[14] After Meinhard's death in 1196, because of lackluster success, a Cistercian named Berthold of Loccum was appointed as successor. According to the Benedictine

chronicler Arnold of Lübeck, in 1198 Berthold was granted by Pope Celestine the privilege to preach against the Livonians a crusade, in which the participants received the remission of sins (*peccatorum remissio a Deo*).[15] The precise nature of those indulgences, however, is vague, and it has been suggested that the crusades in the later 12th century may have had only partial, as opposed to full, indulgences for participants.[16] In any case, by the end of the 12th century, the ideas of crusading, indulgences and the remission of sins for participants had been planted on the eastern Baltic shore and were growing.

Berthold was martyred by Livs outside the town of Riga in 1198, on the feast of St. Christina of Tyre (July 24). According to Henry of Livonia, he lost control of his horse and was stabbed by a Liv. The anonymous author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (c. 1290) reflected on Berthold's speech to the crusader army. The bishop exhorted them to

> remember, how Jesus Christ shed his holy blood on the cross for us! The paganism of these people is not so strong to overcome us. We are here on account of God on high, who never abandons his faithful in battle. Eternal life will come to those who die here.[17]

In this way, the author of the chronicle, likely a knight in the Teutonic Order, showed that concepts associated with crusading in the Holy Land, such as martyrdom, had been brought to the Baltic region from an early period.[18] Berthold, described as a martyr, was then buried in the island church at Üxkull, next to St Meinhard, Livonia's *confessor*, and his tomb was visited by papal legate, William of Modena, in his Livonian mission of 1225.[19]

However, Berthold's successor, Albert of Buxhövden, was ordained as Bishop of Üxküll in 1199 and oversaw the full-fledged development of crusading.[20] Albert secured papal support of his mission and oversaw the expansion of the church in Livonia. He traveled to Germany every year to recruit crusaders, gaining for them the same status as those who journeyed to Jerusalem.[21] He also moved the see from Üxküll to Riga and emerged as a strong diplomat, forging relationships between the new Christian flock in Livonia, and their non-Christian neighbors for the purposes of trade and military alliances against common enemies, such as the Lithuanians.[22] Throughout the Middle Ages, Riga was the center of ecclesiastical power and authority in the region, vying for political and economic power with the kings of Denmark, the neighboring Rus' principalities, and, of course, the military orders.[23]

This latter group became a key development of the crusading movement in the Baltic region during the 13th century.[24] It was Albert who, alongside the Cistercian Theoderic of Treiden, established in 1202–1203 the Order of the Knights of Christ of Livonia (*fratres milicie Christi de Livonia*) as the first military order of the Baltic. They were also known as the Sword Bearers (*gladiferi*), due to the red sword that was on their habits.[25] The knights formed one of the three groups that Albert established in Livonia. Following the Cistercians, they were "faithful laymen" taking the Rule of the Templars (founded in 1120), who were responsible for defending the newly conquered lands from non-Christians.[26] The Sword Brothers held castles at Riga, Fellin (now Viljandi, in Estonia), Wenden (now Cēsis, in Latvia), Segewold (now Sigulda, in Latvia), Ascheraden (Aizkraukle, in Latvia), and Dorpat (now Tartu, in Estonia), in addition to the church of St Catherine on the island of Moon (now Muhu, in Estonia), dated shortly after the conquest of the island in February 1227.[27] In some respects, they formed the military arm of the bishop of Livonia, and fought alongside the seasonal crusaders (*peregrini*) from Westphalia and Saxony who campaigned there on account of Bishop Albert's preaching campaigns in Germany.[28]

Bringing with them new military technologies, the Sword Brothers managed to gain key military victories in the early conquest of Livonia. They adapted to local climate conditions,

launching campaigns in the winter.[29] The crusaders and the Sword Brothers gained important victories at the sieges of Fellin in 1211 and 1217, and in the conquest of the island of Ösel (now Saaremaa, in Estonia) in 1227. Moreover, the Sword Brothers introduced new weapons to the region, such as the crossbow and, perhaps, caltrops.[30] Stone castles were also an innovation brought along with Christianization, already from the early missions of Meinhard, who built the church at Üxküll in the late 12th century.[31] However, the Sword Brothers were in almost constant conflict with the Church in Riga, headed by Bishop Albert, who was to administer two-thirds of the conquered lands in Livonia and to whom the master of the order was to be subordinated.[32]

According to Friedrich Benninghoven, at its peak, the order could not have had somewhere between 110 and 120 knight brothers.[33] The Order of the Sword Brothers experienced a catastrophic defeat on September 22, 1236, at the Battle of Saule by an army of Lithuanians and Semigallians. This event reverberated throughout the lands of Germany, recorded in the world chronicle of Albert von Stade, in addition to local necrologies.[34] Dietrich of Hasseldorp, a knight who was killed in the battle and is mentioned in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, was also recorded in the necrology of the Hamburg Cathedral Chapter, on the date of the Battle of Saule.[35] This serves as an important example of the commemoration of the battle outside of the Livonian frontier, and the awareness of affairs on this frontier of Christendom.[36] In any case, over half of Sword Brothers and the master, Volkwin of Naumburg, were killed in the battle. The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* records that the defeat brought great sadness to the land of Livonia, and memorialized the fallen brothers, calling them martyrs.[37] Following the defeat, in May 1237 Pope Gregory IX confirmed the absorption of the remaining members of the Sword Brothers into the Teutonic Order, thus placing the Teutonic Knights (an otherwise international military order) onto the Livonian frontier.[38] The move was not without consequences for the Teutonic Order, which by that time had already commenced the conquest of Prussia discussed below. As a result of the absorption of the Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Order inherited the conflicts between the church and the Sword Brothers arose. These conflicts defined the social and economic administration of the northeastern area of the so-called *Ordensland*, with constant struggles between the Order, the archbishop of Riga and the merchants of Riga.[39]

Further to the south, in Prussia, the situation was different. That region had been in contact with Christianity for much longer. St Adalbert of Prague in 997 and Bruno of Querfurt in 1009 were the first to attempt to Christianize the Prussians, with unsuccessful results. In the 12th century, the crusading idea was emerging there, namely, in the example of the local dukes of Mazovia. They engaged in protecting their borders against the Prussian tribes, such as the 1166 campaign of Henry of Sandomierz.[40] Only in the early 13th century, however, did the papacy shift its attention to the Prussians. In 1206, Innocent III commissioned the prelates of Poland to assist the monks of the Abbey of Łekno in converting the Prussians to Christianity.[41] Later, in 1215, Christian, a Cistercian monk from the Abbey of Oliva (now Oliwa, in Poland), overtook that responsibility. He was ordained as the first bishop of Prussia by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the same year in which Livonia, "the Land of the Mother" (*terra matris*) was proclaimed as equal to the Holy Land, "the Land of the Son" (*terra filii*).[42] This was perhaps an indication of the perceived success of the Baltic missions on the part of Innocent III, as has been suggested by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt.[43] To supplement his efforts, Christian founded the Knights of Dobrin (*milites Christi de Prusia*) in 1228. Modeled on the Sword Brothers, the new order had no more than 15 knights at its peak, and was ultimately incorporated into the Order of the Teutonic Knights by Gregory IX in April of 1235, due to its lack of success against the Prussians.[44]

Between 1186 and 1235, key ideas came to be associated with crusading on the Baltic frontier, first in Livonia and then in Prussia. Already by the end of the 12th century, the remission of sins was associated with campaigning in Livonia. Shortly afterward, regional military orders appeared in both regions and under similar circumstances. With the rise of the military orders and the continued campaigns against the non-Christian population, new military technologies appeared in the Baltic region, such as the crossbow and stone fortifications. However, the local origins of the crusading phenomenon were not enough to be maintained in the long term, particularly in the case of the military orders of the Sword Brothers and the Knights of Dobrin.

The Teutonic Order (1226–1300)

The history of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic region begins in 1226, when they were called by Konrad, Duke of Mazovia, to defend his borderlands. That year also marks the internationalization of the crusading movement in the Baltic region. Founded in the Holy Land in 1190 and militarized in 1198 by Celestine III, the Order held territories in the Levant, as well as in the Iberian Peninsula and the Kingdom of Hungary (present-day Transylvania, known in German as the *Burzenland*).[45] The knights, members of the *Ordo domus Sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Iherosolimitanorum*, took a monastic rule that blended the rule of the Temple with that of the Hospital.[46] They were explicitly tied to the Holy Land, unlike their regional predecessors discussed above. The order was founded at the Siege of Acre in 1190 by a group of crusaders and pilgrims from Bremen and Lübeck, with the specific goal of providing medical care to German pilgrims. Innocent III militarized the Order in 1198.[47] The Knights began to garner considerable influence shortly after their foundation, particularly under the influence of Grand Master Hermann von Salza (d. 1239). In Prussia, Konrad of Mazovia, promised the Kulmerland (the region around the present-day Chełmno, in Poland) to the brothers "so that they might take up and set about the task [of defending his borders] favorably for going into and maintaining the land of Prussia, for the honor and glory of the true God."[48] In 1230, the Teutonic Knights arrived in Prussia, bringing with them the internationalization of crusading in the Baltic region. This invitation was confirmed in 1226/1235 by Emperor Frederick II in the Golden Bull of Rimini.[49] This was confirmed by the Golden Bull of Riete, issued by Gregory IX, issued in August of 1234.

While still active in the Holy Land, the Order immediately set about its new task in Prussia with a series of conquests between 1230 and 1239, all secured by Hermann Balk, the first master of Prussia.[50] These resulted in the foundations of the Order's first fortifications and settlements: Thorn (now Toruń), Kulm (now Chełmno), Marienwerder (now Kwidzyn), Rehden (now Radzyń Chełmiński), Elbing (now Elbląg), and Balga (now Veseloe, in the Kaliningrad region of Russia).[51] In 1242, at the siege of Sartowitz (now Sartowice, in Poland), during the war with the Duke of Pomerania, Swantopolk II, the Knights discovered the relics of St Barbara. They were brought to the Order's castle at Althaus (now Starogród Chełmiński), which became one of the most significant pilgrimage shrines in the southern Baltic region during the Middle Ages, patronized by the Teutonic Order and visited by guest crusaders and local Christians alike.[52]

Moreover, support for the Teutonic Order at this time was relatively steady, particularly from the king of Bohemia, in addition to other noblemen. By far one of the most notable events of this period is the crusade or Přemysl Otakar II in the winter of 1255. This campaign resulted in the foundation of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, in Russia).[53] Peter von Dusburg describes the campaign in detail and frames the expedition within the context of

crusading and holy war, calling it a "pilgrimage" (*peregrinacio*) and a "labor for the faith" (*negocio fidei*), both phrases associated with the crusading movement since the late 11th century.[54] Peter's account of the foundation of the castle demonstrates the prestige and the legacy left by Otakar's crusade for the 14th-century members of the Order. The castle at Königsberg became the primary gathering point for crusaders from throughout Christendom, who came every year to the southern shore of the Baltic Sea to campaign against the Lithuanians. To the 14th-century European nobility, Königsberg represented one of the great centers associated with expeditions against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[55] Otakar's son, Wenceslaus II, King of Bohemia (1278–1305), also went on a crusade to Prussia and made a vow to visit the shrine of St Barbara at Althaus, one of the earliest indications of how important that shrine had meanwhile become.[56] In short, following the initial conquests of the Order and the foundation of its ecclesiastical administration, Prussia was quickly becoming a land of relics and pilgrimage shrines.

Moreover, the bishoprics of Kulm, Pomesania, Sambia and Warmia were founded in 1243. The diocese of Sambia was added in 1252, with the cathedral church (dedicated to St Adalbert of Prague, St Catherine of Alexandria and the Virgin Mary) being consecrated 50 years after.[57] Unlike in Livonia, where the Bishop of Riga was the dominant political actor, in Prussia the Teutonic Order controlled the episcopal elections for three of the four dioceses (Kulm, Pomesania and Sambia), with bishops often coming from within the Order's ranks, in addition to a strong network of canons in these dioceses. This secured an integrated and functional administrative structure for the administration of the region.[58] Meanwhile, castles and churches were built in stone. One of the earliest stone buildings was the cathedral church in Kulmsee (now Chełmża) founded by Heidenrich, Bishop of Kulm, in 1251.[59] In 1254, Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence to all those assisting in adding to that "beautiful work" (*operum sumptuosum*), perhaps a hint at the cathedral's significance as one of the earliest stone buildings in the region.[60] Indeed, the church was used as a burial place for the 13th-century Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order, in addition to serving as the center of the cult of St Jutta of Sangerhausen. Helmerich of Würzburg, Master of the Livonian Branch of the Teutonic Order, was buried in the cathedral following his death in 1263 at the battle of Löbau (now Lubawa, in Poland).[61] Colonists came to Prussia to farm the land, and this resulted in the integration of the Prussian and German population, and a higher level of ethnic diversity within and around Prussian towns.[62] In that respect, Prussia was markedly different from Livonia, where the Germans remained a minority.[63]

However, this was also a period of military and political turbulence. Two uprisings took place during the Order's early history that tested the resolve of the Teutonic Order, while allowing the Knights to strengthen their control of the region. The First Prussian Uprising took place from 1242 to 1249 and ended with the Treaty of Christburg (now Dzierzgoń, in Poland), on February 7, 1249. The treaty stipulated the total submission of the Prussians to Christian laws and control of the land, and ensured that the Prussians would rebuild a total of 23 churches, which were to have appropriate decorations and furnishings.[64] The second uprising was led by a Prussian chieftain named Herkus Monte, in the aftermath of the defeat of the Order at the Battle of Durben in 1260.[65] Those brothers who fell on that battlefield were commemorated in the Order's liturgy not only in Livonia, but in the Holy Roman Empire as well, and were regarded as martyrs.[66] Subsequent setbacks occurred at Pokarwis (near Ushakovo, in Russia) in 1261, and at Löbau in 1263, sparking a series of raids and the fall of several castles. In 1266, the Order received reinforcements from John of Brandenburg and Přemysl Otakar II, who managed to secure a ceasefire.[67] Crusaders continued to go to Prussia to assist the Order; for example, Dietrich, Margrave of Meissen, came to Prussia on

crusade and gained a victory in Sambia in 1272. Following that, Herkus Monte was captured and hanged.[68] From that point onward, the Order waged a war of systematic conquest the Prussians, an enterprise completed in 1283.[69]

By the late 13th century, the campaigns in Livonia had virtually come to an end.[70] To the south, in Prussia, the Teutonic Order turned its eyes to Lithuania, a different enemy. It is not clear whether or not crusaders from Europe accompanied the knights on those early campaigns, as there appears to be a gap in Peter's chronicle from 1272 to 1304, when "pilgrims from Germany, inspired by the Lord, began to visit Prussia again."[71] However, after 1283, when, according to Peter of Dusburg, the knights waged war against "that powerful and bellicose people, with most strong necks (in resistance to Christianity)," about 30 expeditions into Lithuania are mentioned in his chronicle.[72] Those expeditions targeted the castles of Junigeda (now Veliuona, in Lithuania), Pisten (now Pieštvėnai) as well as places deep into the Lithuanian interior, such as Bisen (now Bisenė). No pilgrims or guest crusaders are mentioned as taking part in those expeditions. According to Peter, those expeditions were "new wars, chosen by the Lord" that the Teutonic Order carried out in Prussia, perhaps an indication of the perception of the campaigns against the Lithuanians as a new period in the Order's history. This new character also results from Peter's description the religious life of the brethren in Königsberg at that time, with a variety of miraculous events that took place during the first wave of attacks into Lithuania.[73]

A shift is apparent in the late 13th century in the crusades in the Baltic region. With the arrival of "pilgrims from Germany" (*peregrini de Alemania*), the *Reisen* were set up as campaigns against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that lasted into the early 15th century. They are, therefore, beyond the scope of this chapter.[74] However, it is important to note that the Reisen were a complex mix of chivalry and personal glory, framed against the idea of fighting enemies of the Christian faith. Some elements of the initial, earlier period were preserved, such as the indulgence, as well as crusade vocabulary in reference to participants.[75] However, the *Reisen* were much more international. Knights from as far away as Italy, Spain, France and England journeyed to the Order's great castle at Königsberg to campaign against the Lithuanians, as well as to participate in tournaments and earn a seat at the "Table of Honor" (*Ehrentisch*).[76] In other words, shortly after 1300, the Baltic region, once on the fringe of the *Christianitas*, was fully integrated into the 14th-century chivalric and courtly culture of Europe.

Motivations and experiences of crusaders

For a while, most scholars have dismissed the religious motivations of crusaders going to the Baltic. This is particularly the case of the late 14th- and early 15th-century *Reisen*, because the line between chivalric adventure and holy war was not quite visible, with some even referring to those expeditions as a sort of knightly game.[77] Scholars from Germany, Lithuania, Poland and America all held reservations about the nature of crusading in Lithuania, and whether or not those expeditions could even be described as crusades.[78]

What about the period of active crusading *before* those expeditions, in the 13th century? Recent research by German, Polish and Estonian, and Anglophone scholars has revealed a much more complex spiritual dimension, which was clearly perceived (and assumed) by participants. In light of such findings, the 14th-century campaigns are clearly within the realm of the crusading idea in medieval Europe, exemplified in the chronicles of Peter of Dusburg, Nicolaus of Jeroschin, Hermann of Wartberge and Wigand of Marburg.[79] In the 13th century and at the turn of the fourteenth, both the chronicle of Henry of Livonia and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* make it clear that contemporaries regarded the campaigns against

Livs as crusades. Crusaders are frequently referred to as "pilgrims" (*peregrini*) or, as the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* has it, as "heroes" (*helden*).[80] That, in my opinion, is also why knights from Germany thought it was worth traveling to the Baltic frontier. Both Henry of Livonia and the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* highlight the importance of fighting God's enemies. The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, in particular, is significant in that respect, as its audience consisted of crusaders in Livonia.[81] The anonymous author, for example, put a speech in the mouth of Berthold of Loccum, who, before his death, told a group of crusaders that "we are here on account of God in heaven, who never forgets his friends in battle."[82] The same is then put in the mouth of Master Volkwin just before his death at the Battle of Saule.[83] In this way, it becomes clear that war in God's name, but also death in serving Him, were serious reasons for crusaders in the 13th-century Baltic region.

Indeed, martyrdom and its relationship to crusader motivations appear in many other sources, not just major chronicles.[84] The Lippiflorium, a verse account written c. 1260 about Bernard II von Lippe (d. 1224), the abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Dünemünde (now Daugavgrīva, in Riga, Latvia), claims that he sought "the life of an exile" (*vita exilii*). The same account mentions the crusaders killed in battle against Livs as martyrs.[85] Several charters refer martyrdom as a serious motivation for potential crusaders to both Prussia and Livonia. The same is true for a series of papal letters from the 1240s to the 1260s addressed to Dominicans and Franciscans responsible for preaching the crusades. Sermons delivered for the recruitment of crusaders to Prussia and Livonia equally highlighted the suffering of the brothers of the Teutonic Order. That is present mirrored in the letters of Popes Alexander IV and Urban IV, both of whom highlighted the suffering of the brothers "for the defense of the Catholic faith," and their willingness to put their bodies and souls under the expectation of martyrdom in Prussia and Livonia.[86] A unique motivation mentioned for and by crusaders and the members of the Teutonic Knights was the desire to serve the Virgin Mary. One of the best illustrations of that specific trait of the Baltic crusades is Henry of Livonia's account of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). According to Henry, at the council Archbishop Albert of Riga recommended to Pope Innocent III that Livonia, "the land of the Mother" (*Livonia, que est terra matris*) not be abandoned in favor of crusades to the Holy Land, "the land of the Son" (*terra filii*).[87] According to Arnold of Lübeck, Meinhard dedicated the church at Üxküll to the Virgin.[88] In the account of a battle between the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians, the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* includes a prayer for the soul of a fallen convert named Suxe: "help his soul, Mary, who died in your service!"[89] The Marian themes carried over into the 14th-century source material, including secular poems and works produced for and within the Teutonic Order.[90] The veneration of the Virgin Mary as part of the crusading experience may also be studied from the perspective of onomastics and toponyms. Waldemar Rozynkowski has demonstrated the deep links between the Virgin Mary and place names in Prussia from as early as the 13th century.[91] Besides the obvious example of the Teutonic Knights' headquarters at Marienburg (now Malbork), places named after the Virgin Mary include Marienwerder (*insula sanctae Mariae*) and Frauenburg (now Frombork, which appears in the sources as *castrum sanctae Mariae*). Castles were also named after other patron saints of the Teutonic Order, e.g., Georgenburg (now Mayovka, in the district of Cherniakhovsk, mentioned in the sources as *castrum sancti Georgii*).[92] The same category of evidence pertains to Livonia. In December of 1225, a treaty on the borderlands between the bishop of Semgallia and the church of Riga refers to a castle called Marienburg, called Babath (*castrum Babath, sanctae Mariae nuncupatum*).[93] This was not the later Marienburg in the Order's Livonian territories (now Alūksne, in Latvia). It was also customary launch campaigns on important feast days of the Virgin Mary, such as the Purification (February 2), the Assumption (August 15) and

the Nativity (September 8).[94] Moreover, both Peter of Dusburg and Nicolaus of Jeroschin used Marian imagery in an attempt to express the divine nature of warfare on the Prussian frontier, which had no previous associations with Christianity.[95]

There can be no surprise, therefore about the significance of pilgrimage for crusaders. For Prussia, this has been demonstrated on the basis of sites in the region around Kulm.[96] In Livonia, the shrines surrounding the city of Riga served as the most important pilgrimage sites during the 13th century. The altar of the Holy Cross, most likely holding a relic of the Cross itself, was among the most prominent. During the 14th century, the remains of both Meinhard and Berthold were exhumed and placed in the cathedral church, near that altar.[97] On the other hand, the altar of the Holy Cross was the main place where, while in Livonia, pilgrims and crusaders made offerings.[98] A similar phenomenon may be observed in Prussia with the diffusion of relics of the True Cross at Elbing, Thorn and other centers, such as the shrine of St Barbara in Althaus. By contrast, no evidence exists that the cult of St Jutta of Sangerhausen, a hermit who lived in a cell near Kulmsee in the 13th century, involved a pilgrimage on an international level.[99]

Conclusion

The initial phase in the history of the crusading movement in the Baltic region is relatively short—from 1147 to 1300. That phase actually starts with the introduction of the crusading idea in the 1108 letter of Adelgot of Magdeburg, who first applied the notion of "our Jerusalem" to the northern frontier of Europe. Next, the Wendish Crusade of 1147, while not directly aimed at the Baltic region (Prussia and Livonia), was a crucial moment in the spread of crusading to the northern frontiers of Latin *Christianitas*. The ideas of fighting in defense of Christendom and receiving a spiritual reward for doing so were easily transferrable, though at first, other key elements of the movement, such as the indulgence for the remission of sins, were not applied as in the Holy Land.

Nonetheless, from its inception in the late 12th century, the crusade to Livonia had all the ingredients of the crusade idea. The chronicles of Arnold of Lübeck and Henry of Livonia attribute all of that to St Meinhard and Berthold of Loccum but insist upon the fact that in the eastern Baltic the goal of the crusade was conversion. Berthold, in fact, preached a crusade to the noblemen of Saxony and Westphalia on the basis of that argument. However, it was only under Albert of Buxhövden, the third bishop of Livonia, that the crusading movement took off in earnest. Through his diplomatic activities and zeal for preaching the crusade, Albert ensured the beginning of an administrative structure in Livonia that would last until the 16th century. A major component of that initial structure was the establishment of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, a local military order modeled on the Knights Templar. Though subservient to the bishop, this fledgling order managed to secure key victories in the 13th century alongside the seasonal crusaders in Livonia, establishing castles and commanderies throughout the region. However, the Sword Brothers were utterly defeated at Saule in September 1236. Meanwhile, the beginnings of the crusading movement were similarly linked to the creation of another military order, the Knights of Dobrin, by Christian, the first bishop of Prussia. Neither one of the two local military orders was able to carry out its tasks, likely due to the small numbers and a different, more international alternative.

An international military order with ties to the Holy Land, the Teutonic Knights brought with them to Prussia a firmer administrative structure, largely based on their ability to secure a grant from Konrad of Mazovia who gave them almost total control of their holdings in the Kulmerland. Along with the foundation of bishoprics in 1243, this gave the Order a

considerable degree of control in administrative terms. In Livonia, the opposite happened, for the Teutonic Knights entered a region in which an already-existing ecclesiastical and administrative structure highly favored the bishops of Livonia. This resulted in centuries of conflict and alternating periods of cooperation. Moreover, with the arrival of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic, there were also key periods of support in the form of crusaders, and upheaval, particularly the two Prussian uprisings of the 1240s and 1260s. Most important, however, was the continued support of the Central European nobility, particularly of the Kings of Bohemia Přemysl Otakar II and Wenceslas II. By 1283, the Prussian tribes had been subjugated, and colonists from Germany were being steadily brought in, while the campaigns in Livonia were coming to an end.

Scholarship has only recently turned their attention towards the religious motivations and experiences of crusaders in the Baltic region. Previously dismissed as exercises in gaining personal glory or "land grabbing" on the part of the Teutonic Order, the Baltic crusades have recently been subject to studies from such points of view as the vocabulary of martyrdom and cult of the Virgin Mary. Therefore, the Order's desire for its own territorial entities in Prussia has a much more complex, nuanced background. Place names and pilgrimage activities have made it increasingly clear that the Baltic theatre held many things in common with the "traditional" crusades to the Holy Land. Although those two aspects of crusading flourished primarily after 1300, particularly with respect to relics and pilgrimage, it is in the 13th century that the stage was set on the Baltic frontier for the defining elements of the crusading phenomenon. In a sense, the stage was set in the 12th and the 13th century for the Baltic crusade to lead to the formation of a communal identity in the Middle Ages, from the introduction of church and administrative structures to the development of pilgrimage shrines and the commemoration of fallen crusaders.

Notes

1 See Sven Ekdahl, "Crusades and colonisation in the Baltic: A historiographic analysis," in *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe: The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, edited by Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1–42.

2 Udo Arnold, "Der Weg einer Freundschaft," delivered in Toruń, on September 25, 2019.

3 Jonathan Riley–Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1977).

4 James A. Brundage, "Introduction," in Henry of Livonia, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, edited and translated by James A. Brundage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), pp. 3–24; William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975); William Urban, *The Prussian Crusade* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100 – 1525* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); William Urban, *The Livonian Crusade* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981); William Urban, *The Samogitian Crusade* (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1989).

5 *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, edited by Alan Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, edited by Alan V. Murray (London: Routledge, 2009); *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, edited by Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Casten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe: The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, edited by Alan V. Murray (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, edited by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

6 *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, edited and translated by William Urban and Jerry C. Smith (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, edited and translated by Mary Fischer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

7 Aleksander Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade. Holy War and Colonisation* (London: Routledge, 2013); Anti Selart, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); *Environment, Colonization, and the Baltic Crusader States: Terra Sacra 1*, edited by Aleksander Pluskowski (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); *Ecologies of Crusading, Colonization, and Religious Conversion in the Medieval Baltic*, edited by Aleksander Pluskowski (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

8 Luis García–Guijarro Ramos, "*Reconquista* and Crusade in the Central Middle Ages. A conceptual and historiographical survey," in *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, edited by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 55–90. For the origin of religious attitudes and war against pagans in the north, see Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 95–117; Mihai Dragnea, *The Wendish Crusade, 1147. The Development of Crusading Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 30–38, for the legal justifications of armed conversion of the pagans east of the Elbe.

9 Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 198–214, here pp. 201–02 for different interpretations.

10 Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

11 *Patrologia cursus completus series Latinae*, vol. 180, edited by Jacques Paul Migne, cols. 1203–1204 (Nr. CLXIV): "Certain ones of you wish to participate in that sacred and holy labor, to go north against the Slavs and other pagans living in the north, and to subjugate them to the Christian faith, with the help of the Lord" (*Quidam etiam ex vobis tam sancti laboris et praemii participes fieri cupientes, contra Sclavos caeterosque paganos habitants versus Aquilonem ire, et eos Christianae religioni subjugare, Domino auxiliante, intendunt*).

12 Dragnea, *The Wendish Crusade*, pp. 39–63.

13 Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 239–43. For Henry's expeditions, see Darius von Güttner–Sporzyński, "Constructing memory: Holy War in the *Chronicle of the Poles* by Bishop Vincentius of Cracow," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014), 276–91; Darius von Güttner–Sporzyński, "Holy War and proto–crusading: twelfth–century justifications for the campaigns against the Pomeranians and the Prussians," in *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, edited by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 225–45.

14 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum* V 30, edited by Johannes Martin Lappenberg, MGH SS rer. Germ. 14 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), pp. 213–14; Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* I 2, edited by Leonid Arbusow, Sr. and Albert Bauer, MGH SS rer. Germ. 31 (Hannover: Hahn, 1955), p. 2.

15 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum* V 20, p. 214; Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* II 1, p. 8.

16 Iben Fonnesberg–Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 68–70.

17 *Livländische Reimchronik*, edited by Leo Meyer (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1876), p. 13 (lines 539–550):

> [Bertold] sprach: gedenket, helde gût, / daz Jhêsus Crist sîn reinez blût / *vor uns an dem crûze gôz*. / der heiden craft ist nie sô grôz, / ê dan sie uns ubirrîten / wir sullen sie bestrîten. / wir sîn durch got von himele hie, / der sine vrûnde nie vorlie / in diekeiner slachte nôt. / *welch cristen dâ blîbet tôt / dem wirt daz êwige leben / vor diz kurze gegeben*.
>
> For the English translation, see *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (see note 6), p. 7.

18 For the context of the *Rhymed Chronicle*, see Mary Fischer, Di Himels Rote. *Ideals of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Goppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), pp. 212–35; Alan V. Murray, "The structure, genre and intended audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle," in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, edited by Alan Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 235–52; Marcus Wüst, *Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter* (Weimar: VDG, 2013), pp. 60–67.

19 The first reference to the tombs of these two bishops is in Henry's account of events taking place in 1206, when two Livonian neophytes were buried in the church. See Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* X 5, p. 36. For the visit of William of Modena, see Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* XXIX 5, p. 212.

20 Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* III 1, p. 12.

21 Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* III 1, p. 12.

22 Selart, *Livonia,* pp. 89–90.

23 Bernhart Jähnig, "Die Anfänge der Sakraltopographie von Riga," in *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, edited by Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 123–58.
24 See William Urban "The Baltic Crusades," in *The Crusades. An Encyclopedia, vol. 1: A–C*, edited by Alan V. Murray (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2006), pp. 145–47.
25 Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1965); Alexander Baranov, "Mechenostsy," ["Sword Brothers"], in *Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 45 (Moscow: Orthodox Encyclopedia Press, 2017), pp. 143–48. For recent English studies, see Alan Murray, "The Sword Brothers at war: Observations on the military activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203–1227)," *Ordines Militares. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 18 (2013), 27–37, here 28 for the names of the order; Selart, *Livonia*, pp. 14–15.
26 *Liv–, Est– und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, edited by Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Reval: Klüge und Strohm, 1853), col. 18–20 (Nr. 14), dated October 12, 1204, here col. 19.
27 Armin Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Lettland und Estland* (Dorpat: Dorpater Estnische Verlag, 1942), pp. 30–62 discusses the Sword Brothers' castles and properties from 1201 to1236.
28 See Astaf von Transehe–Roseneck, *Die ritterliche Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts. Eine genealogische Untersuchung* (Würzburg: Holzner, 1960). See also Bernd Ulrich Hucker, "Zur Frömmigkeit von Livlandpilgern und –ordensrittern," in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, edited by Zenon Hubert Nowak (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993), pp. 111–30; Maja Gąssowska, "Der Anteil der Bürger aus den norddeutschen Städten an den Pilgerreisen nach Riga im 13. Jahrhundert." in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur. Tagungsband Příbram, 26. – 29. Mai 2004*, edited by Eva Doležalová, Markéta Holubová, Jan Hrdina and Hana Pátková (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 147–66, here 151–52. However, see Burnham W. Reynolds, *The Prehistory of the Crusades. Missionary War and the Baltic Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 142–57.
29 Benninghoven, *Der Orden*, pp. 65–84; Friedrich Benninghoven, "Zur Technik spätmittelalterlicher Feldzüge im Ostbaltikum," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 19 (1970), 631–51, here pp. 635 and 642.
30 Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* X 12, p. 42; Stephen Turnbull, "Crossbows or catapults? The identification of siege weaponry and techniques in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia," in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, edited by Alan V. Murray (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 307–20.
31 Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* I 6, p. 3.
32 *Liv–, Est– und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, cols. 22–23 (Nr. XVI): "…verum magister eorum, qui pro tempore fuerit, obediencie episcopi Rigensi reromittet."
33 Benninghovem, *Der Orden*, pp. 406–07.
34 Albert von Stade, *Annales Stadenses*, edited by Johannes Martin Lappenberg, MGH SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), p. 363.
35 "Necrologia capitula Hammaburgensis," edited by Karl Koppmann, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 6 (1875), 21–183, here 121. The *Livländische Reimchronik*, p. 44 (line 1869) also mentions Dietrich among those fallen at Saule.
36 Marek Tamm, "The Livonian Crusade in Cistercian stories of the early thirteenth Century," in *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, edited by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 365–89.
37 *Livländische Reimchronik*, pp. 43–45 (lines 1859–1958), here p. 45 (lines 1953–1958).
38 *Tabulae Ordinis Teutonici*, 2nd edition, edited by Ernst Strehlke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 231 (Nr. 244); Benninghoven, *Der Orden*, pp. 327–46; Alexander Baranov, "Die Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens in Livland und die Eroberung Kurlands. Ein peripheres Tätigkeitsfeld?" in *Livland—eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, edited by Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser (Cologne: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 315–47.
39 Gustavs Strenga, "Distorted memories and power. Patrons of the Teutonic Order in the fifteenth century prayer of the Livonian branch," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 50 (2019), 143–61. The term "Order's State" (*Deutschordensstaat*), once common, has fallen out of fashion. See Gregory Leighton, "Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth–century Prussia?" *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), no. 4, 457–83, here 458; Aleksander Pluskowski, "Introduction. Multi-scalar impacts of crusading on the environments of the Eastern Baltic," in *Environment, Colonization, and the Baltic Crusaders States. Terra Sacra I*, edited by Aleksander Pluskowski (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 1–20.

40 Darius von Güttner–Sporzyński, *Poland, Holy War and the Piast Monarchy, 1100–1230* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 161–86.
41 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politisches Abtheilung 1, Heft 1: Die Bildung des Ordenstaats*, edited by Rudolf Philippi (Königsberg: Hartnung, 1882), pp. 2–4 (Nr. 5).
42 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, p. 7 (Nr. 9). For the passage on Livonia and the Holy Land, Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* XIX 7, pp. 131–32.
43 Fonnesberg–Schmidt, *The Popes*, pp. 81–85.
44 Zenon Hubert Nowak, "Milites Christi de Prussia. Der Orden von Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preussischen Mission," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, edited by Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 339–52, here pp. 340–47 for the origins of the Order. For the incorporation, see *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, p. 90 (Nr. 118). Also see Tomasz Jasiński, *Kruschwitz, Rimini und die Grundlagen des Preussischen Ordenslandes: Urkundenstudien zur Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens im Ostseeraum* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2008), pp. 102–04.
45 For the early history of the Teutonic Order, see Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981), pp. 17–38; Nicholas Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120–1314* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 54–71. The Teutonic Order's headquarters in Iberia was at La Mota del Marqués, on the River Duero, near present–day Valladolid. See Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967), pp. 92–93. Finally, the authoritative monograph on the history of the Order in the Kingdom of Hungary is that of Harald Zimmermann, *Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), p. 170.
46 *Tabulae Ordinis Teutonici*, p. 296 (no. 297): "in ecclesia vestra iuxta modum Templariorum in clericis et militibus, et ad exemplum Hospitaliorum in pauperibus et infirmis."
47 *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, edited by Max Perlbach (Halle: Niemeyer, 1890), here pp. 159–60, is one of the earliest texts of the Teutonic Order, the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*. For a newer edition, see *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*, edited by Walther Hubatsch, Scriptores rerum Prussicarum 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1968), pp. 22–29. The text is dated c. 1244. See Udo Arnold, "De primordiis ordinis Theutonici narratio," *Preußenland. Mitteilungen der historischen Komission für Ost– und Westpreussische Landesforschung und aus den Archiven der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 4 (1966), no. 2, 26–27. Moreover, this text was copied by virtually all of the later chroniclers of the Order, even into the 15th century. See Marcus Wüst, *Studien*, pp. 51–52. Examples of the *narratio* in English can be seen in *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, pp. 30–32.
48 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, p. 42 (Nr. 56): "Cunradus dux Mazouie et Cuiauie promisit et obtulit providere sibi et fratribus suis de terra, que vocatur Culmen, et in alia terra inter marchiam suam videlicet in confinia Pruthenorum, ita quidem, *ut laborem assumerent et insisterent oportune ad ingrediendum et optinendum terram Pruscie ad honorem et gloriam veri dei*."
49 For the text: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, pp. 41–43 (Nr. 56). Also see Jasiński, *Kruszchwitz*, pp. 131–53, for the Golden Bull of Rimini. Jasiński argues for a date of 1235.
50 For Hermann Balk, see Dieter Wojtecki, "Balk, Hermann," in *Lexkion des Mittelalters* 1 (Suttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1980), cols. 1379–80.
51 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica terre Prussie*, edited by Max Töppen, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, edited by Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1861), pp. 56–57 for Kulm and Marienwerder, 58–59 for Rehden, 60–61 for Elbing, and 62 for Balga. See also Leighton, "Did the Teutonic Order create," pp. 478–80.
52 Waldemar Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium and kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego* [*Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. A Study of the Cult of Saints in the Prussian Dioceses of the Teutonic Order's Territory*] (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2006), pp. 191–95; Agnieszka Błażewicz, "Skarb relikwiarzowy z kościoła zamkowego w czasach krzyżackich. Dzieje relikwii św. Barbary" [The reliquary treasure of the Teutonic Churches in Prussia. The history of the relic of St Barbara], in *Spotkania Malborskie im. Macieja Kliarskiego*, vol. 2, edited by Arthur Dobry (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2006), pp. 93–111; Agnieszka Błażewicz–Oberda, "Kult swietej Barbary w państwie zakonu krzyzackiego w Prusach" [The cult of St Barbara in the territory of the Teutonic Order in Prussia], in *Z dziejow sredniowiecza: pamieci profesora Jana Powierskiego (1940–1999)*, edited by Wiesław Długokęcki (Gdańsk:

Uniwersytet Gdańskiego, 2010), pp. 11–32; Gregory Leighton, "The relics of St Barbara at Althaus Kulm: history, patronages, and insight into the Teutonic Order and the Christian population in Prussia (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries)," *Zapiski Historyczne* 85 (2020), no. 1, 1–47.

53 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 71, pp. 91–92 mentions the construction of Königsberg "for the defense of the faith" (*pro defensione fidei*).

54 Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2006); Léan Ni Chléirigh, "*Nova peregrinatio*: The First Crusade as a pilgrimage in contemporary Latin narratives," in *Writing the Early Crusades. Text, Transmission and Memory*, edited by Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 63–74.

55 Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, vol. 1 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 277–309.

56 See Tomsaz Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998), p. 71; Leighton, "The relics," pp. 14–22.

57 *Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland, Heft 1*, edited by Carl Peter Woelky (Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1891), p. 108 (Nr. 200).

58 See Radosław Biskup, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Bistümer in Preußen. Bemerkungen über den Einfluss der Ritterbrüder auf die Diözesanverwaltung im Mittelalter (13.–16. Jh.)," *Ordines Militares–Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 15 (2007), 226–35; Radosław Biskup, "Bischöfe aus dem Deutschen Orden in Preußen. Bemerkungen über die Mecahnismen der Bistumsbesetzung," in *Priester im Deutschen Orden. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Wien 2012*, edited by Udo Arnold (Weimar: VDG, 2016), pp. 41–61; Pluskowski, *The Archaeology*, p. 247.

59 Christofer Herrmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Preußenland. Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kunstlandschaft und –geographie* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2007), pp. 167–69. For the foundation charter, see *Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, Bd. 1: 1243–1466*, edited by Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Theodor Bertling, 1884), pp. 16–18 (Nr. 29).

60 *Das Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, p. 21 (Nr. 34): "Capitulum ecclesie Culmensis ordinis sancti Augustini, sicut nobis sua peticione intimarunt, *ecclesiam ipsam kathedralem de novo edificare ceperunt opera sumptuoso*."

61 *Annales expeditialis Prussici, 1233–1414*, edited by Ernst Strehlke, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussiacrum*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1866), p. 7 (Nr. 7). For Jutta von Sangerhausen, see Balázs J. Nemes, "Jutta von Sangerhausen (13. Jahrhundert). Eine 'neue Heilige' im Gefolge der heiligen Elisabeth von Thüringen?" *Zeitschrift für Thüringische Geschichte* 63 (2009), 39–73.

62 Pluskowski, *The Archaeology*, pp. 196–200 and 219.

63 Roman Czaja, "Livonian towns from the 13th to the 16th century," in *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures, 13th–16th Century*, edited by Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzymiński (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2015), pp. 225–52.

64 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, pp. 158–166 (Nr. 220), here pp. 162–63.

65 For the Battle of Durbe, see *Livländische Reimchronik*, pp. 130–34; Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 85–86, pp. 96–98.

66 Gustavs Strenga, "Remembering the common Past: Livonia as a *lieu de mémoire* of the Teutonic Order in the Empire," in *Livland–eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältniss zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, edited by Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser (Cologne: Böhlau, 2017), pp. 347–70, here pp. 355–60.

67 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 127, p. 114.

68 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 135, p. 117.

69 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 221, p. 146 (Book 3, Chapter 221).

70 See Selart, *Livonia*, p. 15.

71 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 238, p. 170: "Anno domini mcccciiii *peregrini de Alemania inspirante Domino* inceperunt terram Prussie iterum visitare."

72 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica* III 221–78, pp. 146–66.

73 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronica*, pp. 147, 149–50, 154, 156, 157, and 158.

74 See Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*; Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, vol. 2 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995); Werner Paravicini, *Adlig leben im 14. Jahrhundert. Weshalb sie fuhren: Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020). Most English-speaking authors focused on the motivations of crusaders and perceptions of the "Other." E.g., Axel Ehlers, "The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania reconsidered," in

Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500, edited by Alan Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 21–44; Alan V. Murray, "The Saracens of the Baltic: pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the perception of English and French crusaders to late medieval Prussia," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 41 (2010), 413–430; Alan V. Murray, "Heathens, devils, and Saracens. Crusader concepts of the pagan enemy during the Baltic Crusades (twelfth to fifteenth centuries)," in *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, edited by Torben K. Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 199–224, especially pp. 217–22; Rasa Mažeika and Loïc Chollet, "Familiar marvels? French and German crusaders and chroniclers confront Baltic pagan religions," *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäische Geschichte* 43 (2016), 41–63; Gregory Leighton, "*Reysa in laudem Dei et virginis Marie contra paganos*. The experience of crusading in Prussia during the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa–Forschung* 69 (2020), no. 1, 1–25.

75 Ehlers, "The Crusade," pp. 33–36.

76 For the *Ehrentisch*, see Johannes Voigt, *Die Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1832), pp. 712–18; Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 1, pp. 316–33. There is little discussion of the *Ehrentisch* in English scholarship, but see Ehlers, "The Crusade," pp. 21–22.

77 See Erich Maschke, "Burgund und die preußische Ordenstaat. Ein Beitrag zur Einheit der ritterlichen Kultur Europas im späten Mittelalter," in *Domus Hospitalis Theutonicorum. Europäische Verbindungslinien der Deutschordensgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1931–1963*, edited by Udo Arnold (Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Archiv Bonn–Godesberg, 1970), pp. 15–34, here p. 24.

78 Ehlers, "The Crusade," pp. 21–24.

79 Jürgen Sarnowsky, "Identität und Selbstgefühl der geistlichen Ritteroden," in *Ständische und religiose Identitäten im Mittelalter und frühr Neuzeit*, edited by Stefan Kiwatkowski and Janusz Małłek (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), pp. 109–30; Janusz Trupinda, *Ideologia krucjatowa w kronice Piotra z Dusburga* [Crusade ideology in the Chronicle of Peter von Dusburg] (Gdańsk: Uniwersytet Gdańsk, 1999); Roman Czaja, "Das Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter: Bilanz und Forschungsperspektive," in *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, edited by Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2005), pp. 7–21; Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, *Zakon Niemiecki jako 'corporatio militaris', część I: Korporacja i krąg przynależących do niej. Kulturowe i społeczne podstawy działalności militarnej zakonu w Prusach (do początku XV wieku)* [The Teutonic Order as corporatio militaris, part 1: The corporation and the group belonging to it. Cultural and social basics of the military activity of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (to the beginning of the fifteenth century)] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), especially pp. 87–98; Wüst, *Studien*; Marek Tamm, "Martyrs and miracles: depicting death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia," in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, edited by Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Casten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 135–56.

80 See Murray, "Structure, genre," pp. 28–30.

81 For the function of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* and its audience, see Alan Murray, "The structure, genre," pp. 248–50; also Wüst, *Studien*, pp. 60–67.

82 *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, p. 13 (ll. 545–546): "wir sîn durch got von himele hie, / der sine vrûnde nie vorlie / in diekeiner schalchte nôt."

83 *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, p. 44 (ll. 1882–1883): "wir sîn durch got ouch hie, */ der mac uns harte wol bewarn*."

84 Hucker, "Zur Frömmigkeit," pp. 114–16.

85 *Das Lippiflorium. Ein westfälisches Heldengedicht aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, edited and translated by Hermann Althof (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1900), pp. 64 and 68: "Exilii vitam desiderat, esse salubre / Plus putat, a patria cedat ut exul homo […]Hic multos gladio prostratos sanguine fuso / Martyrii palma perpete luce beat."

86 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische (allgemeine) Abtheilung, Heft 2*, edited by August Seraphim (Königsberg: Hartnung, 1909), pp. 20 (Nr. 26), 21–22 (Nr. 28), and 55 (Nr. 61).

87 Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon* XIX 7, p. 132.

88 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum* V 30, p. 212.

89 *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, p. 186 (ll. 8117–8120): "mûter, Maget Marîe / edele unde vrîe. *hild sîner sêle ûz aller nôt, / er bleib in dime dienste tôt!*"

90 This is the so-called "Teutonic Order literature" (*Deutschordensliteratur*), for which see Mary-Ellen Goenner, *Mary–Verse of the Teutonic Knights* (New York: AMS Press, 1944); Karl Helm and Walther Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz, 1951); Mary Fischer, "Biblical heroes and the uses of literature: The Teutonic Order in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries," in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, edited by Alan Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 261–75; Mary Fischer, "Winning hearts and winning minds: The role of the written word in the crusades in north-eastern Europe in the fourteenth century," in *The Book in Germany*, edited by Mary Fischer and William A. Kelly (Edinburgh: Merchiston Publishing, 2010), pp. 1–15; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma Spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Ordens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003); Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "'Deutschordensliteratur' im literarischen Kontext," in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen. Leben und Nachleben*, edited by Jarosław Wenta and Sieglinde Hartmann (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2008), pp. 355–68.

91 Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti*, pp. 291–41.

92 Wüst, *Studien*, pp. 13–31 for patron saints of the Teutonic Knights.

93 *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. 1, Heft 1: 1093–1300*, edited by Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Reval: Laakmann, 1853), col. 82–84 (Nr. 76).

94 Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen*, vol. 2, pp. 54–55. Indulgences survive, too, for hearing masses in chapels patronised by the Teutonic Order in Livonia from the thirteenth century. See *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, col. 465 (Nr. 264).

95 Leighton, "Did the Teutonic Order create?" pp. 457–83.

96 Krystyna Zielińska–Melkowska, "Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe w ziemiach chelmińskije, łubawskiej i michałowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku," ["Medieval regional pilgrimage in the region of Chełmno, Łubawa, and Michałowo in the thirteenth and fourteenth Century"] in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* [*Peregrinationes. Pilgrimage in European Culture*], edited by Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Warsaw: Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 1995), pp. 242–51.

97 Hermann von Bruiningk, "Die Frage der Verehrung der erste livländischen Bischöfe als Heilige," *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1902* (Riga: Häcker, 1903), pp. 3–36, here pp. 5–8; Anti Selart, "Meinhard, Berthold, Bernhard–kein Heiliger für Livland," in *CREDO–Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter, Bd. 1: Essays*, edited by Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker und Wolfgang Walter (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2013), pp. 434–40, argues that there was no cult in Livonia involving any of those saints.

98 Gąssowska, "Der Anteil der Bürger," pp. 150–52; Maja Gąssowska, "Livländer auf der Wallfahrt nach Wilsnack und das Heilige Blut zu Riga," in *Die Wilsnackfahrt. Ein Wallfahrts– und Kommunikationszentrum Nord– und Mitteleuropas im Spätmittelalter*, edited by Felix Escher and Hartmut Kühne (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 97–113.

99 Leighton, "*Reysa*," pp. 5–7; Rainer Zacharias, "Der Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 50 (2002), 11–35, here 15–17.

23

POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL LITERACY

Mirjana Matijević Sokol

During the early Middle ages, the new written culture was adopted on the periphery of the Roman Empire under circumstances depending upon the political forces active in each one of the successor polities. Beginning with the 6th century, in the former Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Dacia, the Latin legacy of the Western Roman Empire met with Byzantine form of Christianity deeply rooted in the Greek culture.[1] The new powers emerging in the early Middle Ages in the region had their own sets of pagan beliefs and only few of them employed a symbolic level of written expression and "augured with strokes and notches," as the Bulgarian monk Khrabr put it in a 10th-century treatise.[2] Very little survives from the 5th- and 6th-century towns in the Balkans or in the Crimea, all of which were "carcasses of so many half-ruined cities," as another learned man, St. Ambrose, put it in a letter of 387.[3] However, not all is lost: there are records of the church councils in Salona for 530 and 533,[4] in addition to inscriptions from Salona (on stone)[5] and Trogir (on lead).[6] Following that, there is not much, if anything, for two centuries, which is why in the Balkans the Dark Ages are dated to the 7th and 8th centuries.

Dalmatia and Croatia

The rise of early medieval Croatia coincides in time with the revival of Latin literacy, which spread to the western Balkans from centers in Carolingian Italy, especially from Aquileia.[7] In fact, according to the capitulary from Corteolona (825), missionaries to be sent to Veneto and Illyricum were schooled in Cividale del Friuli.[8] Some of the earliest forms of pragmatic, Latin literacy in Croatia are inscriptions mentioning the donors and patrons of the newly built churches.[9] One of those inscriptions, found in Muć Gornji (near Sinj), contains one of the earliest *anno Domini* (Christian era, A.D.) dates, following a practice implemented at the Carolingian court after ca. 800.[10] Closer to that date is another inscription on the so-called baptismal font of (Duke) Višeslav.[11] The same date may be advanced for the inscription on the sarcophagus of Saint Anastasia in Zadar, which shows a clearly Carolingian influence. The inscription mentioning the name of duke Trpimir is associated with the foundation of the first Benedictine abbey in Rižinice near Solin. Votive inscriptions, such as those bearing the name of Duke Branimir, have also been found on other sites—Nin, Šopot, Otres, Lepuri, Ždrapanj and Gornji Muć. Without them, not much would be known about the first

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centuries of Croatian history.[12] Similarly, without the epitaph of Queen Helena, which was discovered in the remains of the royal mausoleum in Solin, it would not be possible to reconstruct the genealogy of the 10th-century rulers of Croatia.[13] By the second half of the 11th century, epitaphs were written in verse, such as those of the archbishops of Split Lawrence and Crescentius or of the patrician Peter Crni (*Zerni*).[14] After entering the city of Zadar in 1105, King Coloman of Hungary (crowned King of Croatia in 1102) built a tower and put an inscription commemorating his deed. At about the same time, the epitaph of abbess Vekenega was written on her tomb in the Convent of St. Mary in Zadar.[15] A few inscriptions were composed in verse in the 13th century as well—the epitaphs of Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato and of King Béla IV's daughters.[16]

Latin literacy is also reflected in the charters of the Croatian rulers. Those were primarily privileges granted to ecclesiastical institutions. None of the 29 charters known to historians has been preserved in its original form, but only in a later tradition, some as *acta interpolata*, others as medieval forgeries based on authentic documents. The earliest are from the 9th-century rulers—Trpimir and Muncimir—and the latest from King Zvonimir (1076–1089). The largest number of charters (14 out of 29) are from King Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1074).[17] Foundation charters have also been preserved for the monasteries of St. Mary in Zadar, St. Peter in Rab, St. Doimus/Nicholas in Trogir, St. Peter in Selo and for the Benedictine convent in Split.[18] A few are preserved in cartularies.[19] In Split, the drafting of such documents may have been influenced by the "most pleasing style" of Adam of Paris, who visited the city in the 1080s.[20]

After 1100, the written document became a fundamental legal component of any transactions. A significantly larger number of documents were issued by rulers, nobility, church dignitaries, even though in the early 12th century private affairs were still conducted by means of *notitia*, and only rarely as *carta*. This explosion of the written documentation coincides with the union of Croatia and the Kingdom of Hungary. The need to obtain confirmation or protection of older rights led to a proliferation of adapted charters with inserted parts (*acta interpolata*).[21] Quite interesting is the group of the charters of the so-called Trogir type, which were mostly composed according to a charter that King Coloman gave to Trogir in 1105.[22] The Árpádian chancery was organized in the late 12th century, and after that, the charters of the Hungarian kings were increasingly standardized.[23] The chancellors and vice-chancellors were all churchmen, many of them schooled in Paris or Bologna. The organization of the royal chancery began with Béla III and continued with his son, Andrew II. However, under Andrew's son, Béla IV, a series of reforms were introduced, which increased the organizational structure of the chancery. During the first half of the 13th century, a series of charters were issued for the benefit of settlements granted the status of *villa*, *forum*, *oppidum* or *civitas*.[24] The most important is certainly the "Golden Bull" of Zagreb from 1242, which stands out among all similar privileges through its contents, style and quality of the Latin language.[25] The charter granted to the inhabitants of Gradec, part of the present-day Zagreb, rights and liberties that were commonly given to denizens of the free royal towns of the Kingdom of Hungary. In that respect, the Golden Bull of Zagreb is somewhat similar to the communal statutes in the central Mediterranean region, a type of privilege that first appeared in the second half of the 13th century.[26]

Meanwhile, the bans of Croatia organized their own chanceries, which issued various charters with the ban's seal.[27] Both the king and the ban issued mandates (*mandata*), i.e., instructions of conduct for their subordinates. Much like in Hungary, places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) appeared in Croatia after ca. 1200.[28] Their activity was in some part similar to that of public notaries in the Adriatic coastal cities and in the Italian communes. The first

place of authentication in Croatia was the chapter of Zagreb, founded in 1229, by Bishop Stephen II, who had previously been royal chancellor.[29] The charters of the chapters were composed by a lector and were kept in the sacristy. Places of authentication issued certified copies, were involved in legal procedures (especially perambulations and installation to estates) and carried out royal mandates or bans. A key component of their activity was to draft private charters for various parties, as was done by public notaries in the Dalmatian communes.[30] Another important chancery was that of the bishops of Zagreb. Although only a few charters of Bishop Stephen II (1225–1247) survive, they show a great deal of legal and literary literacy. More innovations and a breakthrough in the activity of the chancery in Zagreb took place after 1300 under Bishop Augustin Kažotić (1303–1322).[31]

In the urban communes of the Adriatic coast, public notaries existed, much like in Italy. Initially, they were members of the clergy, native or more often of Italian origin. Gradually, they were replaced by laymen educated in Bologna or in Paris. Five (priest-)notaries are known from 11th- and 12th-century Split: Theodore, Deacon Dobre, Walter (Gvalterius), Sabatius and Archdeacon Thomas. Another three notaries were active in Ragusa (Dubrovnik)—Tomazino de Saverre, Markvard and Aço de Titullo—and they may have been involved in the drafting of the city statute of 1272. In Zadar, local notaries insisted on their Italian origin, as demonstrated by their signatures. This was most likely because communal statutes, which established norms and framework of notarial services, required that notaries come outside of Dalmatia, in order to avoid possible conflicts of interests. When parties conducted affairs in front of the notary, he recorded the resulting contract in the "book of personal concepts" (*bastardelli*), and then in the official book of imbreviatures (*imbreviaturae*), after which the document was official and binding. If later any party needed a copy, the notary could issue a "charter" (*instrumentum publicum*) on the basis of records from the book of imbreviatures. Corroboration of the new document was based on the notary's sign (*signum notarile*) and signature. By the 13th century, notaries used manuals, the so-called formularies containing formulas needed for specific legal acts. Several formularies were simultaneously in circulation, but apparently the most popular was Rolandino de Passeggeri's *Summa artis notariae*, the oldest copy of which is in the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb (MR 109).[32]

After 1200, several urban communes in Dalmatia began recording their customs (*consuetudines*) and drafted regulations (*statuta*).[33] According to the *Historia Salonitana*, the podestà of Split, Garganus de Arscindis, composed a "capitulary," which remained in use throughout the 13th century, as confirmed by notarial instruments.[34] According to Archdeacon Thomas, that capitulary was then copied by the people of Trogir.[35] Urban statutes appeared in the second half of the 13th century in Korčula (1265), Dubrovnik (1272) and Vinodol (1288).[36]

Keeping "memorial" books (*liber traditionum*, *cartularium*) became a custom in Croatia shortly before and after AD 1100.[37] Cartularies begin with the so-called foundation charters that describe the events leading to the foundation of monastery (*historia fundationis, narratio fundationis*). A list of property acquisitions follows, in the form of *notitiae*, and each acquisition is confirmed by witnesses. Such *notitiae* represent in fact the oldest layer of records in late 11th- to 13th-century cartularies, such as the cartulary of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar (cartulary of Zadar) and the cartulary of Sumpetar (*Iura sancti Petri*). The former contains documents dated between 1066 and 1236, and it is written in Beneventan script, with smaller parts in Carolingian and Gothic minuscules. The Sumpetar Cartulary is extant in unique form with the original foundation charter and *notitiae* written in Carolingian minuscule. A third cartulary that once belonged to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus is now lost and known only from a later description. *Notitiae* influenced the format of records carved in stone, such as the Baška Tablet, and written in vernacular (Croatian) and in the Glagolitic

script. The charter of Povlja is in fact a "copy book," much like the foundation charter of the Benedictine convent in Split.

Liturgical books served a different, though equally practical purpose. The earliest is the Evangelistary of Split (*Evangeliarium Spalatense*), written in semi-uncial in the 8th century somewhere in Italy, most probably in Rome.[38] Native scriptoria produced the Evangelistary of Vekenega, the Book of Hours of Abbess Cika, and the Evangelistaries of Rab and Osor, all dated to the 11th century, as well as the 13th-century Evangelistary of Trogir.[39]

Hungary

Much like in Croatia and the rest of East Central Europe, literacy was introduced to Hungary together with the conversion to Christianity.[40] Along with archdioceses and dioceses, cathedral schools and chapters were established during the second half of the 12th century. The abbey of St. Martin in Pannonhalma, the oldest monastic community in the Árpádian kingdom, was famous for its school and scriptorium, and because of that, it became a place to preserve and produce documents.

Thirteenth-century Árpádians from Béla III to his grandson Béla IV had both understanding and appreciation of the use of literacy and education. Churchmen were sent to Bologna and Paris to get an education. In Hungary, legal education was obtained at the cathedral chapter in Veszprém. The first royal charter was for the abbey of Pannonhalma (1001), and the first private charter was also for the foundation of a monastery, S. Iacobi de Silisio (1061).[41] Because of strong ties with the papacy, there was a strong influence of the papal chancery in the 1st century of development of the royal chancery in Hungary. Charters were corroborated with the royal seal and witnesses were named as well. The organization of the chancery began under Géza II (1141–1162), with crucial changes introduced under Béla III (1173–1196). At the order of the king, beginning with 1185, chancellors Hadrian and Katapan made sure that all legal acts and procedures were done in writing. The roles of notary and chancellor were now separated and charters were structured according to French and papal models. From this moment onward, charters were standardized in form and content.[42] It has been estimated that between 1100 and 1300, the royal chancery issued more than 4,000 charters, out of which only 200 before 1200. By far the most famous is King Andrew II's Golden Bull of 1222. However, just as important were privileges for towns. King Béla IV attempted to introduce a system of written petition, but without success. Under him, the vice-chancellor took over all the administrative, practical functions in the chancery, while "chancellor" became a lofty title to be granted to bishops and archbishops.[43]

The increasingly social role of the written word, especially for legal and private records, explains the establishment and rapid development of places of authentication (*loca credibilia*).[44] Around 1200, the most important such places were chapters, places where learned clergymen gathered.[45] One of the most respected among all places of authentication was in Oradea. The Register of Oradea (*Regestrum Varadiense*) contains 389 records from the period between 1208 and 1235 with great information about court procedure, trial by ordeal, various contracts, last wills, crimes (theft, arson) and emancipation of slaves.[46] Cartularies came into being at the same time, with that of the Abbey of Pannonhalma (known as *Liber Ruber*) composed ca. 1240 as a collection of copies of 60 charters, beginning with the foundation document of 1001.[47]

Much like in the case of Croatia, Bohemia and Poland, the first encounter with Latin literacy in Hungary was through liturgical books. Some were brought from elsewhere, but

others were produced in local scriptoria, including luxury manuscripts written in gold and silver.[48] Inscriptions are a somewhat neglected aspect of pragmatic literacy in Hungary. More than a dozen of epigraphs with various contents are preserved from the Árpádian age—Bible citations, funerary inscriptions and very pragmatic records on border stones.[49]

Bohemia

Introduced to Moravia in the 9th century, the Old Church Slavonic language and the accompanying Glagolitic script did not survive for long. In Bohemia, only the monastery of Sázava is known to have made use of them until the late 11th century. By that time, the country was heavily influenced by Latin literacy coming from German ecclesiastical centers. The cathedral school was established in Prague, a suffragan see of Mainz, in 973, and it remained the most important institution of education in the country for a long time.

Liturgical books produced in Bavarian or Saxon scriptoria were brought to Bohemia. One of the most beautifully illuminated manuscripts of medieval Bohemia is the Codex of Vyšehrad (*Codex Vyssegradensis*), which was written in 1086 probably in the *scriptorium* of the Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram in Regensburg for the coronation of Duke Vratislav II as king of Bohemia.[50] Similarly, the Evangelistary of Zábrdovice (*Evangeliarium Zabrdovicense*, now in Olomouc) was written in Carolingian minuscule and lavishly illuminated between 1062 and 1086 either in Freising or in the Tegernsee Abbey.

By contrast, charters appear only sporadically in 11th-century Bohemia, and all of them concern ecclesiastical institutions. The oldest is the foundation charter of the chapter of Litoměřice (1057 or 1058). On the other hand, charters were also written in the name of the bishop of Olomouc, Henry Zdík (1125–1150). Judging by the standardized format of all his four surviving charters, the model used was a royal charter of Conrad III. The royal chancery came into being at the same time as the strengthening and centralization of the Přemyslid state. Much like elsewhere in East Central Europe, the explosion of written documents occurred in the 13th century, which was also the period during which a large number of young people went to school in Paris or Bologna.

After 1225, the position of chancellor was occupied by the provost of the chapter of Vyšehrad. He had under his orders a protonotary, who was usually a canon from Prague or Vyšehrad. The social expansion of the written word also explains the popularity of formularies. One of the oldest copies of the formulary of Peter de Vineis is now in Olomouc. There are traces of other types of 13th-century records, such as urbarial records, but they are known only from fragments. The most famous urbarial record is that of the Cistercian abbey in Višší Brod (ca. 1280). A fragmentary inventory of the abbey of Břevnov, ca. 1300, mentions books, among other things. Meanwhile, literacy spread in the urban environment, where it served practical needs such as book-keeping. The town book of the Old city of Prague may therefore be compared with the notarial imbreviatures of the Italian and Adriatic urban communes.[51]

Poland

Literacy in what is now Poland was a consequence of Christianization. Ties of the first Piast dukes and kings with various dignitaries outside their country imply a certain level of literacy, since contacts were often established in writing. A number of prayer books are known from this early period, such as that of Gertrude, who must have been able to read it. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Polish churchmen were educated in Liège and Paris.

The earliest liturgical books may be dated to the reign of Bolesław II (1058–1079), particularly two *codices aurei*, the Evangelistary of Gniezno and the Evangelistary of Pułtusk.[52] By contrast, pragmatic literacy and chanceries do not appear but sporadically before 1200.[53] Charters were written down in and received by ecclesiastical institutions—either diocesan sees or monasteries. They were also corroborated with ducal and ecclesiastical seals. Polish historians have long debated the problem of the early chanceries, with some admitting the possibility, and others denying it (and claiming that the extent documents are all later forgeries).[54] However, much like elsewhere in East Central Europe, noblemen often granted landed property to ecclesiastical institutions and, in doing so, used the written record. Only 71 charters can be dated before 1200, with the oldest being that of Władysław Hermann for the establishment of a prebend in Bamberg. To keep records of their properties and assets, ecclesiastical institutions began composing *notitiae*, which in time became the basis of cartularies (*libri traditionum*). Sometimes, those cartularies turned into annals. A good example in that respect, and an excellent testimony of pragmatic literacy, is the Henryków Book (*Liber fundationis claustri Sanctae Mariae Virginis in Heinrichow*). Written ca. 1310 by the third abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Henryków in Silesia, and continued by an unknown monk, this was more than just a cartulary-cum-history of the abbey (complete with a list of the bishops of Wrocław and genuine charters, accounts of villages, manors and estates), for at times it approaches the genre of *gesta abbatum*.[55] In the 13th century, despite the political fragmentation of Piast Poland, literacy was placed in the service of the social and economic needs of their times, spurred by urbanization, trade, crafts and many other forms of business connected with cities.[56]

Inscriptions played an important social and cultural role in medieval Poland. Both the inscription on the monument depicting the family of Casimir II the Just (c. 1138–1194) and that on the stone column erected for Peter Wszeborowic, a magnate of Great Poland, in 1151 are in verse.[57]

Slavonic literacy

The Christianization of Moravia was the occasion for a path-breaking innovation in medieval literacy. To render the sounds of Old Church Slavonic, the language into which he wanted to translate a number of liturgical and legal texts, Constantine, one of the two brothers from Thessaloniki whom emperor Michael III sent to Moravia devised a new alphabet (a phonetic script of 38 letters), which was much later called Glagolitic (from the verb *glagoljati*, "to speak," "to serve Mass") in Croatia. About a century later, another script appeared in Bulgaria, called Cyrillic in honor of Constantine, who upon his deathbed had taken the monastic vows and a new name, Cyril.[58] The earliest texts written in Glagolitic script are the so-called Kiev Folios (10th century), *Codex Assemanus* and *Codex Zographensis* (10th to 11th centuries), *Glagolita Clozianus* (11th century), the Euchologium of Sinai, the Psaltery of Sinai, and the so-called Prague Folios (11th century). A few manuscripts, such as the Sava's Book, *Codex Suprasliensis* and the Apostolos of Enina (all dated to the 11th century), contain a few fragments in Cyrillic. The Glagolitic script clearly evolved, and disciples of Methodius brought it with them to Croatia after being expelled from Moravia. The *Glagolita Clozianus* is probably the oldest testimony of the use of the script in Croatia.

Shortly after 900, the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced at the court of Symeon the Great in Preslav. Based on the Greek uncial, the new script borrowed a few letters from Glagolitic to render sounds that do not exist in Greek. It was Cyrillic, much more than Glagolitic, that contributed to the rapid spread of the literature written in Old Church Slavonic not only to

other areas of the Balkans, such as Serbia, but to Rus' as well. Glagolitic, on the other hand, was used in Croatia, particularly in the western part of the country (northern Dalmatia, Lika, the Kvarner Bay, the Croatian littoral and Istria). In Croatia, the script turned from round (also called Bulgarian Glagolitic) to angular and was used not only for ecclesiastical texts, but for everyday use as well. It is interesting to note that the earliest evidence of the Croatian vernacular was recorded in Glagolitic in the 11th century, before being written with Latin letters in the 14th century. The oldest inscriptions are from the 11th (Plomin, Valun) and 12th century (Baška Tablet, Grdoselo, Supetar in Istria). Two inscriptions have recently been found in the environs of Dubrovnik (Konavle, Župa dubrovačka) in southern Croatia. The earliest testimonies of Glagolitic on parchment are later: the Vienna Folios (12th century), the Vatican misalle Illirico 4 (13th century), the first Breviary of Vrbnik (13th or 14th century) and the Vinodol law-code (1288). In the 12th century, Cyrillic made its appearance in the lands to the east from the rivers Krka and Vrbas, in parallel to the use of Glagolitic to the west of those rivers.[59] Cyrillic appears in the area where Latin literacy and the Roman rite dominated in the 12th century—the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia stretching to the rivers Vrbas and Krka. Its presence outside that area may be explained in terms of the preference for the Greek rite (Orthodox Church) especially under Emperor Manuel I (1143–1180).[60] To the 12th century may also be dated such inscriptions as the Humac Tablet, the inscriptions of ban Kulin, of Blagaj, and of Miroslav (from Omiš). The most intriguing is the epitaph of a priest named Tjehodrag from Lištano near Livno, which has been interpreted as influenced by Orthodox practices.[61] The charter of Povlja was also written in Croatian (the so-called Western) Cyrillic letters by a canon named John, who was the notary of an "insular" community (of Hvar, Brač and Vis). The charter was written in 1250 for the abbey of St. John in Povlja on the island of Brač.[62] Cyrillic was used along with Latin (Carolingian) script for the late 12th-century charter of Ban Kulin. The Cyrillic was clearly adapted to a Croatian redaction of Old Church Slavonic.

Bulgaria, Macedonia and Serbia

The central, northern and eastern areas of the Balkan Peninsula were in political turmoil around AD 1000. Bulgaria (also known as the "First Bulgarian Empire") controlled those areas in the 9th and during the first half of the 10th century. Literacy, though restricted to a small group of people, is attested in pre-Christian Bulgaria in the form of runes.[63] However, under Byzantine influence, most inscriptions are in Greek, with Greek letters. The inscriptions were records of military victories (over the Byzantines), buildings, treaties and some commemorated the deaths of trusted noblemen. It is important to note in this respect that Bulgaria is an exception in the whole of Eastern Europe, as literacy was not the result of Christianization, but of continued contact, both peaceful and violent, with Byzantium. No less than 154 inscriptions are known from the period prior to the conversion to Christianity, and they are all written in Greek, with Greek letters.[64] The accounts of a ruler's accomplishments and military success approach the genre of *res gestae*. Among inscriptions of that group, the most impressive are those associated with the monumental bas-relief known as the Madara Horseman (three inscriptions mentioning the names of three Bulgar rulers—Tervel, Krum and Omurtag), the inscription of Malamir from Shumen and the inscription of Boris from Ballsh (Albania).[65] The Thirty-Year Peace treaty between Bulgaria and Byzantium (814) was written on a marble column.[66] Several inscriptions memorialized Omurtag's building activity. He, in turn, commemorated many of his "trusted men" upon their deaths.[67]

The conversion to Christianity of Boris (852–889) opened a new page in the history of literacy in Bulgaria. Disciples of Methodius banished from Moravia came to his country bringing with them the tradition of writing in Old Church Slavonic with Glagolitic letters. The latter left traces in 10th- and 11th-century inscriptions and graffiti found in Preslav, Ravna, Krăn (all in Bulgaria) and Murfatlar in Dobrudja (Romania).[68] An older generation of scholars believed that Clement, Naum, Angelarius and other former disciples of Methodius organized two "literary schools." Clement and Naum established a missionary center and one of those schools in Ohrid (now in Macedonia), while others, including a learned Bulgarian named Constantine, were busy in Preslav, the newly established capital of Christian Bulgaria under King Symeon (893–927). The royal court in Preslav became the crucible of a new, Bulgarian culture, which would have a great influence upon the development of Old Church Slavonic cultures in many other countries, including Rus'. Symeon had been educated in Constantinople perhaps with the goal in mind to become the head of Bulgarian church; instead, he became the greatest ruler of Christian Bulgaria, an emperor (tsar), who put his education in the service of the cultural development of his country. Liutprand of Cremona referred to him as "half-Greek," no doubt sarcastically, but still recognizing the ability of the Bulgarian ruler to understand Greek and the Byzantine culture.[69] Great emphasis was placed on literacy, to such an extent that the literary circle at his court invented and adopted a new script to render the sounds of Old Church Slavonic, based on the Greek alphabet. Who exactly is responsible for the invention remains unknown, but the leading intellectual at the court, Constantine of Preslav, may have been involved. He, at least, wrote the first attempt at poetry in Bulgaria, the *Alphabet Prayer*, which uses the Cyrillic letters. John the Exarch, another educated churchman in the Preslav circle, may have also been involved. A third author, a monk named Khrabr ("the brave"), wrote a treatise entitled *On the Letters*.[70]

For a while, the two scripts co-existed, as attested by both inscriptions and manuscripts. Cyrillic inscriptions employ dates according to the Byzantine era (*ab orbe condito*). The oldest is the inscription from the cave monastery at Krepcha, dated to 921, followed by the inscription carved on a stone slab and discovered at Mircea Vodă near Cernavodă (Dobrudja, Romania). The inscription carved into a marble slab found in Agios Germanos (Western Macedonia, Greece) was commissioned by Samuel in 993 to commemorate his parents and his brother, while the inscription from Bitola was put up by John Vladislav as a record of his restoration of the local fortress, as well as in commemoration of his grandparents and father (Samuel's brother).[71] A third inscription found in Gornji Katun (near Paraćin, in Serbia) and listing the names of the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste, with the formula "Lord, have mercy on us" has long been considered to be of a 10th century date (and thus showing the rapid expansion of the Cyrillic script to the west), but is now dated after 1300, like most other Cyrillic inscriptions from Serbia.[72]

A Second Bulgarian Empire came into being after the revolt of the Vlach brothers Peter and Asen in 1185. The new polity gained its independence from Byzantium and reached its peak in the 13th century under Emperor John II Asen (1218–1241), during whose reign Bulgaria was the most powerful state in the Balkans. His residence was in Tărnovo, where he had charters written in his name for the confirmation of grants to monasteries at Mount Athos. He also granted commercial privileges to the merchants of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in 1230.[73] However, the number of charters issued by rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire is small compared to that of the Hungarian kings, for example—only about 30.

John Asen II also ordered an inscription to be carved on a column in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Tărnovo. The inscription is dated according to the Byzantine era to the year 6738 (AD 1230) and celebrates the Bulgarian emperor's victory at Klokotnitsa in that

same year. The result of his victory was an expansion of the Bulgarian power "from Adrianopolis to Drach."[74]

Much like in early medieval Bulgaria, literacy in medieval Serbian is associated with the rise of the state, not with the conversion to Christianity. The Cyrillic script was adopted in the central Balkans no doubt under Bulgarian influence, together with the Old Church Slavonic language and liturgy.[75] As a matter of fact, the first testimonies of both Slavonic language and Cyrillic script are liturgical books. The oldest of them is the Miroslav Gospel, which was written in the 12th century in a *scriptorium* on the Adriatic Sea shore. Equally old is the Vukan Gospel, which was written in the cave churches around Ras, in central Serbia. Monasteries in Serbia, perhaps more than anywhere else, were the primary, if not the only centers of literacy in the Middle Ages. In the 13th century, the most active was not on the territory of Serbia, but at Mount Athos, namely, in the (Serbian) monastery of Hilandar. Second to Hilandar was the activity of the royal monastery in Studenica founded in 1199.

The historical figure behind the explosion of literary activity in the early 13th century is the son of the great župan Stephen Nemanja, Sava (1175–1235). He led many diplomatic missions, organized the church in his country, whose autocephaly he gained from the ecumenical patriarch, and became the first archbishop of Serbia in 1219. He is credited with the cultural rise in Serbia, especially regarding literacy. With his father, in 1198 he founded the monastery of Hilandar that gathered the most respected people of its time and acted as first educational institution for Serbs.[76] Sava's main works were written in Old Church Slavonic.[77] A few decades after his death, the royal chancery appeared in the Nemanjid realm. The Nemanjids issued more than 200 charters, of which only 40 are dated before 1276.[78] Some of those charters are grants ecclesiastical institutions, while others are contracts and oaths of friendship with neighbors, especially with the cities of Ragusa, Split and Kotor.[79] A substantial group of charters are grants of privileges to the monasteries of Žiča, Studenica, St. Peter on Lim River, but mostly to Hilandar. The repertory of written contracts and grants is in accordance with the needs of the period, when it was necessary to strengthen international relations due to trade and economic relations, in general. Numerous charters are written in Cyrillic, but there are also charters in Latin and Greek.[80] Most of those issued for Ragusa are now in the State archive in Dubrovnik, a very important body of evidence for the history of the relations between the city and Serbia.[81] In fact, it is now evident that the Serbian chancery established in Ragusa in 13th century produced charters in Cyrillic. A notary named Pascal, who was perhaps from Italy, wrote many of those charters over a period of about 40 years. He also composed charters in Latin.[82] Most inscriptions known from medieval Serbia are in monasteries—at Morača, Žiča and Sopoćani. They are carved in stone, sewn into clothes, scratched onto walls and painted in murals. Three grants from Stephen Prvovenčani (Frist-Crowned) for the monastery of Žiča were written on the walls under the monastery tower. In fact, it was quite common for documents of that type to be written in stone or on walls, in order to be remembered.[83] The charter of Žiča has an excellent parallel in the "foundation charter" of a monastery, which was engraved on the Baška Tablet (Croatia).

Kievan Rus'

Unlike Bulgaria and Serbia, literacy came to Rus' with Christianization. Although there may have been Christians among the Varangian Rus' in the early 10th century (Princess Olga was certainly one of them), the process of Christianization started in earnest with Vladimir (980–1015) and continued with his son Yaroslav the Wise (1016–1054). As elsewhere, the first texts to be introduced were liturgical, followed by saints' lives, all translated from Greek

into Old Church Slavonic. Those translations had been already made in Bulgaria, so Rus' benefited from the works of the Preslav circle. That also explains the use of Cyrillic, instead of Glagolitic, for the first books written in Rus', such as the Ostromir Gospel and the Arkhangelsk Gospel.[84] Inscriptions and graffiti are testimonies of the rapid spread of Slavonic literacy. The largest group is from Novgorod, particularly from the St. Sophia Cathedral and two other churches in the hinterland of the city. Most of them are written in Cyrillic letters.[85]

The pragmatic literacy in Rus' is represented primarily by birchbark letters, such as found in great numbers in Novgorod and several other Rus' towns (Smolensk, Pskov, Vitebsk and Moscow). Although written with Cyrillic letters, those documents are in vernacular (spoken) language, not in Old Church Slavonic. The range of topics covered by birchbark letters is incredibly diverse, from matters of money and debt to personal life and prayer. In that respect, those letters are an invaluable source for the study of everyday life in Novgorod and for the understanding of Rus' society. Moreover, the letters from a very important body of evidence for the study of the development of Russian, even though there are a few specimens written with Cyrillic but in a dialect of Finnish. Many records offer unique glimpses into the private, intimate life of the inhabitants of medieval Novgorod. Several were written by women, while others deal with relations between members of married couples or with young people in love who were about to get married. A few imply plots and conspiracy, and there are quite a few obscenities as well. Even ethnologists can find interesting notes on folklore.

The birchbark letters clearly show that in Rus', literacy spread quickly among commoners. Those who wrote and read the letters were neither at the bottom nor at the top of the social ladder, but they needed communication, for a variety of reasons. Some have seen in the birchbark letter phenomenon the result of the political and social turbulence in Novgorod during the 11th and 12th century: when townspeople rose in rebellion and banished their prince, people took affairs into their own hands and demanded their requests to be heard. Others have rightly pointed out the role of trade, as business transactions, which needed the same kind of brief and rapid communication in writing, figure prominently as a topic of the birchbark letters.[86] As elsewhere in Europe, both economic growth and urban development required written records. In that respect, at least, one can compare the towns of Rus' with the Italian communes, even though the social fabric of those urban communities was quite different. Records on birch bark remind one to some extant of notarial imbreviatures, even though the letters cover a much wider range of topics than the imbreviatures.[87]

Notes

1 In what follows, primarily for reasons of space, I will completely leave out the political and pragmatic literacy in the Greek-speaking world, including inscriptions (such as those of Greece, Bulgaria and the Crimea) and charters such as those preserved in the archives of Mount Athos.

2 Khrabr the Monk, *Treatise on the Letters*, English translation from Kiril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), p. 65.

3 St. Ambrose, *ep.* 39.3 (*semirutarum urbium cadavera*), English translation from *The Letters of S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1881), p. 226. See also Maria Bollini,"Semirutarum urbium cadavera," *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 1 (1971), 163–76.

4 Nada Klaić, *Historia Salonitana Maior* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1967).

5 Duje Rendić Miočević, *Carmina epigraphica* (Split: Književni krug, 1987); Emilio Marin, Nancy Gauthier, Françoise Prévot, Jean-Pierre Caillet, Noël Duval, and Denis Feissel, *Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles* (Rome/Split: Ecole Française de Rome/Musée archéologique de Split, 2010).

6 Miho Barada, "Tabella plumbea Traguriensis," *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 16 (1935), 11–18.
7 Radoslav Katičić, Litterarum studia. *Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja* [*Litterarum studia*. Literary and intellectual history of Croatia during the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998). See also Rosamond McKitterick, The *Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989).
8 Eduard Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* [The culture of medieval Croatia—three scripts and three languages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1994), pp. 12–13.
9 Rade Mihaljčić and Ludwig Steindorf, *Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Franz, 1982).
10 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "O datiranju epigrafičkih spomenika iz hrvatskog ranog srednjeg vijeka" [On the dating of the early medieval inscriptions in Croatia], in Monumenta marmore aereque perenniora. *Zbornik radova u čast Anti Rendiću-Miočeviću*, edited by Ivan Radman-Livaja and Tomislav Bilić (Zagreb: Arheološki muzej, 2020), pp. 354–63.
11 For the debate regarding the date and provenance of the baptismal font (and therefore of the accompanying inscription), see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Krsni zdenac Hrvata. Paleografsko-epigrafska raščlamba natpisa s krstionice kneza Višeslava" [The baptismal font of the Croats. Palaeographic and epigraphic analysis of the inscription on the baptismal font of Duke Višeslav], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 31 (2007), 1–31. The inscription has a textual frame (Hoc opus bene compsit) and a cross as a central ornament, which are directly comparable to those on the inscription of Duke Muncimir found in Uzdolje near Knin and dated to AD 895.
12 Vedrana Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj* [Latin inscription from early medieval Croatia] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1996); Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Latin inscriptions," in *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages. A Cultural Survey,* edited by Ivan Supičić (London/Zagreb: Philip Wilson Publishers/AGM, 1999, pp. 239–56.
13 Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici*, pp. 141–44.
14 Željko Rapanić, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji* [The pre-Romanesque age in Dalmatia] (Split: Logos, 1987), pp. 146–48. Peter Crni's epitaph was composed by a deacon named Dobre, who also compiled the cartulary of Supetar. See Viktor Novak and Petar Skok, *Supetarski kartular* [The Supetar Cartulary] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1952); Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Neka pitanja o splitskom đakonu Dobri (kraj XI.-početak XII. stoljeća)" [Some questions regarding Deacon Dobre of Split (late 11th to early 12th century)], in *Spomenica Ljube Bobana 1933–1994*, edited by Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1996), pp. 61–71.
15 Miljenko Lončar, "Pjesma na grobu—Većenegin epitaf u kapitulu Samostana Sv. Marije" [Poem on the tomb: the epitaph of Vekenega in the chapter of the Convent of St. Mary)] in Laude nitens multa. *Zbornik radova s kolokvija u povodu 900. obljetnice Vekenegina epitafa*, edited by Ivan Josipović and Pavuša Vežić (Zadar: Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zadru, 2018), pp. 43–95.
16 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Latin epigraphic heritage," in *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. A Cultural Survey*, edited by Ivan Supičić and Eduard Hercigonja (London/Zagreb: Philip Wilson Publishers/Školska knjiga, 2008), pp. 107–27.
17 Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [The history of Croatia in the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971), pp. 3–12.
18 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Fundacijska listina samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru" [The foundation charter of the Convent of St. Mary in Zadar], in *Abbatissa ingenuitate precipua. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog kolokvija "950. obljetnica Samostana benediktinki Sv. Marije u Zadru (1066.-2016.),"* edited by Pavuša Vežić and Ivan Josipović (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2020), pp. 75–84.
19 Cartularies also contain *notitiae* on the acquisitions of land by monasteries, for which see Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Samostanski memorijalni zapisi (*libri traditionum*) srednjega vijeka i uloga svećenika-pisara (pranotara)" [The monastic memorial records (libri traditionum) in the Middle Ages and the role of the priest-scribes (proto-notaries], in *2. Istarski povijesni biennale*, vol. 2, edited by Neven Budak (Poreč: Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Pučko otvoreno učilište Poreč, 2007), pp. 5–19.
20 Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* 16, edited by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest/New York: Central European University, 2006), p. 77. A priest named Theodore, who was the chancellor of Archbishop Lawrence of Split and of King Zvonimir, as well as Deacon Dobre, his younger contemporary, were probably among those

influenced by Adam of Paris. See Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Splitski srednjovjekovni književni krug" [The medieval literary circle of Split)] in *Raukarov zbornik. Zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, edited by Neven Budak (Zagreb: FF-Press, 2005), pp. 157–73.

21 Jakov Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti u teoriji i praksi* [Auxiliary historical disciplines in theory and practice], 3rd edition (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), p. 169.

22 Nada Klaić, "Još jednom o tzv. privilegijama trogirskog tipa" [Once again on the so-called charters of the Trogir type], *Istorijski časopis* 20 (1973), 15–87. Doubts have been raised about the authenticity of the original charter for Trogir.

23 Zlatko Tanodi, "Zagrebačka 'Zlatna bula'" [The "Golden Bull" of Zagreb], *Vjesnik Hrvatskog državnog arhiva* 11 (1945), 1–42.

24 Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje* [The Croatian Middle Ages. Space, people, and ideas] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 1997), pp. 190–92.

25 Tanodi, "Zagrebačka 'Zlatna bula'"; Lujo Margetić, "Uzori i izvori 'Zlatne bule' za zagrebački Gradec" [Models and sources for the "Golden Bull" of Zagreb], *Croatica Christiana periodica* 46 (2000), 10–20.

26 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Statuti gradskih komuna i povlastice slobodnih kraljevskih gradova s posebnim osvrtom na grad Koprivnicu" [Statutes of urban communes and privileges of free royal cities with special reference to the city of Koprivnica], in *Statut grada Koprivnice—Statuta civitatis Capronczensis*, edited by Karmen Levanić (Koprivnica: Muzej grada Koprivnice and Državni arhiv u Varaždinu, 2006), pp. 9–29.

27 Janko Belošević, "Pečatnik hrvatskog bana Pavla I Bribirskog iz Zadra" [The seal of the Croatian ban Paul I Bribir from Zadar], *Diadora* 3 (1965), 159–69.

28 Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevélta* [Hungarian diplomas] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), pp. 121–38; Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Struktura i diplomatička analiza isprava Kninskog kaptola" [The structure and the diplomatic analysis of the documents of the chapter in Knin], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 36 (1994), 69–85.

29 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma arhiđakon i njegovo djelo. Rano doba hrvatske povijesti* [Archdeacon Thomas and his work. Early Croatian history] (Jastrebarsko: Slap, 2002), 221–26.

30 Ante Gulin, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika* [The sigillography of the medieval church in Croatia)] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1998); Ante Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli. Loca credibilia sjeverne i središnje* Hrvatske [Croatian medieval chapters. Places of authentication in northern and central Croatia] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001).

31 *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* [The bishops and archbishops of Zagreb], edited by Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), pp. 42–45 and 94–100.

32 Branka Grbavac, "Notarijat na istočnojadranskoj obali od druge polovine 12. do kraja 14. stoljeća" [The public notary in the Eastern Adriatic region from the second half of the 12th to the late 14th century], Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Zagreb (Zagreb, 2010).

33 Antun Cvitanić, *Iz dalmatinske pravne povijesti* [From the legal history of Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 2002).

34 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Od kapitulara Gargana de Arscindisa do Percevalova statuta" [From the capitulary of Gargano de Arscindis to the statute of Perceval], in *Splitski statut iz 1312. godine: povijest i pravo. Povodom 700. obljetnice*, edited by Željko Radić, Marko Trogrlić, Massimo Meccarelli, and Ludwig Steindorff (Split: Književni krug, 2015), pp. 99–111.

35 Thomas of Split, *History*, p. 234. In Split, the same capitulary in all likelihood became the basis of the statute of Perceval (1312).

36 Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura*, pp. 107–12.

37 Matijević Sokol, "Samostanski memorijalni zapisi."

38 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Splitski evangelijar (Evangeliarium Spalatense)* (Split: Književni krug Split—Nadbiskupija splitsko-makarska, 2016).

39 Anđelko Badurina, *Iluminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj* (Illuminated manuscripts from Croatia) (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1995).

40 Anna Adamska, "The introduction of writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia)," in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, edited by Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 165–90.

41 Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 402–07.

42 *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* [A critical list of diplomas of the Árpádian kings], edited by Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923); Tanodi, "Zagrebačka 'Zlatna bula'," pp. 1–4.
43 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, p. 487.
44 Tamás Fedeles, Loca credibilia. *Hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon* [*Loca credibilia*. Places of authentication in medieval Hungary)] (Pécs: Fény, 2009).
45 Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan*, pp. 121–38; Jura Šedivý, *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel* (Bratislava: Verlags Chronos, 2007).
46 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, pp. 488–89.
47 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, p. 487.
48 Berend, Urbańczyk, and Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, pp. 402–04.
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62 Katičić, Litterarum studia, pp. 644–55.
63 Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Runicheski nadpisi ot srednovekovna Bălgariia" [Runic inscriptions from medieval Bulgaria)] in *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia. V chest na profesor Veselin Beshevliev*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev, Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Plamen Pavlov and Stefan Iordanov (Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii," 1993), pp. 141–62. Antoaneta Granberg, "On deciphering mediaeval runic scripts from

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24
LAW

Ivan Alexandrov Biliarsky

Law is an essential part of the normative system of any state-organized society and one of the fundamental markers of group identity. Law is a value by itself, but also by its function of custodian and defender of the other values.[1] That is the angle from which this chapter will approach the problem of law in East Central and Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages (500–1300).

What is law, after all? There is no scholarly agreement, not even on such a fundamental question. Some regard it as a positive, normative system regulating social relations. Others point to the living law, the relations that follow some ideas, rules or practices. Still other scholars focus on the values and ideas that bestow the frame of "righteousness" on the relations mentioned earlier. These considerations lead me to the question of the *sources of law* and to that, connected to, but different from it, of the *sources of legal history*. Those are the guides that I will follow in this chapter to explore the beginning of the ideas of state and law in East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. The difference between those two notions may be theoretically clear, but it is worth reiterating. The sources of law show where rules come from: from God or from the ruler (in other words, what would now be called "legislation"); from custom; from case law (which would not be distinguishable from custom in the early Middle Ages); or from treatises.[2] It is of course clear that neither case law nor treatises can enter into this discussion pertaining to East Central and East European countries, not for the early, at least, and in some cases, not even for the later period. Sources of legal history do not create rules, but inform one about those rules in the past. They are in fact the material transmitters and suppliers of knowledge allowing one to study them. Much of what I will have to say in this chapter is therefore based on the sources of legal history, but I will bear in mind the problems of their origin.

The period under consideration is one of dramatic changes associated, on the one hand, with state formation, and on the other with the conversion to Christianity, and the subsequent alignment either with the Roman Holy See or with the ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. All those transformations imply the creation of institutions and of law. Since the existence of the Roman Empire pre-dates the beginning of the period under consideration, besides the codification of the customary law, one can clearly follow the reception of Roman law from different centers of influence. In the Balkans, the latter phenomenon is a

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direct result of the fact that early medieval states were created on the territory of the (Eastern) Roman Empire. This is especially true for Bulgaria, the earliest of all medieval states in the Balkans. In Moravia, Bohemia, Rus', Poland and Hungary, there was no preexisting Roman tradition. The existence of "foreign" rulers (Bulgars, Varangians, Magyars) had a considerable impact on how the dominant minority dealt with its customary legal tradition that influenced the entire society. Some scholars draw a sharp distinction between the states Bulgaria, Serbia and Rus', on the one hand, and Bohemia, Poland, Croatia and Hungary, on the other hand. The former group adopted the Byzantine culture and, with that, the Byzantine ideas about state and law. Roman law came to Bulgaria, Rus' and Serbia in its Byzantine interpretation. By contrast, it came as part of the West European cultural package to Bohemia, Poland, Croatia and Hungary.

Cyril and Methodius

The mission of the two brothers Constantine (later, Cyril) and Methodius from Thessalonike was requested by Duke Rastislav, the ruler of (Great) Moravia, and approved by the Byzantine emperor Michael III. Judging by its character, this was a mission of evangelization aiming at converting and teaching the people of Moravia. However, from a broader perspective, the mission may also be regarded as a sudden penetration of East Roman cultural and religious influence into East Central Europe. Most certainly, the mission had no juridical character, even though it bequeathed to posterity a relatively large quantity of legal texts, and set the beginning of the Slavic legal language and culture. Most juridical texts or other legal documents are primarily the work of Methodius, which took an archetypal quality in relation to the later developments of law among the orthodox Slavs.[3] This body of legal works, to which we once referred as *Legatum iuridicum Sancti Methodii*, includes, first of all, the *Nomocanon*, which is in fact a translation of the *Collection of 50 Canons* compiled by the great jurist of Antioch and, later, patriarch of Constantinople (565–577) John Scholastikos.[4] The translation is specifically mentioned in chapter 15 of the *Life of Methodius* together with the translation of the Holy Scripture.[5] The *Nomocanon* had a great impact on the further development of law among the Southern and the Eastern Slavs.[6] While in Byzantium the *Collection* of John the Scholastikos was eventually superseded by the Nomocanon of Patriarch Photius, in Eastern Europe it retained a special importance in the creation of the legal culture of the Orthodox Slavs. The second component of the *Legatum iuridicum Sancti Methodii* is the *Law for Judging the People*, which is usually and with good reason regarded as the most ancient Slavic law. This is in fact a compilation based on title XVII of the *Ekloga*, but the origin of the text posed many and difficult problems. The text survives in two redactions, a longer and a shorter one, with the latter being the older. There are no Southern Slavic manuscript copies. However, the first studies of ancient Slavic law identified the *Law for Judging the People* as Bulgarian.[7] Only a few scholars expressed skepticism.[8] The real challenge came in the 1940s and 1950s, when Heinrich Felix Schmid and Josef Vašica forcefully denied the Bulgarian origin of the *Law* and insisted upon it being the result of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Pannonia or (Great) Moravia.[9] Shortly after that, the canonist Sergei Troitskii advanced the idea that the *Law* had been written in Macedonia.[10] Bulgarian scholars continued to defend the thesis of the Bulgarian origin of the most ancient Slavic law, mostly because of patriotic feelings.[11] The Russian scholar Kirill Maksimovich was the first to reject definitely not only the Bulgarian origin of the *Law*, but also its presence in Bulgaria at all.[12] Moreover, the most recent studies of juridical and linguistic aspects of the text, as well as of the social implications of the *Law*, have confirmed the Pannonian-Moravian origin of the text, the

creation of churchmen meant to impose Christian moral value and way of life in a recently converted country.[13]

To those two works directly associated with the archbishop of Moravia, one can also add the so-called Commandments of the Holy Fathers, a collection of moral instructions included in the Glagolitic manuscript of the *Euchologion* from the St. Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai, which is dated to the 10th or 11th century.[14] This is in fact an adaptation of the Frankish *Pentitential of Merseburg* (dated to the 8th or 9th century) and presents the first, as well as one of the rare receptions and translations into Slavic of a Latin legal text. Scholars now agree that its author must have been one Saint Methodius' disciples. Another text related to the Moravian mission that presents interest from a legal point of view is the so-called Anonymous Homily from the Glagolitic *Codex Clozianus (Glagolita Clozianus)*.[15] This is a work of moral teaching, related to power and law, which concern especially trials, but not a legal text *stricto sensu*.

A number of texts attributed to Methodius and his disciples are currently the object of much scholarly debate. I shall return to this problem, but for the moment suffices it to say that the most important question regarding those texts is whether and how they arrived in Bulgaria after the death of Methodius and the exile of his disciples. There is no general answer to those questions, and each text has to be studied on its own. Be that as it may, they all constitute an important component of the legal legacy of the Orthodox Slavs and of Byzantium.

Bulgaria and Serbia, Bulgaria with Serbia

Historians regard early medieval Bulgaria as the state organized by steppe nomads migrating from the northern shore of the Black Sea to the northeastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula under the leadership of Asparukh. In other words, most scholars treat early medieval Bulgaria as a type of "barbarian" state. Legal developments in early medieval Bulgaria, indeed, show a clear distinction between the period before and that after the conversion to Christianity. However, Bulgarian historians refer to early medieval Bulgaria as the First Bulgarian Empire, and to medieval Bulgaria as the Second Bulgarian Empire. Those were different states, for sure, but there is little, if anything different in matters of law between the two of them. The Christianization of Bulgaria brought, among other things, notions of Roman (Byzantine) law and the creation of a written legal culture, for the conversion coincides in time with the adoption of the Glagolitic and, later, the Cyrillic alphabets.

Serbia emerged as an organized state only towards the last centuries of the period considered in this book. Following the conversion to Christianity (a process for which, unlike Bulgaria, no precise dates and names of historical personalities are known), the country grew politically in the Byzantine orbit. In that sense, Bulgarians and Serbs (as well as Romanians in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period) shared a good deal of Byzantine legacy, which is especially strong in institutions and law. The latter is so obvious as to justify the use of the concept of "Byzantine Commonwealth," famously put forward by Dimitri Obolensky half-a-century ago, but much contested nowadays.[16] That is the reason for which, in what follows, I will discuss the legal history of Bulgaria and Serbia together for the period after the conversion to Christianity.

Pre-Christian Bulgaria

Pre-Christian Bulgaria, like most other "barbarian" states, is characterized by strong social, cultural, religious, and power dichotomy. From a legal point of view, this is period of

predominantly customary laws for different communities under the power of the Bulgar khan.[17] Historians work under the assumption that the early Bulgar polity was not a full-fledged state, and because of that, it could only recognize and sanction existing rules and behavioral prescriptions, but not create its own norms and statutes. To be sure, unlike the "barbarian" states of Western Europe, no law code of any kind is known from Bulgaria in the early Middle Ages. To learn anything about customs and customary law, one would have therefore to rely on bits and pieces culled from different sources.

Certainly, the most important source in that respect is a long list of answers that Pope Nicholas I gave to Prince Boris (*Responsa Nicolai Papae I ad consulta Bulgarorum*).[18] These answers, although given to specific questions that Boris had asked in a previous letter (now lost), were addressed formally to all Bulgars, not just to their ruler. Sometimes, the pope summarizes Boris's question before formulating his own answer. On that basis, several questions that the Bulgar khan had asked can be reconstructed fairly well. The main source for Pope Nicholas I's answers is of course the canon law of the Roman Church. It is often in contrast to that that the pope mentions the customary law(s) of the Bulgaria, which may very well have been explained in more detail in Boris's letter with questions. Judging from the information that we now have in Nicholas I's letter, those customs were as diverse as the many legal aspects that they covered—personal and family law, penal law, judicial trial and witnesses, administrative rules and military structures and requirements, social, religious and political organization.[19] The text contains also information about the social norms of the everyday life and about some ceremonial practices of the Church that may be subject to canon law. This is a very important source for the history of Bulgaria, which explains why it was commented upon in detail. Lacking, however, is any attempt to study Nicholas I's letter from a juridical point of view, especially by means of comparison with other societies in Europe at that time.[20]

Several historians have capitalized on a brief entry in the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* in its original, 10th-century text, as well as in the 16th-century Slavonic translation.[21] However, the "laws of Khan Krum" mentioned in that lexicon entry is simply a mystification, pretending to be a witness for an attempt to create a customary law code in the early 9th century. According to the *Suda*, after the defeat of the Avars and destruction of their khaganate, the Bulgar ruler Krum engaged in conversation with some of the noblemen taken captive. He asked them what they thought the reasons may have been for the demise of their state. Based on their answer, he then promulgated laws for his own subjects, presumably to prevent the demise of Bulgaria. He forbade corruption, false accusations in tribunals, condemned the absence of charity and outlawed wine drinking. This is obviously a foil based on a literary topos meant to highlight developments in Byzantium, not in Bulgaria. The source is therefore largely unreliable. One needs to admit that nothing could be said about Bulgar customary law on the basis of the *Suda* lexicon. There is no way to confirm the idea that the entry in the lexicon somehow represents a kernel of historically true information regarding the introduction of a code of Bulgar customs.[22] In any case, there is no other source remotely touching upon that matter.

Judging by what is known about the legal culture of pre-Christian Bulgaria, that was a typically "barbarian" society in transition from the tribal organization to state-building and the establishment of central power. That was a strongly militarized society, the legal side of which was based on respect for traditional customs. There are indeed several parallels between rules mentioned in the *Responsa* and some similar customs of European or steppe peoples. The only difference is the absence of any traces of the codification of customary law in Bulgaria. The written law appears only after Christianization, while the written culture was made possible by the adoption of the Slavic alphabets and the influence of the Byzantine culture.

Christian Bulgaria and Serbia

The main characteristic for the legal culture of Christian medieval Bulgaria is the reception of Roman law in the form developed in Byzantium. This was part of the general process of reception of the Byzantine culture and inclusion into the "Byzantine Commonwealth." This process began immediately after the conversion to Christianity in 864, but was accelerated during the 10th century. Unfortunately, there are not enough sources to follow that process in detail. Particularly regrettable is the lack of judicial or private acts, as well as of any witness of how written rules were applied. Moreover, there is no Bulgarian copy of the main legal texts. It is therefore somewhat problematic to discuss laws in Bulgaria on the basis of much later Russian manuscripts.

One of the most important bodies of law adopted from Byzantium was the *Ekloga*. This was an adaptation and abbreviation of the Justinian's lawcode done under the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V.[23] This is the first significant piece of comprehensive imperial legislation after the "dark" 7th century. *Ekloga* arrived in Bulgaria together with the Byzantine missionaries. There is no surviving Bulgarian copy of the text, but scholars agree that it was translated in Preslav from its Greek original into Old Church Slavonic. The adoption of this particular lawcode raises several questions. First, the *Ekloga* was adopted and functioned as a general law touching upon many social aspects, but after the restoration of Orthodoxy in 843, it was generally disregarded as the product of the iconoclastic policies. Because of that, it was replaced in Byzantium by the *Eisagoge*. In other words, by the time Bulgaria converted to Christianity, the *Ekloga* was not popular in Byzantium. In fact, there are only a few surviving Greek manuscripts of that lawcode. It is therefore unclear why it was brought to Bulgaria, and subsequently gained such a great popularity among the Orthodox Slavs. Another problem concerns the application of the law in the Slavic countries in the Balkans. There is no direct source to describe how in fact the adopted Byzantine law operated in the new context. Usually, scholars mention at this point that there are differences between the Byzantine and the Slavic *Ekloga*; in other words, that the latter was an adaptation of the former to local conditions. However, not a single element of that adaptation (not even the presumed omission of Title XII regarding emphyteusis) can indeed be linked to changes made deliberately for the application of the law in Bulgaria. In the absence of any acts of private or judicial nature, it is not known how that law operated in Bulgaria, in order to gauge the way in which *Ekloga* was presumably adapted to local conditions. In short, many of the interpretation advanced by historians are little more than informed guesses. It is quite possible that the *Ekloga* in Bulgaria was not adopted because it would fit to the local environment, but because of political reasons.

The *Law for Judging the People* mentioned above was compiled on the basis of Title XVII of the *Ekloga*. The emphasis is therefore on penal norms as well as on judicial trial, marriage and other matters. There is a clear influence of penitential discipline onto an otherwise lay code, and a pervasive concern with the protection of the new church institutions and clergy. Since its main goal was to implement Christian norms and moral values into a recently converted country, the *Law* could work in Bulgaria, just as well as in (Great) Moravia. It is perhaps worth noting that the penitential practices reflected in the *Law* are closer to those in Western, not Eastern Christianity. It is also important to keep in mind that the Slavonic translation of the *Ekloga* reflects the *Law*, in which titles XVII and XVIII are collapsed, whereas the original Greek version had them separated. In other words, there seems to be a yet unexplored relation between the Slavonic translation of the *Ekloga* and the earliest form of the *Law for Judging the People*. If one accepts the idea that the *Law* was compiled in (Great)

Moravia by Methodius or one of his disciples, and if the *Ekloga* was indeed translated several years later in Preslav, then the *Law for Judging the People* must have been available in Bulgaria for the letters who, under Tsar Symeon, translated the Byzantine lawcode into Slavonic. Unfortunately, nothing is known about how the *Law* was applied. Moreover, there never was any interest in the *Law* in Serbia.

In Byzantine manuscripts, the *Ekloga* is usually accompanied by one or several of four other legal texts: the Farmer's Law (*Nomos georgikos*), the Mosaic Law (*Nomos Mosaikos*), the Soldier's Law (*Nomos stratiotikos*) and the Rhodian Maritime Law (*Nomos nautikos*). Only the former two appear in Slavonic translations. The Slavonic Farmer's Law is known both from Bulgarian and from Serbian manuscripts. The Byzantine original law appeared in the mid-9th century in Southern Italy.[24] No less than three different translations into Slavonic are known. One of them is a Serbian translation that was incorporated in the 14th century into the *Law Code of Tsar Stephen Dušan*. Another survives in a manuscript now in the library of the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos. A third translation is known from 11 Russian manuscripts of a collection known as "Law Books" (*Knigi zakonnye*). The language of the latter is very old, which suggests that the translation was done in Bulgaria, most likely under Symeon.[25] The Farmer's Law regulates relations within rural communities and was probably applied as such in early medieval Bulgaria, although no direct evidence for that exists.

The *Mosaic Law* is a compilation of penal character, based primarily on rules in the Old Testament. The Greek original text was compiled at some point between the early 8th and the mid-9th century, i.e., during Iconoclasm. Its earliest translation is in the Serbian Nomocanon of Saint Sava (*Svetosavsko Zakonopravilo*), but later spread throughout the Balkans, Bulgaria included.[26] There are also Russian copies of the text. The *Procheiron* (*Procheiros nomos*) or Urban Law (*Zakon gradski*), as it is known in the Slavonic tradition, is a lawcode of the Macedonian age, part of an imperial program of legislative reform with clear political goals.[27] Until recently, it was almost unknown in its entire Slavic translation. Various elements or titles were translated at a relatively early date, but the entire text of the lawcode was not known in early medieval Bulgaria. Its earliest Slavonic translation is from 13th-century Serbia.[28] The text was most likely written in Serbia or at the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos in the early 13th century. Judging by the number of surviving copies, this text was widely applied in the South Slavic milieu in the Balkans, as well as in Rus(sia). This is a real lawcode that contains rules on various cases and law domains. The collection *Law Books* (*Knigi zakonnye*) is a South Slavic compilation of texts from the *Procheiron*, the *Law for Judging the People* and the *Farmer's Law*, all of which had applicability in the Balkan countries.[29] However, the compilation was later adopted in Russia as well. Instead of a collection of translated fragments from the legal works mentioned above, this is a translation of a Greek collection. Despite the numerous witnesses in late Russian manuscripts, the language of the translation is old, pointing to a date for the translation during the reign of Symeon.

Collections of canon law (Nomocanons)

Collections of predominantly canons (ecclesiastical law), combined sometimes with civilian law sources, were very popular in the Orthodox world. They were later called "Nomocanons," a name meant to reflect their specific character resulting from the combination of ecclesiastical and civilian rules. Three such collections had an important role before AD 1300. The *Nomocanon of Methodius* is based on that of John Scholastikos, which encloses the *Synagoge in 50 Titles* (canon law) and the *Collection in 87 Titles* (civil law). This was one of the most important canonical collections of the Eastern Church. The canonical part of the text

(the *Synagoge*) was translated by Methodius into Old Church Slavonic in Moravia. As such, the text was relatively popular among the Orthodox Slavs, and survives in two versions: the Ustiug *Kormchaia* (Book of the Pilot) and Joasaph's *Kormchaia*. Both are later Russian witnesses, but the language therein is very archaic, thus betraying its early origin in Moravia. From there, it passed to the South Slavic milieu before moving to Rus'; in other words, there is no evidence that it came to Rus' directly from Central Europe.[30] That not that many manuscripts are known may be explained in terms of the archaic language, the adoption of more recent compilations, and the decline in popularity and use of the *Synagoge* of John Scholastikos in Byzantium proper. Nonetheless, the Nomocanon of Methodius was known everywhere within the *Slavia Orthodoxa*, and had a significant impact on the later canonical tradition and legal language.

The *Nomocanon* of Patriarch Photius consists of a civilian law part known as the *Collectio Tripartita* and of another of canon law known as the *Syntagma of 14 Titles*. This is the second most important code of canon law, associated with the great patriarch of the 9th century. The prevailing opinion is that the *Syntagma* was translated in Bulgaria during the reign of Symeon, but no later than 912, since it includes the Chronicle of Patriarch Nicephorus. However, there are no South Slavic witnesses of the text, only Russian. The most important is Ephraim's *Kormchaia*.[31] The Nomocanon of Photius was the object of many commentaries written in Byzantium during the great age of canonical commentary in the 12th century. It also represents an important basis of later developments of canonist literature in the Orthodox world.[32]

The *Nomocanon (Zakonopravilo)* of Saint Sava of Serbia is actually a Slavonic translation of the *Syntagma of 14 Titles*, with commentaries by the 12th-century canonists.[33] Its author was most likely Saint Sava, the founder and first archbishop of the Serbian Church, son of the Great Župan Stephen Nemanja and brother of the first king of Serbia, Stephen the First-Crowned. In the monastic milieu of the Nemanjid foundation at Mount Athos, Hilandar, this great figure of the Serbian culture prepared the compilation that became the official code of the archbishopric of Serbia. The code was then adopted throughout the Balkans, before being sent in 1262 to the metropolitan of Kiev, Cyril III (1250–1281), by an émigré from Halych, Despot Jacob Sviatoslav. The latter's accompanying letter survives. The Nomocanon of Sava had a great impact upon the development of canon law in Rus'. The amplified text was printed in the mid-17th century in Moscow and returned to the Balkans as the *Printed Kormchaia*.

Law in Rus'

Historians often treat the *Law of Rus'* or *Russian Custom (Zakon russkii)*, as the earliest customary law in Kievan Rus'.[34] The assumption is that it combined Scandinavian (Varangian) legal traditions with those of the local Slavs. The *Zakon russkii* is mentioned in later sources, such the *Russkaia Pravda*, but historians associated it also with the Rus'-Byzantine treatises of 912 and 945, the details of which are known from the Russian Primary Chronicle. The evidence indicates that blood feuds were the main means to resolve disputes, and the practice was abolished only much later. This strongly suggests the preservation of blood-tribal ties. Judging from the sources mentioned, it does not seem that *Zakon russkii* was simply unwritten custom, but an established body of norms (probably not written, but known to lawsayers), to which it was possible to refer. Nonetheless, much of what has been written on the *Zakon russkii* is just a matter of speculation, rather than of texts that one could reliably reconstruct. One thing, however, seems quite certain: this most ancient law of Rus' was based on pagan traditions, and not on the reception of Roman law.

The *Russkaia Pravda* is a lawcode created in Kievan Rus' in the 11th century, presumably as an act of the ruling Grand Duke or of several heirs of Yaroslav the Wise.[35] There are two versions of the text, the *Short* and the *Expanded*. Most scholars agree that the Short version is older. The introductory part of the *Short Pravda* begins with a reference to the assembly of the sons and heirs of Yaroslav the Wise to establish the law, while most copies of the *Expanded* version simply mention Yaroslav as the creator of the text. This, of course, may be just the result of political by considerations linked to the prestige of the text and its legitimacy. The oldest part of the *Pravda* is called *Ancient Pravda* and includes the first 18 articles of the Short version, which are believed to be created by Yaroslav himself. The next part is supposedly that of his sons. The later *Expanded Pravda* includes the entire *Short* version. Its oldest copies are from the second half of the 13th century, and it may have been compiled in the 12th century, after the death of Vladimir Monomakh in 1125.

Russkaia Pravda contains rules of primarily penal, civil and matrimonial nature. Some regarded the *Pravda* as a typically lay law code of the early Middle Ages, in other words as the result of the development of the Rus' state. However, it was obviously created not at once, but in several steps and under the influence of different customs and different law systems. Other historians point out that the most important influence was that of Byzantine law, which the Rus' received through a South Slavic intermediate. However, as already mentioned, many of the translations or compilations of Greek original legal texts survive only in Russian copies.[36]

The *Righteous Metewand (Merilo pravednoe)* is a Russian legal collection, created in the 13th or 14th century.[37] The earliest manuscript is the so-called *Trinity copy* from the second half of the 14th century, and it is regarded as the standard. The collection begins with encomia and ecclesiastical texts, including those about the "righteous judge." The subsequent exposition contains—in fragments or in full—texts from the Nomocanon, the *Ekloga*, *Procheiron*, the *Law for Judgment the People* and others. There is a strong emphasis on secular law, but the collection was definitely not of lay origin. It may have been created by churchmen, but still used in secular courts. In essence, this is meant to be a guide and a moral instruction for judges. It is possible that it is based on an older text, with its own protographs, but those are only assumptions.

The *Kormchaia kniga* (*Book of the Pilot*) was a legal collection that was rightly called "the main vehicle of the Byzantine legal influence in Russia," and elsewhere.[38] The earliest specimen is Ephraim's *Kormchaia*, which is dated to the 12th century and basically reproduces the Slavonic translation of the *Nomocanon* of Photius done in Preslav in the 10th century. Ephraim's *Kormchaia* is the most important member of a group of Slavonic Books (*Drevneslavianskaia Kormchaia*), which includes the Uvarov copy (13th century) and other witnesses of the second half of the 15th century or later.[39] The compilation contains canons and secular provisions as well as some chronographs, accounts of Church councils, as well as homilies. The other, much larger group, which had a specific development in later times, is based on the *Nomocanon* of St. Sava of Serbia.[40] The latter arrived to Rus' from Bulgaria, and became the official code of the Kievan Church (1282), before being copied several times and generating several different traditions of canon law in Rus(sia). As mentioned, the *Nomocanon* of St. Sava is itself based on the *Nomocanon of 14 Titles*, but with commentaries by the great canonists of the 12th century, especially Alexios Aristenos and John Zonaras (but not Theodore Balsamon). This compilation shaped many of the legal texts produced in *Slavia Orthodoxa* after that. Moreover, the very title of "Book of the Pilot" (*Kormchaia kniga*) was created in the 13th century precisely for those codes. The *Kormchaia* includes an introductory part with an account of the ecumenical councils, and exegesis on some prayers; a foreword to the 14

titles; the canonical part; the secular law part; and the dogmatic part. All Russian witnesses derive from early Balkan manuscripts, but in Rus', the *Kormchaia kniga* had its own, specific development. There are more than 20 manuscripts, divided into 6 groups, but the oldest is that of Riazan' dated to 1284, while most other witnesses are dated between the mid-15th and the 18th century.

From the very moment it arrived in Rus' in 1262, the *Kormchaia kniga* underwent an adaptation to the local environment. This happened in several steps through the addition of supplementary material, before reaching the form of the 13th- to 14th-century Russian redaction.[41] There is an abundance of witnesses for this part of the Russian canonical tradition with many redactions in numerous copies. The texts themselves are different compilations that englobe different elements. Some of them derive from the common Christian tradition, but others are local Russian texts of earlier times. In short, the *Kormchaia* became the most important repository of Slavic juridical texts and one of the main legal collections of medieval law in *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

Even if the *Kormchaia* underwent its proper development in Russia, the basis for the printed *Kormchaia* of the mid-17th century was another copy of the *Zakonopravilo*, which was brought, together with other manuscripts, from Mount Athos by Arsenii Soukhanov for the reform of the liturgical practices of the Russian church under Patriarch Nikon (1652–1666).

Penitentials

Known as *kanonaria* in the Byzantine tradition, pentitentials are manuals for the priests who hear confessions and prescribe penance. There are several collections of general use that appear in manuscripts all across *Slavia Orthodoxa*. One of the earliest is the so-called *Commandments of Holy Fathers*, which is related to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia.[42] This old text was written in Glagolitic alphabet when included in the *Euchologion Sinaiticum*. The oldest Cyrillic copy is in the Ustiug *Kormchaia*. Neither copy contains the original Slavic text in its entirety, as translated in Moravia. The Glagolitic copy was written somewhere in Western Bulgaria, while the Cyrillic transcription was probably produced in Preslav. The text was known both to the Balkan Slavs and to those of Eastern Europe. The *Penitential (Kanonarion) of Saint John the Nesteutes (the Faster)* is a collection of rules for repentance related to the name of the Ecumenical Patriarch John IV (582–595). This was a very popular penitential in the Orthodox world either in its own or as part of different later codes (i.e., *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares). It consists of an initial basic text (*Protokanonarion*) with some later additions and *Didascalia Patrum* (Teachings of Holy Fathers).[43] The oldest Slavic translation survives in the Ustiug *Kormchaia*, but is most likely done in Bulgaria, in the monastic milieu around Preslav, during the first half of 10th century. There is in fact another Bulgarian copy from 14th century (Institute of Church History and Archives, Sofia, ms. 1160) that represents a later redaction of the same translation.[44] The *Pandects of Nikon Maurorites (of the Black Mountain*) is a compilation for monastic use of different rules of the Holy Fathers of the Church, canons of Church councils, homiletic works and others—all put together by Nikon Maurorites, an Antiochian jurist, monk and writer, who was born in Constantinople in 1025 and died between 1100 and 1110 in a monastery near Antioch. The Slavic translation is quite early but there is no scholarly agreement about its origin (Russian or Bulgarian), not even about the existence of one or two translations.[45] The work was known among both Eastern and Southern Slavs. The *Slavonic Pseudo-Zonaras* (also known as the *Slavonic Nomocanon of Cotelier*) is a Slavic compilation based on (but not identical with) the so-called *Nomocanon Cotelerii*, a compendium of Byzantine law, created in Southern Italy in 12th century, and

edited by the French humanist Jean-Baptiste Cotelier in 1677.[46] After that, it was only reprinted and did not gain much scholarly interest.[47] The Slavic compilation was much more popular than the Greek one and therefore attracted much more scholarly attention.[48] During the Late Middle Ages, this became the most popular Nomocanon among the Orthodox Slavs and the Romanians.

Law in Hungary

The peculiarities of early Hungarian history make the case of law in the Kingdom of Hungary special. Steppe nomads speaking a Finno-Ugrian language, but heavily influenced culturally by the Turkic people, the Magyars established a polity in those parts of Central Europe that were inhabited by Slavs. Under the strong influence of Byzantium and of the Holy Roman Empire, this polity was from the very beginning a melting pot of cultures in the heart of Europe. When emerging ca. 1000, the Kingdom of Hungary adopted and developed the Eastern Roman traditions, which persisted at the local level and even in canon law.[49] Nonetheless, the form of Christianity adopted in Hungary was decisively Western and strong ties were established to the Roman See. Partly because of those conditions, in Hungary lawcodes were promulgated much earlier than in any of the neighboring areas. They survive, in a somewhat confused state, in manuscripts dated to the late 12th century (the earliest), as well as to the 15th and 16th centuries. Because of the manuscript transmission, it is difficult to separate the original part from later additions, and the matter has been vigorously disputed in Hungarian historiography. Much like in Rus', one has to deal with a piecemeal creation of legislation in order to explain the tradition and unity, as well as the diversity of the surviving body of evidence.

The earliest legislation is associated with the name of the founder of the kingdom and its patron saint—Stephen I. Scholars now agree that although parts of that body of law may indeed have been created during his reign, his name was associated with the other parts because of its authority and prestige meant to inspire respect of the law. The Laws of St. Stephen (*Leges Sancti Stephani*) have the general characteristics of contemporary laws adopted elsewhere in Europe at the time of the Christianization and state centralization.[50] A special emphasis in those laws is placed on the protection of the body, the power and the goods of the king. However, in Hungary, the greatest emphasis is on the Christianization of the country. In addition to penal rules pertaining to murder and other transgressions, there are laws forbidding pagan rituals and promoting the Christian ones instead; regulations regarding marriage, sexual behavior, outward appearance (i.e., hairstyle), magic and the persecution of witches.

After Stephen I, the 11th-century Arpadian kings of Hungary continued his legislative work. Their laws were in fact legal acts adopted at special assemblies, in which both clergy and laymen participated. Those assemblies were summoned and presided by kings. That churchmen were involved to such an extent is a clear indication of the strong influence of the Christian normative system. In that respect, Hungary is not different from its neighbors. Nonetheless, it is just as difficult to disentangle the original legislation of Stephen's successors from later additions to their laws.[51] For example, the laws said to be of Ladislas I (1077–1095) are preserved in three legal manuscripts dated to the 15th and 16th centuries. The first manuscript contains the decisions of the Synod of Szabolcs (1092) with later additions concerning ecclesiastical matters. The second manuscript is not dated, and the third includes legislation that has in fact been attributed to Ladislas' predecessors—Solomon (1063–1074) and Géza I (1074–1077). Moreover, scholars disagree on the date of the first Synod of Esztergom,

whether under Ladislas or under his son, Coloman, in the early 12th century. The lawcode attributed to the latter king was probably compiled in 1104, but the earliest manuscripts are from the 15th and 16th centuries. In other words, it is likely that the compilations in their current form were done later, through a piecemeal process under an obvious influence of German law. This body of law includes dispositions related to ecclesiastical and state matters, property, taxation, crimes and social relations.

Justice was the prerogative and duty of the king, who acted as supreme judge in legislative sessions, but usually delegated his powers to the count palatine (*nádor*), first occasionally, then permanently after King Stephen II.[52] At a local level, judicial powers rested with the count (*ispán*). Much of the judicial procedures was oral in the late 12th century, despite the existence of written lawcodes. A judge could appoint a bailiff, who could simultaneously act as a lawyer (*pristaldus*, *poroszló*), and therefore played an important role after the introduction of the written procedures and of charters in the 12th century.

Hungary is the best illustration in the whole of East Central Europe of a state growing alongside its law system. The latter was initially strongly influenced by Byzantium, later by the Holy Roman Empire. After the conquest of Croatia, Hungarian kings added many elements of the local legislation to the existing body of law.[53] Conversely, the incorporation of Croatia into the Kingdom of Hungary accelerated the replacement of customary law with written norms.

Law in Bohemia and Poland

Much like elsewhere in the Slavic-speaking world at that time, the transition from tribal to the state-organized society in Bohemia and Poland involved major changes in law. Those changes may be best described as a transition from the custom to the customary law. In that respect, the situation was not different from that in Hungary or in Bulgaria. However, much like in the latter case, no codification of customary law is known. Like in Hungary, one of the most important influences on the local development of law was that of Roman law that came together with the conversion to Christianity. In addition, Frankish and then German influence is pervasive, although one can also detect Byzantine elements going back to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. The whole body of law produced in Moravia in the 9th is part of the law tradition of the Western, as much as of the Southern Slavs. Prior to the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin, East Central Europe was a contact zone between East and West, which may explain the original synthesis of distinct legal traditions.

The first information about legislative activity in Bohemia concerns the so-called Decrees of Břetislav, who was duke between 1034 and 1055, and is credited with the incorporation of Moravia into the duchy, as well as the temporary inclusion of territories now in Poland and Slovakia. During the campaign in Poland, when he reached Gniezno, Břetislav took the relics of Saint Adalbert and brought them to Prague, a political decision meant to restore the former bishop of Prague to his people.[54] The information about the Decrees of Břetislav comes from the *Chronicle of the Czechs* written much later, in the early 12th century by Cosmas of Prague. According to Cosmas, the duke proclaimed his decrees over the relics of Saint Adalbert, whom he called to be a guarantor and guardian of the Christian faith. His decrees therefore focus on serious breaches of Christian values and traditions, in addition to matters pertaining to the family, homicides, drinking and other issues.[55] This is by now a familiar scenario pertaining to the strengthening of the central power by means of the reinforcement of the religious practices and Christian values through the high authority of a holy figure, like that of St. Adalbert. In other words, the consolidation of the state is directly associated with the consolidation of Christianity, with law as its instrument.

While the Decrees of Břetislav are understandably the subject of scholarly disputes and disagreements, the first written legislation in Bohemia is not—the Statutes of Conrad II Otto, Margrave of Moravia (1182–1189) and Duke of Bohemia (1189–1191), promulgated in 1189.[56] Without any doubt, this is a step toward codification, but its subject is not Czech customary law. Instead, the Statutes were largely influenced by the Moravian tradition and, more importantly, by Roman law. In fact, the Statutes bear many features of earlier bodies of law[57]: the right to vengeance was kept in Bohemia until that period; there were regular assemblies of the rulers and people (noblemen), and law-giving was within their purview[58]; there were also smaller local assemblies; justice was distributed by the duke and his dignitaries. Some regarded the Statutes as putting an end to the traditional, patriarchal power of the duke, since the text mentions assemblies (*colloquia*) in which the ruler participated, but did not have a position superior to that of the nobility.[59] The duke was undoubtedly the supreme judge, but in Bohemia there were regular assemblies that introduced new pieces of legislation. Usually, the duke intervened only in those case that involved high dignitaries (nobles, clergymen), and that took place in the *Curia ducis*. Even then, his legal pronouncements were in the presence of the nobility. For lesser cases, a judge of the ducal court (*iudex curiae*) was appointed, while at a local level, justice was distributed by local administrators or governors of the ducal domains. During the later period of the Přemyslid dynasty, some rulers issued charters for groups of population with special privileges. Perhaps the most significant documents of that category are urban charters, because they allowed the creation of special urban law for cities benefitting from the ducal grants.

Assemblies (*colloquia*, *wiece*) are also known for the Polish lands, but there was no attempt at legal codification.[60] Customs of local communities persisted until quite late and that seems to have been an obstacle for the legal unification of the country, even within the framework of the realm of a single dynasty, that of the Piasts. The earliest information about the Polish ducal law cannot be dated before ca. 1200. Even during the 13th century, that law was in fact a set of rules concerning some fiscal obligations of the subjects. Much more significant in Poland were ecclesiastical rules, regulations and dispositions all of which came from Rome together with canon law, before being guaranteed and reinforced by ducal charters and privileges. Much like in Bohemia, dukes also issued charters in favor of urban communities, who received the right to create their own specific system of urban law and to have their own courts.

An aspect to which historians do not seem to have paid sufficient attention is the common development of law in Poland and Bohemia. After all, there is a strong association between Gniezno and the Decrees of Břetislav. However, there has been so far no attempt to draw comparisons between the influence of Roman and German law on Bohemia and Poland, respectively.

An attempt at generalization

At the beginning of this chapter, I took into consideration the conceptual distinction between sources of law and sources of legal history. The emergence of law is a cultural phenomenon directly linked to state formation and consolidation. Law did not simply appear in vacuum: the normative system in fact replaced the previous customary, religious or tribal rules, prescriptions and restrictions. The main difference from the pre-law situation is the existence of state institutions, which intervened to guarantee and to enforce the rules. From that perspective, the question of the sources of law—legislation, custom, cases and treatises—may be rephrased. At the beginning of any legal system, all those sources are essentially

stories.[61] The legislation is a mythical story, and the myth itself, upon which it is based is pure story (of creation). The custom incorporates stories of the tradition, while cases are stories about resolutions. Finally, the treatise is a story about agreement (*concordia*). In short, the rules derive from these stories while providing a framework for order. They are known because of the story carriers and transmitters—the sources of legal history. So, in a way, stories are everywhere in the source material for legal history: in the accounts about the (mystified) lawcode of Khan Krum; in the origin of the Decrees of Břetislav; in how the *Zakon russkii* came into being; and so forth. That is why the early sources of legal history are all narrative.

The observations above apply to all the countries in Central and Eastern Europe during the early period of their history. This chapter looked, however, at the whole period of development until the early 14th century. Stories may work as sources of law in the initial phase, because of the persistence of traditions. However, in all cases discussed here, those societies were not isolated, but under considerable influence from much more developed polities in the vicinity. In Southeastern and Eastern Europe, the most important influence came from Constantinople. It was so robust as to turn written law entirely or almost entirely into Byzantine law. To some extent, the same is true for the Frankish and German influence in East Central Europe, where, however, the most important influence came from the Holy See of Rome.

All countries in Eastern Europe have in common a direct and strong association between the emergence and growth of law, on the one hand, and Christianization, on the other hand. Even outside influences, from Byzantium or from Rome, did not alter that association. Moreover, in Central (more than in Southeastern and Eastern) Europe, a synthesis is apparent, a meeting of different influences, and a common tradition ultimately resulting from the mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the celestial protectors of Europe.

Notes

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25
HISTORY WRITING

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By AD 1000, most polities in East-Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe were Christianized, and recipients either of the Western Latin or of the Byzantine Greek written tradition.[2] Moreover, the Byzantine tradition was the cradle of the Old Church Slavonic alphabet and literature which played an exclusive, cultural role in many lands of Slavic-speaking peoples. In Khazaria and Volga Bulgharia, elites adopted Judaism and Islam, respectively, and with that came the practice of maintaining historical memory on the basis of Hebrew and Arabic scripts and literatures.

All those traditions suggested their own models of historical writing, which included both retrospective accounts of the past and records of contemporary events. In the Christian context, the model *par excellence* was the Bible although classical, patristic, and early medieval historiographic models were also used. An early emergence of historical writing was facilitated by the importance of historicism for Jewish, Christian, and Islamic theology and by the importance of precise calendar dates for rituals in all Abrahamic religions. Apart from that, the newly converted entities had their own, prewritten forms of historical memory, mostly oral traditions, some of which included *origo gentis* legends.[3] Instead of being obliterated at the moment of the conversion to Christianity, Judaism, or Islam, those traditions were incorporated into the incipient historiography.[4]

The oldest tradition of historical writing in Eastern Europe is that of the Byzantine cities of Crimea—Cherson (now Sevastopol), Sugdaia (now Sudak), and Bosporos (now Kerch). The *Lives* of bishops of Cherson, of St. John of Gothia, and of St. Stephen of Sugdaia were composed in the 6th to 9th centuries and appear in 10th- to 16th-century manuscripts in various versions (Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Old Church Slavonic).[5] All those texts contain original narratives about local historical events, especially the deeds of churchmen, political figures, and members of the urban communities. In addition, chapter 53 in Constantine Porphyorgenitus's *De Adminstrando Imperio* (written in the mid-10th century) retells five stories about Cherson—four about wars that the Chersonites fought and a legendary story of a maiden called Gykia, who saved the city.[6] The heading of the chapter ("The history of the city of Cherson") suggests that the information was from a native source,[7] the central topic of which was the rivalry between the Chersonites and the Bosporians.[8]

No historiography proper survives from Great Moravia, but the Old Church Slavonic *vitae* of Sts. Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius may be regarded as historiographical in some

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respects. The *Life of Constantine* was composed shortly after the death of the protagonist by an informed contemporary author, while the *Life of Methodius* was written by one of his disciples *c.* 885–886.[9] The *Lives* report the biographical details of the two brothers—their family, upbringing, Constantine's career in Constantinople, and episodes of Methodius's service as *archon* and his monastic life. Constantine's diplomatic missions to the Caliphate, to Khazaria, and to Great Moravia are described especially in detail. The central theme of the *Life of Constantine* is his disputes with Muslims in Baghdad, with followers of Judaism in Khazaria, with pagans in Moravia, and with the advocates of the so-called three sacred languages in Rome.[10] Both *Lives* are full of references to written documents, such as diplomatic letters and ecclesiastical decrees. The mission of the two brothers to Great Moravia, the creation of the Slavonic alphabet (most probably, Glagolitic) and the Slavonic liturgy, as well as the following defense of the "Slavonic letters," "Slavonic books," and "Slavonic liturgy" are central themes. This is true for other early texts belonging to the tradition of Sts. Constantine/Cyril and Methodius, which became integral part of the Bulgarian and Rus' historical writing.[11]

Bulgaria

In early medieval Bulgaria, the earliest attempts at historical writing took the form of monumental inscriptions and graffiti. The 8th- to 10th-century rulers of Bulgaria ordered their deeds to be (literally) carved in stone, much like the deaths of some of their prominent noblemen, treaties, or descriptions of boundaries. The Bulgar epigraphy is multilingual (Greek, Slavonic, Turkic) using the Greek, Glagolitic, and Cyrillic alphabets, as well as Turkic runes. Most surviving inscriptions are in Greek, using the Greek alphabet.[12] Even a few, short, inscriptions in a Turkic (supposedly Bulgar) language employ Greek letters. Beginning with the reign of Symeon the Great (893–927), most inscriptions were written in Old Church Slavonic using either the Glagolitic or, much more often, the Cyrillic alphabet.[13] Out of some 100 Bulgar inscriptions, about 30 contain historical information. The group of inscriptions around the rock relief known as the Madara Horseman is an epigraphic chronicle *sui generis*, as it was "updated" by several generations of the Bulgar elite under Tervel, Krum, and Omurtag.[14] The extent inscriptions of Malamir, which are dated to the late 820s and the 830s, report peace and wars with "the Greeks" and mention Malamir's father, Omurtag. The latter is said to have concluded the Thirty Years' Peace with the Byzantines, which the Bulgars have respected, but not "the Greeks." Malamir then lists his victories won together with his *kavkhan*, Isbul. Four inscriptions are records of peace agreements, including the establishment of the boundary between "the Greeks" and "the Bulgars." In another inscription, Malamir describes his possessions: old and new "palaces," a mound at the center of his realm, and the distances between them. There are short inscriptions reporting places of battles, captured (or besieged) fortresses, as well as inventories of arms. A series of inscriptions report deaths of prominent Bulgar noblemen. Thus, the total of the early Bulgarian inscriptions can be regarded as a dispersed "epigraphic chronicle" of the Bulgar rulers. Commemorative inscriptions continued to be put up in the 10th and 11th centuries. For example, the Bitola Inscription of 1014/1015 (which some have dated to c. 1016) commemorates the building of the local fortress by Emperor John Vladislav. This inscription was made on the eve of the conquest of Bulgaria by Emperor Basil II (976–1025). The inscription mentions the family of the Bulgarian emperor, his father's and uncle's victory over "the Greeks" (no doubt an allusion to the victory over Basil II's troops at Stipon in 986), and Samuel's defeat at Kleidon in 1014. The inscription ends with a note on John Vladislav's death on the October 20, 1015.[15] The restoration of the independent Bulgarian state under the rule of the Asenid

dynasty (1185–1256), with its capital in Tărnovo, led to a revival of commemorative inscriptions. The most important is the Tărnovo inscription of John Asen II, which celebrates his victory over Theodore Comnenus Dukas at Klokotnitsa in 1230.[16]

The earliest comprehensive view of the past in Bulgaria appears in a Church Slavonic text known as the *List of Bulgar Khans*, which survives in three Russian manuscripts dated to the 15th and 16th centuries.[17] This is a list of Bulgar rulers with the durations of their reigns or lives. This regnal list, perhaps influenced by biblical genealogies and the Byzantine chronographic tradition, reflects the historical memory of the Bulgarian elite. For example, the *List* mentions the names of Bulgarian lineages to which different rulers belonged as well as Turkic calendar terms. The *List* looks seamless, as it is not possible to identify any strata of composition. At the beginning of the list, first among 12 rulers, are the legendary Avitohol and Irnik, who are said to have lived for 300 and 150 years, respectively.[18] Some of the rulers in the list are known from other sources (Asparukh, Tervel), others cannot be identified (e.g., Umor of the Vokil clan, who is mentioned last). This genealogical sequence of Bulgarian rulers was evidently fabricated: the very genre of regnal lists forced the unification of scattered genealogical myths.[19] The date of the *List* remains uncertain. Many prefer an early date between ca. 700 and ca. 900. Others believe that it was written later, shortly before or after 900. Some even suspect this text to be an Old Church Slavonic translation of a monumental inscription in Turkic runes or Greek letters although the original text could just as well have been written in Old Church Slavonic. All those interpretations are highly speculative, but it is likely that the *List* is not the translation of an inscription, but an original composition by a learned author.

A group of learned churchmen was busy in late 9th- and 10th-century Bulgaria translating works from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. Among the resulting translations were also several pieces of history writing, such as the chronicles of Theophanes Confessor or John Malalas. Short historical notes were included into the colophon of the collection of Athanasius of Alexandria's sermons against Arians, the Old Church Slavonic translation of which was made by "bishop Constantine of Bulgaria." The colophon, written by "Tudor monk Doksov" in 907 (extant in ten 15th- to 18th-century copies), lists several events, such as the death of Boris-Michael and the baptism of the Bulgars by that ruler.[20] Boris and his deeds are also mentioned in the prologue of a hagiographic text entitled *Tale of the Iron Cross*, which was also written by a monk (named Christodoulos) under Emperor Symeon.[21]

At some point after the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, an unknown author composed a text entitled the *Tale of Prophet Isaiah*, to which some scholars now refer as the *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle*. This text survives in a single, 17th-century manuscript from Kičevo (Macedonia) and has therefore been the subject of some debates regarding the date of the composition.[22] The *Tale* mixes biblical, apocryphal, folklore, and pseudohistorical elements with vague memories of real events. Prophet Isaiah, being taken by an angel to the seventh heathen, listens to God's voice telling him about the past and future of the Bulgarians. A succession of emperors is included in the narrative, both Bulgarian and Roman, some mythical (Slav, Ispor, Izot), others real historical figures (Constantine the Great, Basil [possibly II], Constantine VII, Boris, Symeon, Peter). Peter Delian, the leader of the 1040–1041 uprising in the theme of Bulgaria appears as "Gagan Odelian." The text reflects a "popular" perception of history in the Balkan region: in it Bulgarians and Greeks coexist and interact, and the images of real rulers are integrated into an apocryphal picture of the world. The history of the Bulgarians begins with their arrival (led by Prophet Isaiah, a hint at Moses) into the "Karvuna Land" and continues up to the arrival of the Pechenegs, "offenders and tricksters." A continuation of this text, known as the *Tale of Prophet Isaiah on the Future Years*,

extant in two copies (one from Serbia dated to the 15th century and the other from Bulgaria dated to the 19th century), begins with Gordias, "the 37th emperor." After one more story about Gagan Odelian, the future of Bulgaria is described up to the Second Coming.

No chronicle was written in the Second Bulgarian Empire under the Asenids. However, the *Synodikon of Boril*, a Slavonic compilation based on the Synodikon of Orthodoxy (843) and written on the occasion of an anti-Bogomil synod in Tărnovo summoned by Emperor Boril (1207–1218), includes a list of Bulgarian patriarchs, bishops, and rulers beginning with Boris.[23] The central goal of this historical part was to demonstrate the continuity of the Bulgarian church from Sts. Constantine and Methodius to the early 13th-century in order to create a fictitious genealogical link between the rulers of the First Bulgarian Empire and the Asenids.

Khazaria

The Khazar elite adopted Judaism in the 9th century, if not earlier. There is some evidence that the Khazar kings and officials used the Hebrew language not only for religious but also for diplomatic purposes.[24] In his mid-10th century response to Hasdai ibn Shaprut, the minister of the caliph of Córdoba Abd al Rahman III (929–961), the Khazar king Joseph refers to "our books," to "the pedigree books of our (fore)fathers," and hints at other written records.[25] The *origo gentis* legend retold in the letter is a combination of the literary story about the "sons of Togarmah"[26] and the Khazar's oral genealogical stories. All these indirect indications seem to denote some form of historical writing in 10th-century Khazaria. Another letter, known as the Cambridge Document (extant as a 12th-century copy in the Cairo Genizah), has a different version of Khazar history; this letter was also addressed to Hasdai ibn Shaprut, but was sent from Constantinople by an unknown Jew. Those two letters contain genealogical legends, and narratives of the Khazar conversion to Judaism, as well as of victorious wars of ancient and more recent warlords. Different redactions (reflected in different manuscripts) of King Joseph's letter to Hasdai ibn Shaprut show different lists of his ancestors. However, all versions of his genealogy name his forefather, the first king who adopted Judaism, named Bulan (who may have taken the name Sabriel upon the conversion), as well as Joseph's grandfather, Benjamin, and father, Aaron. After the collapse of Khazaria in the 960s, pieces of those narratives percolated through the literary tradition of learned Jews in the Crimea, in Constantinople, and in the Mediterranean region. The so-called "Khazar Hebrew Correspondence"[27] was mentioned and quoted by Jewish authors during the 11th and 12th centuries, while the oldest codex from Crimea, dated to the 13th century (if not earlier), contains a part of that tradition.[28]

Croatia and Dalmatia

In Croatia, as well as in the neighboring polities of the Adriatic coast and the Western Balkans, no historical writings are known prior to the 12th century. Some have tried to find nonextant histories of Croatia, but without any solid arguments. Charters were issued by local rulers of the region at a relatively early date, e.g., the charter of Trpmir I (ca. 845–864) dated to 852 and its confirmation by his son, Muncimir (ca. 890–910). There is also diplomatic correspondence in the form of letters to and from the popes in Rome, as well as monumental inscriptions mentioning local rulers (Trpmir I). All this suggests that some form of historical memory (or even records) may have indeed been in existence. In two charters for the Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar (issued in 1066/1067 and 1069, respectively),

King Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1074) mentions the deeds of his ancestors, beginning with his great-grandfather, Krešimir III (1000–1030). Whether or not such historical references amount to evidence of a nonextant historical and genealogical record (to which some refer as *Gesta regum banorumque*) remains unknown. Most 9th- to early 12th-century charters are not preserved in the original form, but either in late copies or in historical compilations, which may raise doubts about their authenticity. However, there can be no doubt about the existence of a written culture at the local courts during that time.[29]

The anonymous *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* is known in two main versions—an extended Latin (preserved in two mid-17th century manuscripts) and a shorter Slavonic (Croatian) version.[30] The latter contains bits of information that do not appear in the Latin text. The earliest extant copy of the Croatian version was made in 1546 by Jerolim Kaletić from an exemplar datable between the late 14th and the early 16th century. That nonextant exemplar was translated into Latin in 1510 by Marco Marulić. An early nonextant copy of the Latin version was then translated into Italian by Mauro Orbini, and printed in 1601. The correlations between the Latin and the Croatian versions are currently a matter of debate. Nonetheless, the Latin version appears to be the oldest. The *Chronicle* was written in Duklja (Dioclea, present-day Montenegro) by a priest, perhaps close to an archbishop of Bar. The narrative covers events between the reign of Emperor Anastasius I (who died in 518) and the early years of Emperor Manuel I's reign (1142–1180). Two opinions have been put forward about the date of the *Chronicle*. Some prefer to place its writing in the middle or the second half of the 12th century, others in the late 13th or early 14th century. The latter opinion is based upon the observation that an interest in the past (and its mythologization) arose in the Western Balkans ca. 1300. There is a third group of scholars who maintain that the *Chronicle* is a 16th-century forgery, which was meant to create a long and glorious history for the Slavs.[31] No apodictic arguments have so far been adduced in support of this idea. According to its own author, one of the main sources for the *Chronicle* was a certain *libellus Gothorum* entitled *Regnum Sclavorum*.[32] The unknown author claims to have translated into Latin what had been written "in Slavonic letters." Judging by content and style, the *Chronicle* has three sections. Chapters 1–35 contain a completely unreliable sequence (sometimes, genealogical) of rulers of the Slavs, some of whom have Gothic, others pseudo-Gothic names. Later names are either Slavic or of unknown origin. This section seems to have been based on the *libellus Gothorum*. In chapter 36, the author refers to *librum gestorum* of St. John Vladimir (who died in 1016).[33] This chapter is in fact the earliest piece of hagiography concerning that saint, in which some details may be confirmed through Byzantine sources. Chapters 37–47 report events of the 11th and 12th centuries, with some information confirmed by other sources. In general, however, the *Chronicle* is a compilation of little historical value because it does not seem to rely either on authentic written sources or real historical memory of the local elite.

The *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* was written by Archdeacon Thomas of Split (1200/1–1268), a prominent churchman and politician of Dalmatia. He studied at the University of Bologna, was then notary and canon of the chapter in Split, and was even a candidate for the position of archbishop in that city. Thomas was a learned person with a cosmopolitan, Mediterranean identity. He was active in the affairs of the commune of Split and served as envoy or negotiator. His personal political experience is well reflected in the *History*. Apart from a short introduction dedicated to Dalmatia in Antiquity, the text starts with John of Ravenna, the first archbishop of Salona–Split, who must have lived sometime between the 7th and the 9th centuries. The last event reported in the *History* is the death of Archbishop Roger in 1266, but the text is otherwise full of precise chronological indications. As a rule, they are exact or nearly so. The deeds of the bishops are placed by Thomas into

a relatively wide context of the history of Dalmatia and the neighboring countries such as Italy and Hungary. Thomas was familiar with the official chronicles of Hungary. He was especially interested in the Mongols and their mores (chapters 36–39) and probably used Roger of Torre Maggiore's *Epistle to the Lament upon the Destruction of Hungary by the Tatars* (1244) and John of Plano Carpini's *History of the Mongols* (1247).[34] *Historia Salonitana maior* surviving in late manuscripts (all dated after the early 16th century on) is a text close to Thomas's *History*. Unlike the *History*, *Historia* covers events up to 1185 and is supplemented with documental inserts, such as papal letters, charters, and proceedings of church councils. Moreover, it contains the account of the martyrdom account of St. Domnius, the patron of Split, as well as a story about the death of King Zvonimir in 1089, complete with an epitaph. Some have seen in *Historia* either a "dossier" that Thomas used as a source or even a preliminary draft of his *History*. Others claim that both the *History* and *Historia* go back to a nonextant, earlier text. However, Nada Klaić was most likely right in advancing a 14th- or 15th-century date for *Historia*, a compilation that used Thomas's *History* among many other sources.[35] Unfortunately, such a late date does not clarify the matter of authenticity for many documents therein.

Serbia

Documental writing and literature developed in late 12th- and 13th-century Serbia (Raška) under the Nemanjid dynasty.[36] However, no chronicles or genealogical lists are known in Serbia prior to 1300. Historical memory was accumulated and transmitted through a different genre—hagiography.[37] A number of saints' lives (*vitae*) dedicated to the founder of the dynasty, Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196), and his son, Sava (Rastko, d. 1236),[38] Archbishop of Serbia, were composed in the 13th century by Sava, his brother, King Stephen the First-Crowned (1196–1202, 1203–1227), and an Athonite monk named Domentijan. Besides the requirements of the hagiographical genre, those texts glorified the Nemanjid dynasty and the Kingdom of Serbia, while providing justification for an autocephalous Serbian church.[39]

The two *Lives of St. Simeon*, the monastic name assumed by Stefan Nemanja, were written by his sons—Stefan (the First-Crowned) and Sava.[40] Sava first composed a short note on the tonsuring and death of his father for the *typikon* (rule) of the Karyes hermitage on Mount Athos. In 1208, he wrote an extended historical introduction for the *typikon* of the Monastery of Studenica, which was in fact a *Life* of Stefan Nemanja. This text was preserved in two manuscripts from that monastery, which are dated to 1619 and 1760, respectively. The *Life* contains an overview of the lands ruled by Stefan Nemanja, the duration of his rule, and different periods of his life, as well as of the foundation of monasteries. Several political events, such as the capture of Constantinople by crusaders and inner conflicts in Serbia, are noted.

The *Life of St. Simeon* composed by his other son, Stefan the First-Crowned, survives in three 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts.[41] Stefan wrote this text shortly before he was crowned king (1217), for the Serbian nobility, as a political manifesto. That is why there is a greater emphasis in his *Life* on the struggle for power in Serbia, the military and political achievements, as well as the losses of both Stefans—father and son. Even letters from members of the ruling family are inserted into Stefan's *Life*. In the mid-13th century, Domentijan, Sava's disciple, wrote the *Life of St. Sava*. Shortly after that, ca. 1264, Domentijan wrote a new version of the *Life of St. Simeon*. Finally, on the basis of earlier texts, a monk of the Hilandar Monastery named Teodosije wrote another *Life of St. Sava*, as well as an *Encomium to St. Simeon and St. Sava*, ca. 1300. This continuous tradition of *Lives* may be seen as a chronicle of the Nemanjid dynasty.

Hungary

The Latin written culture emerged in 11th-century Hungary at the same time as documental writing, hagiography, and homiletics. Stephen I, the baptizer of Hungary, issued a series of charters (mostly in Latin, but also one in Greek for the convent of the Holy Mother of God in Veszprémvölgy) and two "books of laws." Starting with the middle of the 11th century, private acts of Hungarian noblemen appear, as well as new law codes. The first redaction of the *Legend of King Stephen I* was composed at the time of his canonization ca. 1083.[42] No 11th- or 12th-century Hungarian chronicle is extant, but some have argued that that text may be identified through the study of the 13th- and 15th-century texts. The idea has therefore been put forward that a so-called *Urgesta* was composed between the mid-11th and the early 12th centuries, continued during the 12th century, and was fragmentarily reflected in later compilations.[43]

The earliest extant historiographical work is *Gesta Hungarorum* by an unknown notary of a king named Béla, who called himself "Master P."[44] The text survives in a single, mid-13th century manuscript. The king in question must be Béla III (1172–1196), who is called "of fond memory," so the text must have been written at some point during the first three decades of the 13th century. The nature of this work makes it difficult to classify by genre: this is a mixture of chronicle and romance. Indeed, both the *Chronicon* of Regino of Prüm and *De excidio Troiae historia* attributed to Dares Phrygis were among the most important sources of Master P.[45] The initial part of the *Gesta* contains several dates taken from Regino, often amended or corrupted. The text starts from a mythical prehistory of the Magyars (their migration from the east), narrates their conquest of the new lands under the leadership of Árpád, and ends with a description of the boundaries of the kingdom. The last event mentioned is the Christianization of Hungary under Stephen I (after 1000/1001). The author certainly knew the Hungarian language, for he offered etymologies of personal and place names, some correct, others mistaken (folk etymologies). Moreover, the narrative of the Magyar *origo gentis* is supposedly based upon authentic oral traditions about the first chieftains, even though there is clear evidence of learned practices, such as the linkage between Magyars and Scythians. To be sure, the tradition about the "seven chiefs of the Magyars" is corroborated by the mid-10th century testimony of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.[46]

The next work of history writing, bearing the same title (*Gesta Hungarorum*), was composed in 1282 by Simon of Kéza, a court cleric of King Ladislas IV (1272–1290).[47] No medieval manuscripts of the work survive, but their existence is mentioned in other sources, and fragments of the *Gesta* were copied in some 14th- and 15th-century compilations. The authenticity of the work is therefore beyond doubt. Simon of Kéza compiled and reworked previously existing material, and it is not always clear how to separate his own text from earlier fragments. He used Master P.'s *Gesta Hungarorum* and a nonextant chronicle by Master Ákos, the chancellor of King Stephen V (1270–1272). Simon developed the idea that the Magyars were descendants of the Huns and that Hungarian rulers were descendants of Attila. The "Hunnic myth" thus became a new version of the Magyar origins, and King Ladislas IV was directly compared with Attila. After a fantastic narrative about Scythians and Huns in the first book, in the second book, Simon narrated the migration of the Magyars to their new homeland. He listed noble lineages and their places of settlement in the new land, as well as the rule of the Christian dynasty of Stephen I's descendants. The chronicler paid special attention to noble families, their services, and domains. He distinguished 108 "purely Hungarian clans" from nobles of foreign origin. This was a rare attempt to write a history not (only) of the ruling dynasty but also of elite families.

A special case is that of the so-called *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, which was composed most likely in the 1230s at the court of Prince Coloman (d. 1241). His widow, Salomea, probably brought the *Chronicle* to Poland where it survives in two late but reliable manuscripts.[48] The text drew inspiration from Hungarian chronicles, as indicated by the myth of Attila (renamed Aquila) trying to conquer different lands of Europe, but ending with the marriage to a Slavic princess, and the creation of a new Hungarian kingdom. The *Chronicle* also highlights Aquila's descendants up to Stephen I, said to be the son of a Magyar chief named Yesse and of Adelaide, the sister of the Polish prince, Miezsko I, who ruled in Cracow. After that, there is a history of St. Stephen, the king of Hungary, and of his relics; Stephen appears as a figure uniting the Polish and the Hungarian dynasties. This is an interesting and rare example of a work of history writing involving two separate countries.[49]

The only pre-1300 annals known to have been composed in Hungary are those of Bratislava (*Annales Posonienses*), which are preserved in a 12th-century manuscript known as the Pray Codex, a compilation including a missal, an Eastern mystery play, legal texts, and a funeral sermon in Hungarian.[50] The first and the main part of those annals consists of brief notes on political and ecclesiastical events of general importance from 997 (the martyrdom of St. Adalbert of Prague) and 998 (the death of *princeps* Géza) to 1187 (in fact 1177). The Annals of Bratislava are therefore based most likely upon a late 12th-century annalistic work, which is now lost. The second part of the Annals contains notes on local ecclesiastical events, a list of the kings of Hungary (indicating durations of reigns), and a note on the consecration of a church in 1228.

Bohemia

Much like in Serbia, history writing started in Bohemia with hagiography. Unlike Serbia, however, those lives were of royal martyrs—Duke Wenceslas (d. 935) and his grandmother, Ludmila (d. 921). Numerous hagiographic works were produced about them between the mid-10th and the mid-11th centuries, mostly in Latin, although there are also texts in Old Church Slavonic. Precisely which language was used for the earliest text is still a matter of debate. Some important Latin texts were written outside Bohemia, in Italy and perhaps in Bavaria, but all others were of local production. Because of the great significance of both Wenceslas and Ludmila for the bishopric of Prague (founded in 973) and for Bohemia, in general, the *vitae* of the two royal saints became the earliest form of historical reflection.[51] For example, many of those texts refer to earlier rulers (Bořivoj, Spytihněv, and Vratislav), speak of their piety, and point to the first Christian ruler of the Czechs (Bořivoj or Spytihněv, depending upon the text). The most elaborate of those "historical introductions" may be found in *Legenda Christiani*, a Latin *vita* of St. Wenceslas and Ludmila most likely composed in 992–994 by a local author who called himself "Christian," probably on commission from the second bishop of Prague, the future St. Adalbert.[52] Although long suspected to be a later forgery, *Legenda* is now regarded as a genuine text of early origin.[53] *Legenda* briefly reports the conversion of Great Moravia, the activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the savage life and paganism of the Czechs, the foundation of Prague and the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty, the baptism of Bořivoj by St. Methodius, and the other Christian predecessors of St. Wenceslas. This "historical introduction" is the earliest attempt to write down a coherent history of the Czechs, including aspects of their pagan prehistory and the myth of Přemysl, the founder of the dynasty.

Annalistic writing probably started in Bohemia by the mid-11th century. A nonextant text known as the Annals of Prague or Old Czech Annals was a likely source for Cosmas

of Prague as well as for several later compilations.[54] From that moment onward, the Czech historiography was mainly annalistic in form.

By far the most important work of history writing in medieval Bohemia is the *Chronicle of the Czechs* written by Cosmas of Prague.[55] Cosmas (d. 1125) was born in Prague, studied in Liège, and returned to Prague ca. 1091 to become a canon of the cathedral chapter. In 1099, he was consecrated priest and then became dean of the cathedral chapter, an important position in the church after the bishop of Prague. Cosmas started to write his *Chronicle* no later than 1119–1120 and continued until his death. In fact, that event is mentioned in the last sentence as taking place on October 12, 1125; the last date mentioned in the chronicle by Cosmas himself is May 23, 1125.[56] The *Chronicle* consists of three books. The first comprises the nonannalistic narrative of the prehistory of the Czechs and the annals for 894–1038. To Cosmas, the year 894 is a boundary between the "ancient times" for which the reader must judge by himself whether the things reported "are fact or fiction," and those matters "which the true report of the faithful recommends."[57] The entry for that year concerns Bořivoj, his sons, and grandsons. The next entry is 929, beginning with which year, entries follow each other without interruption (with "barren annals" indicated). The second book covers the years 1039–1093, while the third book reports in detail the events of 1094–1125. The text consists basically of a history of the Přemyslid rulers and of the bishops of Prague. Cosmas' sources included oral traditions, Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon* and its continuation, the Annals of Prague, and works of hagiography. However, Cosmas only briefly reports the baptism of Bořivoj**,** the martyrdom of St. Wenceslas and that of St. Adalbert, referring sometimes to other texts in which the reader could find those stories.[58] Cosmas' *Chronicle* is an outstanding piece of Latin literature. Some portions of the text are in rhymed prose, others in verse. Cosmas was a learned writer: he used extensively the Bible and classical authors, either quoting verbatim or paraphrasing. For example, his story of Přemysl and Libuše (that is, of the foundation of the dynasty) is based upon oral traditions, and, at the same time, uses biblical and classical models.[59] He wrote at a time of crisis and therefore wanted to show "his contemporaries how glorious and strong the Czech people were in the time of their ancestors and what mistakes were to be avoided so that the land can flourish once again."[60] He was concerned with the continuity of the dynasty as well as with the preservation of the rights and properties of the church.[61]

Fifteen manuscripts of Cosmas' *Chronicle* are known, some of which contain annalistic continuations. The first continuator was an anonymous canon from Vyšehrad, who described the events of 1112–1142 in Cosmas' style. This work is known in five 14th- to 16th-century manuscripts, four of which contain a further ("second") continuation by various authors, presumably canons of Prague, up to 1283. Two sections of those annals are especially notable as pieces of Latin literature: the elaborate accounts of the reign of Přemysl Otakar II (1254–1278) and of the subsequent time of troubles (1278–1283). The "second continuation" ends with an overview of the beginnings of the Přemyslid dynasty and a list of 37 rulers of Bohemia. Another continuator of Cosmas was an anonymous monk of the Sázava Abbey, who wrote in the 1170s. He created a new version of Cosmas's *Chronicle* supplemented with material on the Benedictine house in Sázava and continued it up to 1162, mostly reporting local affairs. This work is extant in a manuscript dated to ca. 1200.[62]

More annalistic texts were composed in the 12th and 13th centuries in various religious houses of Bohemia. The annals of Canon Vincent of Prague cover the years 1140 to 1167 and are best described as *gesta* of King Vladislav II (1140–1172). The continuation of that work by Abbot Jarloch of Milevsko covers the years 1167 to 1198. The *Annals of Hradisko and Opatovice* were written in the 1140s in the abbey of Hradisko near Olomouc. In the 1160s, they

were supplemented and continued in Opatovice near Brno. They cover universal as well as local history from Alexander the Great up to 1163. Very brief are the Annals of Prague for 894–1193, with a continuation for 1216–1220, and the Bohemian Annals for 725–1163. The *Chronicle of the Monastery of Žďár nad Sázavou* was written in verse in 1300 by a monk of that house named Jindřich Řezbář.[63]

Poland

Almost all genres of the medieval Latin historiography are attested in Poland.[64] The earliest form of history writing were brief annals.[65] The initial parts of those annals are based on German and Czech sources, which are continued with notes on Polish events. It is quite possible that the earliest annalistic notes were made in Poland under Mieszko I (ca. 960–992). Later, annals begin their reports with the baptism of Mieszko (966, sometimes 964 or 965), his marriage to Doubravka, and the birth of their son, Bolesław. At any rate, there is no doubt about annalistic records during the first half of the 11th century. The *Old Annals of the Monastery of the Holy Cross* (so called after the Benedictine abbey of Święty Krzyż, on the Łysa Góra peak of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, where the annals were found) survive in a single manuscript dated to the first half of the 12th century, a collection of apostolic letters, with the last two pages containing the annals for the years 948–1136. Blank years are indicated, and dates are already written for future events as well. Few notes are dedicated to ecclesiastical events: the compiler was mostly interested in births, weddings, coronations, wars, and deaths of rulers. The *Annals of the Chapter in Cracow* are extant in a late 13th-century manuscript and report events from 965 to 1283. They reflect annals kept in Cracow from the 11th century. More annalistic compilations were composed in Cracow, Wrocław, and other cities during the 13th and 14th centuries. They were based upon earlier annalistic records and upon excerpts from more extended historiographical works. In Poland, annals continued to be updated and copied well into the 15th and even 16th century. Lists of hierarchs were a less popular form of minor historiography. However, the 13th-century manuscript of the *Annals of the Chapter in Cracow* also contains a list of the local bishops, which initially ended with Bishop Prandota (1242–1266), but was later updated by another scribe.

Extended historical narratives begin with the work of an anonymous author of foreign origin and continue with Vincent Kadłubek, a Pole educated in Western Europe. No surprise, therefore, that the vision of history and the methods of historical inquiry and writing employed by those two authors were heavily influenced by West-European Latin historiography. Despite the popularity of the annalistic genre in Poland, neither one of those two writers had any interest in chronology. They must have used the annals as a source of information, but, as a rule, they rarely, if ever, include dates in their works.

The *Deeds of Dukes or Princes of the Poles* was written at some point between 1112 and 1113 and 1117 and 1118.[66] The work consists of three books, but the third, which is dedicated to the events of 1109–1113, was never finished. The work is written in rhythmic prose, with some verse fragments. The text survives in three manuscripts, of which one is a copy of another, and the third is damaged and incomplete. The oldest and the best manuscript is dated to 1380–1392. The author of the *Deeds* is known by the conventional name, Gallus Anonymus, which was introduced by Marcin Kromer in 1555, most likely as his own invention. However, it is obvious from the text that the author was a foreigner, who did not mention his name out of humility. He called himself an "exile and foreigner" at the court of Bolesław III (1102–1138) and wanted to pay back for Bolesław's hospitality and protection through his literary labor.[67] All ideas advanced by modern scholars about the (ethnic)

origin of the unknown author are no more than conjectures. One only can note that he was interested in Hungary and had some knowledge of that country. In any case, he was not a Pole, and he was familiar with the contemporary trends in the West European historiography. He apparently wanted his work to be read in "schools and palaces," but addressed his patron Martin, Archbishop of Gniezno, and other leading churchmen in the prefaces to his three books.[68] His second patron (perhaps, the person who commissioned the work) was chancellor Michał Awdaniec, whom the chronicler calls *opifex* and *cooperator.* In any case, the *Deeds* express the interests and views of the Polish nobility. The author was familiar with the dynastic memory of the Piasts and may have known Polish (or a Slavic language), as indicated by correct Slavic lexemes and etymologies in the text. At the center of the *Deeds* is the history of the Piasts, with Poland as their hereditary possession. Within that, the focus is on the biography and deeds of Bolesław III the Wrymouth (1107–1138). The unknown author knew well and used extensively such authors as Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. He also made use of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and of Bruno of Querfurt's *Life of St. Adalbert of Prague*. At the same time, he was familiar with the oral traditions of the Polish nobility, especially with *origo gentis* legends. The latter seem to have been particularly important for his lay and perhaps ecclesiastical patrons.

Vincent Kadłubek, Bishop of Cracow (1208–1218), composed his *Chronicle* at some point between 1202 and 1223.[69] He studied in France or Italy, maybe in a university or in a Cistercian monastery. In 1208, he became bishop of Cracow, but resigned a decade later, and entered the Cistercian house of Jędrzejów, where he died in 1223. The *Chronicle* was very popular, judging by no less than 29 extant manuscripts dated between the 14th and the 17th century. The narrative starts with such legendary characters as "Graccus" (a Latin version of Krak, the eponymous founder of Cracow) and his daughter, Vanda (matched by consonance with the Vandals), and ends with the events of 1202. Classical authors are extensively used in the form of quotations, allusions, or stylization. Vincent knew and used the *Deeds* of Gallus Anonymus and Polish annals, but he never explicitly referred to any of those sources. His *Chronicle* has four books, of which the first three are composed in a form of a dialogue between Archbishop John of Gniezno (1149–1167) and Bishop Matthew of Cracow (1143–1166), who discuss events of the Polish history and compare them with examples from Antiquity. According to Vincent, the Poles were descendants of the Gauls and thus entitled to their own prehistory. Unlike Gallus, Vincent brings the Piasts from Cracow, not Gniezno. In relation to the death of Bolesław III in 1138, Vincent mentions that the land of Cracow became the possession of Bolesław's eldest son, who was the supreme ruler of Poland. Vincent is the first author to refer to the conflict between Stanisław, Bishop of Cracow, and Bolesław II. His account therefore became the key source for the two *Lives of St. Stanislaus* composed in ca. 1250 and in 1257–1261, respectively. The fourth book covers the events of 1173–1202, and its preface reveals the name of the author. Throughout this last book, Vincent writes as a contemporary, sometimes as an eyewitness.

Rus'

Rus' historical writing, all in Old Church Slavonic, consists primarily of a genre known as *letopis'* (*letopisi* in the plural), a term translated as both "chronicle" and "annals." The basic feature of this genre is the annalistic framework—consecutive yearly entries (all dates given *anno mundi*, with some years left blank or "empty"). *Letopisi* are almost entirely anonymous. Prior to 1300, only four or five names of annalists are known: Vasilii of ca. 1100, Abbot Silvestr active in 1116, Sexton Timofei in the 13th century, a monk named Lavrentii active

in 1377, and, perhaps, a monk named Nestor of ca. 1100. Silvester and Lavrentii wrote colophons; Vasilii and Timofei mentioned themselves in the text; and Nestor is mentioned as an annalist in later works. Some other names can be deduced (with various degrees of certainty) from other data. *Letopisi* were a continuous tradition more than a (finite) number of texts. In many cases surviving texts share an early section and then diverge. Each extant manuscript of Rus' annals contains a text which is in fact the result of the activity of many scribes composing original records, revising earlier entries, and adding material and glosses. The only extant, pre-1300 manuscript of Rus' annals is the so-called Synodal manuscript of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle*, the first part of which ends with 1234 and was probably written shortly after that date (the second part being almost a century younger, written ca. 1330). The second oldest manuscript is the *Laurentian Chronicle* of 1377. All other manuscripts postdate the year 1400.[70]

In spite of the relatively late dates of the extant manuscripts, there can be little doubt that annalistic writing emerged in Rus' in the 11th century. The earliest stages of Rus' historiography have been (and still are) a subject of much debate. Many scholars agree that earliest narrative (known as the *Oldest Tale*, or the "nucleus") was not an annalistic account, but a coherent narrative concerned with the rise of the Rus' state and of the Rurikid dynasty. However, the dates advanced for that hypothetical text vary between the 990s to the 1070s, with most scholars favoring a mid-11th century date.[71] Also, it is almost certain that brief annalistic notes were kept in Kiev as early as the first half of the 11th century, for some of the dates appear to be correct when compared with earlier, foreign sources.[72] It appears that during the second half of the 11th century, the monks of the Cave Monastery near Kiev combined those two traditions—the *Oldest Tale* and the early annals—and thus created the genre of the *letopisi*.

The first text that is by no means hypothetical is the *Primary Chronicle* (its original Slavonic title, *Povest' vremennykh let*, is most commonly, but probably mistakenly, translated as the *Tale of Bygone Years*).[73] Some of the earliest manuscripts of Rus' annals contain a common text up to the 1110s, after which they diverge. This common text must be regarded as a chronicle composed in Kiev in the 1110s (probably in two or three stages, known as "redactions" of the *Primary Chronicle*).[74] The *Primary Chronicle* has an annalistic framework, except for the initial section, which describes the settlement of peoples after the Flood, the customs of the Slavic tribes, and the foundation of Kiev. The yearly entries from 6360 [852] to 6618 [1110] form a continuous chain although there are numerous "barren" entries, especially for the 9th and the 10th centuries. The entries for the 9th, the 10th, and the first half of the 11th centuries focus on the dynastic history and the conversion of the Rus'. The accounts of that section are based partly on oral tradition and partly on Byzantine sources. The entries for the years 907, 911, 944, and 972 contain the texts of treaties between Rus' and Byzantium, most likely translations from Greek texts in a Byzantine cartulary. The annals for the second half of the 11th and the early 12th century look more as a contemporary chronicle. They contain numerous precise dates and notes on quite different kinds of occasions (such as building of churches or natural phenomena) although political and military matters still remain central.

The initial section of the Younger Version of the *First Novgorodian Chronicle* (extant in two mid-15th century manuscripts) is akin to the *Primary Chronicle*, but far from identical. The Novgorodian text probably reflects an earlier stage of the text formation of the *Primary Chronicle*, so-called *Initial Compilation* of the 1090s.[75] In any case, the *Primary Chronicle* is not a completely original work, but a result of gradual development, which most probably started about the mid-11th century although the role of the scribe who created the *Primary Chronicle* as the final text should not be underestimated.

After the *Primary Chronicle*, annals were kept in different towns of Rus', as the country became politically fragmented. The *Hypatian Chronicle* contains, after the 1110s, the so-called *Kievan Chronicle* (a continuation of the *Primary Chronicle* composed ca. 1200, being in fact a compilation of 12th-century records made in Kiev and other cities, much material being composed by the compiler himself) and the so-called *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The latter text, covering almost all of the 13th century, did not originally have an annalistic framework, but described the deeds of the 13th-century rulers of southwestern Rus' in a narrative format. The *Laurentian Chronicle* as well as some other extant texts reflect the annals of the northeastern Rus, which beginning with the mid-12th century were kept in Rostov and/or Vladimir (in the late 13th century also in Tver). The *First Novgorodian Chronicle* reflects the archiepiscopal annals of Novgorod kept systematically from the 1110s to the 15th century. Novgorodian *letopisi* have typically shorter entries than Kievan *letopisi*. The former are interested in the inner politics of the city, the changes of city magistrates, and the building of churches, while the latter are largely concerned with the Rurikid princes and their conflicts. A characteristic feature of the *Kievan Chronicle* from the 1140s is the introduction of princely diplomatic "messages" in the form of speeches delivered by envoys. Whether transcripts of real messages (oral or written) or just imitations, those "messages" are a rich material for the study of the political culture of the Rurikids. The annals of the Northeast for the reigns of Andrei Bogoliubskii (1157–1174) and Vsevolod the Big Nest (1177–1212) are immoderate in their praising local princes, but otherwise similar to the annals of Kiev and Novgorod.

The annalistic traditions of various cities sometimes interacted (with texts being borrowed), but often were kept completely independent. The Rus' annals provide several instructive cases of two or three independent descriptions of the same event, reflecting different sides of a conflict, and often, it is not easy to reconcile the facts that those texts report.[76] Most annalists reserve judgment and do not comment on the events, except in a moral or providential tone. However, some annalists act almost like modern historians when comparing different sets of data. A good example is the annalist insisting that Prince Vladimir was baptized in "Korsun" (Cherson, in Crimea), and not in Kiev, or in Vasilev, or elsewhere, as "those ignorant (people)" say—a clear reference to competing oral traditions.[77]

Although *letopisi* were the basic form of early Rus' historiography, they were not the only one. Lives (*vitae*) of local saints (Boris and Gleb, killed in 1015, Vladimir, the baptizer of Rus, who died in that same year, Antonii and Feodosii, abbots of the Kievan Cave Monastery) were an 11th-century phenomenon. The *Commemoration and Encomium of Prince Vladimir* by a certain monk named Iakov contains an overview of St. Vladimir's deeds as a prince, including his military achievements. The source of this overview is supposed to have been the earliest piece of Rus' historical writing, perhaps written in ca. 1000.[78]

Attempts were also made at writing coherent, nonannalistic historical narratives. Besides the aforementioned *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* and the hypothetical *Oldest Tale*, an interesting example is the *Tale of the Blinding of Vasilko of Terebovl*. Although an entry for 1097 in the *Primary Chronicle*, this text in fact is a narrative covering political events of several years. Similarly, the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, although cast in the mould of the hagiographic genre, is a late 13th-century biography of an outstanding ruler and at the same time his eulogy.[79]

There were also texts dedicated to the history of the world. The Slavonic translations of such works as the *Chronicles* of George Hamartolos and John Malalas, or the *History of the Judaean War* by Flavius Josephus, some made in 10th-century Bulgaria, others later, in Rus', served as a source of information on world history, as well as literary models for early Rus' historiography. The so-called "chronographs" (historical compendia on world history comprising material from the Bible, translated historical works, and some other sources) were

particularly important in Rus'. The earliest manuscripts are dated to ca. 1400, but the genre certainly appeared earlier. Some believe that the earliest chronograph goes back to the late 11th century, and the composition of such texts in the 13th century is beyond doubt.[80]

Historical graffiti (much like other graffiti, in general) are known in Rus' from the mid-11th century onward. The oldest have been found in the St. Sophia Cathedral of Kiev and concern deaths of princes and bishops, natural phenomena, and other occasions. Recent archeological studies of some churches around Novgorod have changed the understanding of this form of elementary historiography. Fragments of plaster with paintings and graffiti have been discovered, and some of those inscriptions report significant events. For example, the most extended Rus' graffito known to date reports the death of Prince Vsevolod in 1138 and was found in the Church of the Annunciation near Novgorod. In some cases, the goal may have been to keep a sort of annals on church walls. This, at least, is the case in the Monastery of St. George near Novgorod, where a series of inscriptions report the deaths of the main officials of Novgorod in the late 12th and the early 13th centuries, and another set of graffiti, all by the same hand, reports various events of the 1160s.[81]

Volga Bulgharia

The mid-12th century traveler and merchant Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnātī, who came all the way from al-Andalus to live in the city of Saqsin (at the mouth of Volga) for several years and probably visited several times the city of Bolgar, mentions that in the latter city, he had read a *History of Bolgar* (*Ta'rīkh Bulghār*) written by the qadi of that city, named Yaʿḳūb b. Nuʿmān al-Bulghārī.[82] According to Abū Ḥāmid, the author of the book (whom he called by nisba "al-Bulghārī") was a follower of the famous 11th-century intellectual Abū al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī. The exact meaning of this remark is not clear, but one can derive from it that the local Bulgar historian belonged to the circle of Muslim intellectuals. Presumably, Abū Ḥāmid quoted from the *History of Bolgar* a legend presenting a folk etymology of the name Bulgar, according to which the Bulgars were converted into Islam by a wise merchant and *faqīh* from Bukhara, as well as the story of the subsequent victory of the Bulgars over the Khazars.[83]

Conclusion

This survey of the historiography of the newly Christianized, Judaized, or Islamized polities of East-Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe shows a variety of genres, from annals (either brief or highly elaborated annals, such as the Rus' *letopisi*), non-annalistic historical narratives (chronicles, "deeds" [*gesta*], or "histories"), hagiographical texts with historical elements (e.g., genealogy, chronology, notes on deeds, and achievements of lay rulers) to lists of lay and ecclesiastical rulers and inscriptions concerning significant events. Equally diverse are the attitudes toward chronology. Byzantine and Bulgarian historians were typically indifferent to dates, while Rus' annalists developed the (sub)genre of *letopisi* completely on the basis of a chronological framework.[84] Cosmas of Prague with his continuators and Archdeacon Thomas of Split elaborated the series of dates in a manner similar to the Rus' annalists, but such attitudes do not appear among authors of historical writings in Hungary. There was a rich annalistic tradition in Poland, but the two most important chroniclers of medieval Poland, Gallus Anonymus and Vincent Kadłubek, were not interested in dates.

There is no synoptic prosopography of the early medieval historians of East-Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe. In fact, the information about them is so incomplete and

uncertain that it is difficult to regard them as a special, "professional group." Those were not people writing history as their main occupation.[85] Most were churchmen, and some, at the same time, were engaged in bureaucratic and/or political affairs. Writing history was done "on the side" to balance ecclesiastical activities and political (i.e., ideological) technology. However, the question of purposes, motifs, or functions of historical writing is a difficult one, and possible answers are many and often based on guesswork.[86]

Not all genres—if the term can in fact be applied to early historiography—appear everywhere. Comparison in that respect may be drawn between Bohemia and Rus'. In both countries, the mainline of the historiographic development was occupied by texts with annalistic structure. Moreover, in both cases, annals were not viewed as finite works of historiography, but as "continuing projects," which directly led to a proliferation of continuators, each with a different content, style, and volume of entries (from very brief annotations to elaborated narratives). By contrast, the dominant genre in Poland and Hungary was that of extended historical works ("chronicles" or *gesta*, often mixed with elements of romance) although annals (always quite brief) coexisted with that dominant genre, without influencing it.

It is also worth noting that key texts summarizing the past of the state and the dynasty appeared simultaneously in Poland, Bohemia, and Rus' shortly after 1100. To be sure, in Rus' that was probably the final stage of the formation of a text, the composition of which may have started in the mid-11th century. Similarly, the *Urgesta* in Hungary is believed to have been composed during the second half of the 11th or in the early 12th century. Even more interesting is the likely writing of the "History of Bulġār" (with its own version of the Bulghar *origo gentis*) at about the same time, as mentioned by al-Gharnātī. In short, the creation and deployment of "national history" was a typical ingredient of early state formation, irrespective of differences in cultural makeup. In fact, judging by the existing evidence, it seems that every stable polity needed a variant of its history to be written down at some moment.

A common feature of the early historiography of most of the countries discussed in this chapter was the role of hagiographical texts dedicated to local rulers. In some cases, their *vitae* were the earliest (Hungary and Bohemia) or even the main (as in Serbia) form of historical writing.[87] Why that was the case is not yet clear, but a possible explanation involves the interaction of secular and spiritual forms and plots in historical writing. Those connections were natural because of the participation of religious leaders in political life and of rulers and nobles in cult and worship. Even more common was the use of local genealogical and etiological legends. Christian, Jewish, and Islamic proselytizing rulers, their relatives, and their comrades-in-arms could not entirely reject their "pagan past" and heathen ancestors because that legacy was the cornerstone of the ideology of their power. Early history writing (including hagiography) in all countries discussed in this chapter comprises therefore vestiges of indigenous traditions embedded into acquired or newly learned models of history writing.

Notes

1 The authors are grateful to Florin Curta, Jitka Komendová, Viacheslav Kuleshov, and Boris Rashkovskii for advice and assistance.

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East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070–1200), edited by Ildar Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 1–29.

3 Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Slavonic *origines regni*: Hero the law-giver and founder of monarchy (introductory survey of problems)," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 60 (1989), pp. 98–131; Aleksei S. Shchavelev, *Slavianskie legendy o pervyh kniaziah. Sravnitel'no-istoricheskoe issledovanie modelei vlasti u slovian* [The Slavic Legends of the First Princes. A comparative Study on the Models of Power in the Slavic World] (Moscow: Severnyi palomnik, 2007).

4 Alheydis Plassmann, *'Origo gentis'. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006).

5 Marie-France Auzépy, "La Vie de Jean de Gothie (BHG 891)," in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, edited by Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2006), pp. 69–85; Azat Bozoyan, "La Vie arménienne de Saint Etienne de Sougdaia," in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, pp. 87–107; Sergei A. Ivanov, "The Slavonic Life of Saint Stefan of Surozh," in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, pp. 109–67; Iurii M. Mogarichev, Andrei V. Sazanov, Tatevik Sargsian, Sergei B. Sorochan, and Aleksandr K. Shaposhnikov, *Zhitiia episkopov khersonskikh v kontekste istorii Khersonesa Tavricheskogo* [The Lives of the bishops of Cherson in the context of the history of Chersones] (Kharkiv: Antikva, 2012); Iurii M. Mogarichev, Andrei V. Sazanov, Elena V. Stepanova, and Aleksandr K. Shaposhnikov, *Zhitie Stefana Surozhskogo v kontekste istorii Kryma ikonoborcheskogo vremeni* [The Life of Stephen of Sougdaia within the context of Crimean history in the Iconoclastic period] (Simferopol: AntikvA, 2009), pp. 11–103 and 193–230; Iurii M. Mogarichev, Andrei V. Sazanov, and Aleksandr K. Shaposhnikov, *Zhitie Ioanna Gotskogo v kontekste istorii Kryma 'khazarskogo perioda'* [The Life of John of Gothia within the context of Crimean history in the "Khazar period") (Simferopol: AntikvA, 2007], pp. 5–29, 192–213, and 255–73.

6 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, edited by Gyula Moravcsik and translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies), pp. 259–87; vol. 2, pp. 205–09.

7 *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 259. On the abnormal headings of some chapters in this treatise, see Aleksei Shchavelev, "Treatise *De Administrando Imperio* by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus: date of the *Paris. gr. 2009* copy, years of compiling of the original codex, and a hypothesis about the number of authors," *Studia Ceranea* 9 (2019), 681–704, here 700.

8 See Lubov I. Gratsianskaia, "On the chronology of the ancient Chersonite narratives in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' De administrando imperio 53, 11.1–492," in *The Bosporus. Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st millennium BC–5th century AD). Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, Istanbul, 14th–18th September 2009*, edited by Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Sümer Atasoy, Alexandru Avram, Şevket Dönmez and James Hargrave (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), pp. 269–74; Alex G. Papadopoulos, "Rereading the story of the city of Cherson and the maiden Gykia in *De administrando imperio* as arts of rule narrative," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 31 (2016), 64.

9 For editions and translations, see Petr A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknoveniia drevneishei slavianskoi pis'mennosti* [Materials for the history of the development of the earliest Slavic writings] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1930; reprint The Hague: Mouton, 1966); *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, translated by Martin Kantor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures 1983), pp. 23–138.

10 Mirela Ivanova, "Re-thinking the *Life of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher*," *Slavonic and East European Review* 98 (2020), 434–63.

11 One of the most interesting examples is a tract entitled *On the Letters* written in Bulgaria by a monk named Khrabr in ca. 900. The subject matter is a defense of the Glagolitic letters as better suited for rendering the sounds of Slavonic. The invention is attributed to "St. Constantine the Philosopher, called Cyril"; see Kiril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), p. 65. See also William R. Veder, *Utrum in Alterum Abiturum Erat? A Study of the Beginnings of Text Transmission in Church Slavic. The "Prologue" to the "Gospel Homiliary" by Constantine of Preslav, the Text "On the Script" and the Treatise "On the Letters" by Anonymous Authors* (Bloomington: Slavica, 1999), pp. 158–67.

12 Veselin Beshevliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi* [Old Bulgrian Inscriptions] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1992). For the English translation of some of those inscriptions, see Petkov, *The Voices*, pp. 5–13. Exactly who was the audience of those inscriptions is

currently a matter of some debate, for which see: Mirela Ivanova, "The Madara Horseman and triumphal inscriptions in Krum's early medieval Bulgaria (c. 803–814)," in *Trends and Turning Points. Constructing the Late Antique and Byzantine World*, edited by Matthew Kinloch and Alex MacFarlane (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 166–84.

13 Stefan Smiadovski, *Bălgarska kirilska epigrafika (IX–XV vek)* [Bulgarian Cyrillic Epigraphy of the 9th–15th centuries] (Sofia: Agata-A SD, 1993).

14 Petkov, *The Voices*, pp. 5–6; Florin Curta, "Qagan, khan or king? Power in early medieval Bulgaria (seventh to ninth century)," *Viator* 37 (2006), 11–15; Ivanova, "The Madara Horseman."

15 Petkov, *The Voices*, p. 39; Stojko Stojkov, "Bitolskata plocha - dilemi i interpretacji" [The Bitola plate: Dilemmas and interpretations], in *Samuilovata drzhava vo istoriskata, voenno-politichkata, dukhovnata i kulturnata traditsiia na Makedoniia*, edited by Iliia Velev and Vasil Djorgiev-Likin (Strumitsa: NU Zavod za zashtita na spomenitsite na kulturata i Muzej, 2015), pp. 80–105.

16 Petkov, *The Voices*, p. 425.

17 Petkov, *The Voices*, pp. 3–5; Hans Wilhelm Haussig, "Die protobulgarische Fürstenliste", in *Die Hunnen in Osteuropa. Ein Forschungsbericht*, edited by Franz Altheim and Hans Wilhelm Haussig (Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft B. Grimm, 1958), pp. 9–29; Miliiana Kaimakamova, "Immenik na bălgarskite khanove: osnoven izvor za obrazuvaneto na srednovekovna Bălgariia" [The List of Bulgarian khans: A principal source about the emergence of Medieval Bulgaria], in *Istoriiata koiato usmikhva*, edited by Krasimira Tabakova and Violeta Stoicheva (Sofia: Paradigma, 2014), pp. 108–25.

18 For Avitokhol, see Tsvetelin Stepanov, "*Avitohol* – A historical personality or a mythical figure?" *Bulgarian Centuries* 1 (1999), 50–60. For the lack of any strata in the text, see also Antoaneta Granberg, "The List of Bulgarian Khans. Linguistic identification of the text," *Bulgarian Centuries* 1 (1999), 61–67.

19 For lists of rulers, see Dmitrii I. Polyvyannyi, "'Imennik bolgarskikh khanov' i perechni gosudarei v rannesrednevekovom evropeiskom istoriografii" [The *List of Bulgar Khans* and lists of rulers in early medieval European historiography], in *Bălgarsko tsarstvo / ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Βουλγάρων / Imperium Bulgariae. In honorem Georgi Nikolov*, edited by Angel Nikolov (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ochridski", 2018), pp. 217–29. It is impossible to verify the dynastic affiliation of any Bulgar ruler; see Aleksei S. Shchavelev, "Derzhava Riurikovichei i derzhava Krumidov: obstoiatel'stva vozniknoveniia i traektorii razvitiia v iazycheskii period" [The polity of the Riurikids and the polity of Krum's dynasty: The circumstances in which they came into being and the trajectory of development during the pagan period], in *Rossiia v mire: obrazy i grani vzaimodeistviia. Sbornik statei*, edited by Aleksandr O. Chubarian (Moscow: Ves' Mir, 2019), pp. 195–230, here pp. 208–24.

20 Khristo Trendafilov, "Pripiskata na chernorizets Tudor Doksov i părvobălgarskata letopisna traditsiia" [The note of Todor Doksov and the Bulgar chronicle tradition)] *Pliska-Preslav* 5 (1992), 275–80.

21 Ancho Kaloyanov, Mariya Spasova, and Todor Mollov, "*Skazanie za Zheleznyi Krest" i epokhata na tsar Simeon*" ["The Tale of the Iron Cross" and the era of King Symeon)] (Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii", 2007).

22 Ivan Biliarski, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The Destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2013). Biliarski rejects the early date of the text, but that date was now reaffirmed, against his doubts, by Miliiana Kaimakamova, "Ideiata za carstvoto v Bălgarski apokrifen letopis (XI v.)" [The ideas of power in the Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle], in *Imperii i impersko nasledstvo na Balkanite. Sbornik v chest na 70-godishninata na prof. Liudmil Spasov*, edited by Dimităr V. Dimitrov, Simeon Kacarov, Rusalena Pendzhekova-Khristeva and Damian Borisov, vol. 1 (Plovdiv: Plovdivskii universitet "Paisii Khilandarski", 2019), pp. 183–98. For historical apocalypses as a specific genre of history writing, see now Anisava Miltenova, "Historical apocalypses in medieval Bulgarian literature (10th–14th centuries)," in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition. A Comparative Perspective. Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta, (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 706–29.

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24 Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982); Constantin Zuckerman, "On the date of the Khazars' conversion to Judaism and the chronology of the kings of the Rus, Oleg and Igor. A study of the anonymous

Khazar letter from the Genizah of Cairo," *Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), 237–70; Dan Shapira, "Judaization of Central Asian traditions as reflected in the so-called Jewish-Khazar Correspondence, with two excurses: A. Judah Halevy's quotations; B. Eldâd ha-Dânî (Judaeo-Turkica VI), with addendum," *Jews and Slavs* 16 (2005), 503–21.

25 The word "s-f-r" ("sefer") has a wide spectrum of designations (letter, scroll, codex, book, etc.), but it almost always means *a written* text.

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27 Pavel K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-khazarskaia perepiska v X veke* [The Khazar Hebrew correspondence in the 10th century] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1932).

28 Shapira, "Judaization," p. 504.

29 *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, edited by Marko Kostrenčić (Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1967). For inscriptions, see Vedrana Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj* [The Latin epigraphic records of early medieval Croatia] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1996). See also Chapter 23 in this book.

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31 Solange Bujan, "La Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée. Un faux document historique," *Revue des études byzantines* 66 (2008), 5–38; Stefan Trajković-Filipović, "Inventing a saint's life: chapter XXXVI of the *Annals of a Priest of Dioclea*," *Revue des études byzantines* 71 (2013), 259–76; Aleksandar Radoman, "*Gesta regum Sclavorum*: nova istoriografska mistifikacija" [Gesta regum Sclavorum: A new historiographic mystification?], *Matica* 14 (2013), 103–24.

32 *Gesta*, p. 2.

33 *Gesta*, pp. 124–39.

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36 Tibor Živković, Stanoje Bojanin and Vladeta Petrović, *Selected Charters of Serbian Rulers (XII–XV Centuries). Relating to the Territory of Kosovo and Metohia* (Athens: Centre for Studies of Byzantine Civilization, 2000).

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41 *Žitie.*

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57 Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle*, p. 60.

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68 *Gesta*, p. 212.

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71 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 111–19. Oleksiy P. Tolochko, "Christian chronology, universal history, and the origin of chronicle writing in Rus'," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery. Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070–1200)*, edited by Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 207–29, here pp. 207–09 is skeptical about the possibility of reconstructing texts-predecessors of the *Primary Chronicle*. For an optimistic point of view, see Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 100–11.

72 Aleksandr V. Nazarenko, "Dostovernye godovye daty v rannem letopisanii i ikh znachenie dlia izucheniia drevnerusskoi istoriografii" [Verifiable annual dates in the early Rus chronicles and their significance for the study of historical writing in Rus], *Drevneishie gosudarstva vostochnoi Evropy* (2013), 593–654; Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 119–28.

73 *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [The complete collection of Rus' annals], vol. 1, edited by Evfimii F. Karskii (Leningrad: Arkheograficheskaia komissiia, 1926–1928; reprinted Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kultury, 1997); Donald Ostrowski, *The Povest' Vremennykh Let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). For the English translation, see Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1953). For a historiographical survey, see Aleksandr Rukavishnikov, "'Tale of Bygone Years': the 'Russian Primary Chronicle' as a family chronicle," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003), no. 1, 53–74.

74 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 93–100.

75 This idea, first put forward by Aleksei Shakhmatov, is still a matter of dispute. See Alan Timberlake, "Redactions of the Primary Chronicle," *Russkii iazyk v nauchnom osveshchenii* 1 (2001), 196–218, here pp. 203–12; Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 100–04.

76 See Tatiana L. Vilkul, *Liudi i kniaz' v drevnerusskikh letopisiakh serediny XI–XIII vv.* [People and prince in Old Rus' chronicles of the 11th–13th centuries] (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2009), pp. 113–225.

77 *Polnoe sobranie*, vol. 1, p. 111.

78 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 128–44.

79 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 53–59.

80 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 44–52.

81 Aleksei A. Gippius, "'Contextualized writings' in Old Novgorod: birchbark documents and graffiti-inscriptions in comparative overview," in *Vergesellschaftete Schriften. Beiträge zum internationalen Workshop der Arbeitsgruppe 11 am SFB 933*, edited by Ulrike Ehmig (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 2019), pp. 181–96; Guimon, *Historical Writing*, pp. 59–64.

82 *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, edited and translated by César E. Dubler (Madrid: Imprenta y Editorial Maestre, 1953). p. 12; Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone, *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness* (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 69.

83 *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino*. pp. 11–12; Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlān*, pp. 68–69.

84 There are of course exceptions to this "rule." In Byzantium, both the *Chronicle* of George Syncellus (d. before 814) and the *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818) show a great concern with precise dates and with the calendar. See Warren Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 38–77. On the other hand, the Rus' *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* shows little preoccupation with dates.

85 By contrast, see the "collective portrait" of Byzantine historians in Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 457–87.
86 Guimon, *Historical Writing*, 277–393, for Rus' *letopisi*.
87 The same is true for Scandinavia, for which see Lars B. Mortensen, "Sanctified beginnings and mythopoetic moments. The first wave of writing on the past in Norway, Denmark, and Hungary, c. 1000–1230," in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300)*, edited by Lars B. Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), pp. 247–73.

26
HAGIOGRAPHY

Stefan Rohdewald

This chapter offers, in a very concise and thus selective manner, a coherent insight into texts about saints, namely, *vitae*, especially those written between ca. 800 and ca. 1300, although attention will also be paid to eulogies, offices, and other texts. Of particular interest are hagiographic texts about clerics, who were also missionaries, such as Cyril and Methodius, Clement of Ohrid, and Adalbert (Vojtěch/Wojciech) of Prague. I will also take into consideration princes and kings considered to be saints, especially Wenceslas of Bohemia, Stephen of Hungary, Boris and Gleb, princes of Rus', and, at somewhat greater length, Stefan Nemanja, with the writings about the latter laying the ground for the sacralization of (other members of) the Nemanjid dynasty. This selection not only will highlight certain common features of the hagiography in Greek, Slavic, and Latin in the European context but also is meant to provide an opportunity for considering particular developments of entanglement between East and West in a clearer light.[1] However, the examination of the texts pertaining to Stefan Nemanja will highlight some original features, especially the "cultification" of an entire dynasty.[2] Indeed, hagiography was the most prolific genre in the medieval Serbian and Bulgarian literature, especially in comparison with secular chronicle writing, which was largely absent, particularly in Bulgaria. In Southeastern Europe, much like elsewhere, hagiographic texts gained a pivotal importance for entire literary settings.[3]

I will begin with some of the very first texts written in Old Church Slavonic, the lives of Constantine/Cyril and Methodius, and with a number of eulogies written about them, as well as with the Greek *vitae* of Clement of Ohrid, which further elaborate upon Cyril and Methodius. I will then turn to Latin *vitae* of the first royal saints, especially those of Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia, briefly also discussing one Latin text about Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague, and then moving on to Stephen I, King of Hungary. I will conclude with an investigation of the Slavonic texts on Simeon/Nemanja as the holy ruler of Rascia/Serbia. My emphasis, therefore, will be on those texts, in and for themselves, and not on the entire range of social practices related to their writing, reading, or the veneration of the saints. The selected figures will be investigated in their distinct contexts, whereby their characteristics will be elaborated in overarching comparison and, occasionally, explicit entanglement with the other figures. The rhetoric and techniques used by the authors may provide hints about a general setting of knowledge on hagiography and its reproduction.

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The state of research on medieval hagiography in general, as on the selected examples in particular, is very developed, as they have been pivotal, ever since the 19th century, for any modern historical research in the respective countries. I can only hint at that historiography in a very brief manner. In keeping with the most recent approaches in historiography, most scholars have explained the logic behind stories about saints in a globalized context.[4] In that context, even the relationship between Christianization and monarchy has been recently reassessed, with an emphasis on East Central and Eastern (but not Southeastern) Europe.[5] As Southeastern Europe has long been the focus of my own , I will use this opportunity to introduce the state of research on that region of the continent, and to contextualize it, albeit tentatively, with assumptions on Central European cases using a few core primary sources.[6] The aim is to discern and highlight commonalities, entanglements, and diversity by investigating both regions in a larger European setting.

The question of changes in the content of religious practices of remembrance is closely connected with that of their textual or medial transformation. Offices, *vitae*, and chronicles are the texts in which cults were put into words, staged, legitimized, and consolidated in the Middle Ages.

Beatitude and sanctity were the result of political decision-making, while the texts served as proofs and legitimations for canonization, following procedures which had not yet become fully established. Thus, the texts were of material importance in explaining and making the case for holiness in each individual context. The genre had a long tradition and had developed since Late Antiquity in both East and West, leading to certain differences in rhetoric and (specialized) vocabulary.

In any case, charging individual rulers or the dynasty with sacred significance within the framework of the Christian salvation history was fundamental for the consolidation, legitimization, and reproduction of the political rule not only in Orthodox Europe and Byzantium but also in the Latin West.[7] From the conversion of the Merovingians, the "theology of history" of even the mainly secular "national chronicles" dominated the identification of the constitutive people with the "New Israel."[8] Religion and politics cannot be treated as two separate spheres of speech and action either for the Western Middle Ages (despite St. Augustine's conceptual separation between "cities") or for Byzantium. In the latter case, it has long been noted that religion and politics formed "a mystical unity, two aspects of the same life of redeemed Christians."[9] While Endre von Ivánka emphasized the unity of the kingdom and the "people of God," in reference to Eusebius of Caesarea (among others), Hans-Georg Beck wrote of Byzantine "political Orthodoxy," later adopted by Slavic rulers.[10] The extremely close ties between dominion and church have been particularly emphasized in the case of Serbia.[11]

Such a research angle, however, is missing for all of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe.[12] Gerhard Podskalsky has produced basic handbooks on Bulgarian and Serbian theological literature as well as on hagiography in Rus'.[13] There is also abundant research on Cyril and Methodius in the local and wider European contexts.[14] Dimo Cheshmedzhiev has devoted a study to the "historical memory" of Cyril and Methodius in medieval Bulgaria, in which he emphasized, in particular, the "Bulgarization" of the cult of those saints at the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire.[15] Stanislaus Hafner has translated and commented upon the *vitae* of the Serbian saints and kings.[16] Frank Kämpfer has examined the emergence and development of the cults of Serbian rulers in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, while providing a pioneer overview of the political veneration of saints among the Orthodox Slavs in Southeastern Europe.[17] The Nemanjid ideology of dominion was also thoroughly

examined, taking into account aspects of commemorative culture.[18] By the 1980s, the historiography on the medieval and early modern cult of St. Sava was already wide-ranging.[19] Dmitrii Polyviannyi has presented an important outline of the role of saints in the "political ideology" of the Bulgarian empires.[20] Wenceslas, Adalbert, Stephen, as well as Boris and Gleb have received comparatively more attention. Here I can only point to the most important works in what is after all an abundant body of scholarly literature.[21]

Constantine-Cyril and Methodius

The brothers, Constantine (monastic name Cyril, *ca.* 826/827–869) and Methodius (*ca.* 815–885), who were revered as saints shortly after their respective deaths, were born in Thessalonike in the family of a prominent Byzantine official. As Thessalonike was, at that time, the second largest city of the empire, they may have grown up in an ethnically mixed, Greek-Slavic environment.[22]

Constantine's *vita* has often been attributed to Methodius, but the question of authorship remains open.[23] The text first appears, and then only in excerpts, in Croatian-Glagolitic, 14th-century breviaries, as well as in other manuscripts from the 15th century onward. Methodius' *vita* was most likely written by one of his disciples, possibly Clement of Ohrid (*ca.* 835–916) or Constantine of Preslav.[24] Both *vitae* were thus written in the last third of the 9th century.[25] Methodius's *vita* and a eulogy for Cyril and Methodius reached Kievan Rus' in the 12th century in the form of a copy of a Bohemian manuscript, in the so-called Uspenskii Sbornik.

Constantine's *vita* received the title of the "first educator and teacher of the Slavic people."[26] The respect shown in the text for the pope, who as the "apostolic father" participated in the funeral of Constantine in Rome, clearly demonstrates that the feeling and reality of church unity was still dominant.[27] Constantine was described as a "good offshoot from a good root,"[28] with no political or dynastic caveats. The geographic span covered in the text was extraordinarily large, ranging from Southeastern Europe via Constantinople to Crimea, Rome, Moravia, Bavaria, and Pannonia (present-day Hungary). All three monotheistic, Abrahamic religions as well as paganism were mentioned and positioned in interreligious competition, which obviously served to set the scene for the victory of Christianity.

At the age of 24, Constantine was sent by the emperor to the "Hagarites", i.e., to the Muslims, who, seeking to understand the concept of the Holy Trinity, requested a religious debate with a Byzantine representative. However, it is remarkable how the opponents were introduced in an honorable manner: "the Hagarites, wise people, well versed in scholarship, geometry, astronomy, and other sciences." In the debate, Constantine and his Muslim interlocutors each drew upon the other side's holy scriptures to support the arguments.[29] In 860/861, the Byzantine emperor sent Constantine to the Khagan of the Khazars, who was trying to make the best selection out of three religions—Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. On his way to the Khazars, in Crimea, Constantine discovered the remains of Pope Clement I (888–899), which he would later bring to Rome as a gift for Pope Hadrian II. In 862, Rastislav, the Slavic prince of Moravia, seeking political (from Louis the German) and ecclesiastical emancipation (from the Bavarian clergy), requested teachers from the Byzantine emperor in order to spread Christianity in his realm. In 863, Constantine and his brother, Methodius, who had previously held important administrative offices, led the embassy to Rastislav. Constantine taught for 40 months in Moravia (present-day Moravia and southwestern Slovakia, although some scholars still believe that it was located somewhere in southern Pannonia). He then responded to the invitation of Kocel, Duke of Pannonia, to

come and to teach Christianity with writings in the Slavic letters (Glagolitic).[30] In Venice, while discussing the use of the Slavic letters, which, according to the *vita*, he had himself invented, he argued that alongside Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the "Armenians, Persians, Abkhazians, Iberians, Sogdians, Goths, Avars, Turks, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians, and many others" have also used their own languages for teaching Christianity.[31] Thus, he broadened the horizons of Latin churchmen beyond the well-known Greek and Hebrew traditions, in order to include examples from the Black Sea Region, Northern Africa, the Middle East, and even Central Asia. With this transcontinental argument and the negotiation of difference (i.e., the acceptance of linguistic diversity), he changed Christianity in the Roman European framework by setting it in a significantly larger and highly more diverse context. He was eventually successful to obtain legitimacy from the pope for the propagation of faith in the Slavic language. This was the result of Constantine and Methodius' reception by Hadrian II, when they came to Rome carrying with them the relics of Saint Clement. Indeed, after 868, the brothers' activities continued under the protection of the pope in Rome, where Constantine died one year later, after taking the monastic vows and the new name of Cyril. In considering the later development of the hagiography concerning the two brothers, it is important to bear in mind that, besides Moravians, no other ethnic group among the Slavs is mentioned in the *vita*. In particular, there is no reference either to Bulgar(ian)s or to Serbs.

The *vita* of Methodius also promoted the religious memory of the achievements of the mission to Moravia in the context of the history of salvation[32] or of apostolic history, without much political connotation. Methodius is presented as teaching Christianity together with his brother Constantine in Moravia. Following the death of Cyril, Methodius became the most prominent churchman in the Moravian realm of Svatopluk, when Pope Hadrian II ordained him archbishop "of Pannonia, to the seat of Saint Andronicus, an Apostle of the seventy." Methodius, in other words, occupied the see created by the first bishop of Sirmium (present-day Sremska Mitrovica, in Serbia), in order to restore papal influence in Illyricum.[33] However, Methodius never took up his office there,[34] for he was taken prisoner by Bavarian, i.e., Latin, churchmen, who were opposed to his mission. After years of conflict with the Frankish clergy, he undertook a journey to Constantinople in 881/883. In the process, he may have also sought out the Bulgarian prince, Boris I, who would provide asylum to Methodius' disciples after his death.

The information contained in those two *vitae* was subsequently promulgated, elaborated, and expanded in numerous other hagiographic writings that changed the rhetoric and vocabulary to a significant degree. One eulogy in honor of Cyril, which is attributed to Clement of Ohrid, outlines "the radiant memory of our Blessed Father Cyril, the new apostle and teacher of all countries."[35] Cyril is compared with the sun and a "cherubim" and glorified as the giver of the "rays of divinity."[36] He is also equated with an "eagle" that flew "over all lands,"[37] and he is called the redeeming "teacher" of "the Slavic people, who were acting in ignorance and sinful darkness." Cyril "steered all onto the path of salvation with the written word."[38] While the "Slavic people" are initially described as a unified whole, they immediately appeared as extremely fragmented, for they were (re)united only by Cyril's wreath and God's power: "He crowned the manifold Slavic languages with a God-woven wreath."[39] Cyril was described as Christ-like and should be praised in a way similar to the Father and the Holy Spirit: "And in the same way, the Omnipresent Father and the Holy Spirit are praised."[40] The description of the church as the body of Christ was also transferred to Cyril: "I declare blessed your honor-laden church, in which your exceedingly clever and godly body rests."[41]

Finally, as was the rule in hagiographic *memoria*, Cyril was addressed as a living person and praised as a healer of the "sickness of sin,"[42] although not of other, corporeal afflictions. In addition, Clement blessed Rome, "the city that received the third fulfiller (after Peter and Paul) of the providence of God," and in which Cyril's bones rested: the veneration context here encompassed both Byzantium and Rome. Clement placed him among the living community of apostles, the angels, and the prophets: he was "a prophet with the prophets and a partaker in the glory of God with all the saints. Pray for us with them."[43] To Clement, the prayers of the living served to anchor and strengthen the present and future salvation of Christians. While the text was not designed with a universal Christian audience in mind, it was directed at Slavs as a whole—"my people." Again, there was no mention of Bulgaria or Bulgarians.

Another, already mentioned eulogy about the brothers, also attributed to Clement, compares them with Moses and Aaron: Cyril and Methodius "led the people out of the deep dark sea of the devil, they drowned the spiritual pharaoh." Furthermore, "they did not lead the people into the desert, but guided them into the brightness of the knowledge of God."[44] Based on the model of Byzantine texts, Methodius is also compared with Solomon and even endowed with martial talent: "He was also winged in war like Samson and Gideon and Joshua, and he appeared terrible."[45] Moreover, Cyril was "chosen as a vessel by the Holy Spirit."[46] The same honor is accorded to the two brothers at the end of the text.[47] Cyril

> thus shone for all through his philosophical learnedness and was found to be an inexhaustible treasure. As a source that fills the whole universe, he watered those who thirst after the Word of God, as our Lord and God Jesus Christ himself said.[48]

Cyril is thus once again glorified almost without distinction as Christ himself and endowed with a universal role.[49] In the end, both saints are presented as advocates before God for present and future Christians. Intercession for "your chosen flock" thus remains entirely within the Christian context.[50] Pope Hadrian is honored as a supporter of the brothers and Cyril described as a miracle worker, revered by the Romans as a healer of the sick.[51] The deeds of the brothers continue to concern the whole Christian ecumene, and in particular the Slavs, with the brothers becoming "new apostles" of the "new people" by "creating letters for them."[52] The convergence of the depiction of Cyril with that of Christ complements his presentation as an apostle, without replacing it. Clement does not speak of Bulgarians in the eulogy and has no idea of a "chosen people" or of a system of rule. Although he worked for many years in Bulgaria and in Ohrid (in the vicinity of which he was appointed first "Bulgarian bishop" by the Bulgarian ruler, Boris), Clement did not organize any local (or Bulgarian) cult of the two brothers. Their veneration was framed as Christian, universal, and nonnational despite Slavic connections being often mentioned.

As early as the late 9th and 10th century, Slavic offices (*sluzhby*) developed in honor of Cyril and Methodius, along with an office devoted to both.[53] The office in honor of Cyril may have well been written and used in Moravia.[54] Several copies of this office are available, with the oldest in 12th- and 13th-century manuscripts in both East Slavic and Bulgarian redactions.[55] The emergence and transmission of those texts indicate that, as early as the 12th and 13th centuries, the cult of the saints spread throughout the Slavic-speaking Orthodox world. In the 13th-century copy of the office for St. Cyril, which is now preserved in Sofia, mention is made of songs written in his honor: "for this reason we honor you in holy songs."[56] He had a central role as intercessor,[57] particularly for those confronted with moral and heretical enemies.[58] While his designation as a "teacher of the Slavs" limits his work to

them, the comparison between him and Moses (with whom Methodius is also compared[59]), as well as the mention of "cities and countries" that St. Cyril had visited,[60] he is situated within a universal frame of reference. Again, there is no mention either of Bulgarians or of Serbs in this text. The brothers thus initially appeared as transethnic actors in a multiple contact zone between Byzantium, the Near East, the Black Sea, and Caspian Sea regions, several Slavic dominions, Rome, and Bavaria, a contact zone which had been (re)produced not least through their own actions. Their veneration was conceived internationally, however, and not restricted to a particular region. This changed, however, in later hagiographic texts.

The Bulgarization of Cyril and Methodius by a Byzantine author: Theophylaktos

Theophylaktos, the Byzantine archbishop of Ohrid (the metropolis of the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria; died at some point between 1120 and 1126[61]) is the "nowadays almost undisputed" author of a Greek *vita* of St. Clement of Ohrid.[62] Clement was himself the author of texts about Cyril and Methodius, which are attributed to the "Cyrillo-Methodian circle."[63] Clement joined Methodius at a young age and accompanied him and his brother, Constantine, on their trips to the Crimea and to Great Moravia. He was apparently ordained a priest in Rome in 868. Following the flight of the disciples of Methodius from Greater Moravia, Boris, the ruler of Bulgaria, offered them refuge in Pliska, and, in 887/888, he sent Clement to the region now within Macedonia and the southeastern part of Albania. That became Clement's mission and teaching area. According to the *vita*, in 893, Boris's son and successor, Symeon, appointed him the bishop "of the Bulgarian language" over a region called Drevenica or Velica, the precise location of which remains unclear.[64] Equally unclear is whether Clement was of the Greek or Slavic origin.[65] According to Theophylaktos, Gorazd, Clement, Naum, Angelarios, and Savva were the most capable disciples of Cyril and Methodius.[66] He compared Clement's activity with that of Paul the Apostle, thereby turning the Bulgarians into "second Corinthians."[67]According to the *vita*, it was Clement (and not Prince Boris, much less Cyril and Methodius) that made it possible for "us, Bulgarians," to "remember God and the saints."[68] The mention of "Bulgarians," as Theophylaktos called the believers under his pastoral care, is a novel development, but it is important to note that he counted himself among them ("us"), an understandable narrative strategy for someone writing of a church-provincial affiliation within the framework of the universal Byzantine Empire.

Theophylaktos offers important information about the religious remembrance culture developing in the region around the two brothers, Cyril and Methodius.[69] Born in Euboea in the mid-11th century, Theophylaktos was the first to make a lasting conceptual connection between the discourse on Cyril and Methodius and "Bulgaria:" in stark contrast to the texts discussed so far, the major arena in his *vita* of Clement and the other students of Cyril and Methodius is "the land of the Bulgarians." The brothers themselves were thereby imagined "at the right hand of God."[70]

For Theophylaktos, even when staying with the Moravian prince, Rastislav, Methodius cultivated relations with the Bulgarian ruler, Boris. Living "under the emperor of the Rhomaians Michael," Boris is praised for having offered asylum to the Moravian refugees and for the Christianization of Bulgaria.[71] In contrast to earlier texts, the invention of the "Slavic script" is described in relation to the Bulgarians. Baptism and contact with the Christian scriptures translated into Slavic language took "the people of the Bulgarians," as a collective actor, from the wrong track (of paganism), and onto the path to salvation.[72]After

being expelled from Moravia by Latins, the disciples of Cyril and Methodius fled to Bulgaria. In Theophylaktos' words, they "were heading to Bulgaria, thinking of Bulgaria, hoping Bulgaria would give them peace."[73] Arriving in that safe haven, they described what had happened to the Bulgarian ruler, Boris. Boris then made them "servants and benefactors of Bulgaria" by putting their missionary and educational skills to work.[74] Theophylaktos thus implies a very close relationship between the princely rule and church authority. He portrayed the deeds of the disciples as service to "Bulgaria." It is important to note that, in referring to Bulgaria, he did not have in mind the early medieval state by that name, which, at the time he wrote the *vita*, had already been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire, but the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria, of which he was the head in his quality of Archbishop of Ohrid. In other words, by glorifying Clement in this text and, with him, Cyril and Methodius, Theophylaktos appears as Clement's successor, thus cementing his own authority as archbishop and his role the history of salvation. Recently, the idea has been advanced that Theophylaktos' glorification of the two brothers was a Byzantine attempt to appropriate "the Cyrillo-Methodian cause."[75] However, that cause had been presented within the older, universalistic framework, so there was no appropriation to begin with. Moreover, Theophylaktos was in fact making that cause Bulgarian for the first time. That this was not a controversial or even a specifically Bulgarian matter until quite late, results from the absence of any Bulgarian translation of this important text before the 19th century.[76] The Bulgarization of the cult by a Byzantine is therefore the illustration of a (trans)cultural practice in the contact zone between Byzantium and the neighboring Slavic peoples. However, those same passages about Cyril and Methodius also explain the importance of Clement for Bulgaria.

The appropriation of Cyril and Methodius by the Bulgarian rulers in Tărnovo

During the restoration of the Bulgarian empire in the early 13th century, and in the political context of the Fourth Crusade, a rapprochement (followed by a union) with Rome took place: an archbishop probably already resided in the new capital Tărnovo in 1186, but he now received the title of primate from the pope (1235), although styling himself patriarch.[77] Simultaneously, a renewed "Bulgarization" of the memory of the two brothers was fostered. Thus, in the *Sinodik* of 1211,[78] their accomplishments for Orthodoxy are related to the "Bulgarian language" and the "Bulgarian lineage."[79] In the anonymous "Legend of Salonica," a text often dated to the 11th or 12th century, but more likely of a 13th- or even 14th-century date,[80] Cyril is described as a Greek from Cappadocia, who baptized the Bulgarians. Bulgarian scholars have interpreted the "idea of the special selection of the Bulgarian people"[81] or of "strong Bulgarian messianism," which appear in the text, as a reaction to the supposedly Greek-oriented, "official cult of Cyril and Methodius."[82] The legend describes how Cyril was commissioned by God to work as missionary among the Bulgarians. Initially frightened by the Bulgarian language, Cyril is said to have then lost his knowledge of Greek.[83] This passage describes and thereby constructs the cultural difference and its simultaneous erasure within the contact zone between Constantinople and the Slavs.

In a Bulgarian version of the Cyrillic office, contained in the 13th-century *Menaion of Skopje*, the two brothers appear as apostles of the whole world, who nonetheless carried out their mission "with Bulgarian books," starting from Bulgaria.[84] The memory of the two brothers thus became the medium of an emerging Bulgarian self-image, centered upon the realm. The Old Church Slavonic, or Slavic language, in general, was equated with the regionally predominant Bulgarian.[85]

Several texts were therefore written to commemorate the brothers in the new Bulgarian capital Tărnovo as well as in other places of the Second Bulgarian Empire, which incorporated the memory of Cyril and Methodius into the renewed Bulgarian state-church context. The texts drafted in Tărnovo were thereby in competition with the memory of the brothers in the Greek archbishopric of the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria in Ohrid, which had been independent from Latin-occupied Constantinople since 1204, and where the cult of the brothers had already developed earlier under Greek influence. Thus, following the Byzantine appropriation of the cult, in a sense a second, Bulgarian, appropriation of the cult can be observed in the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula. The veneration of Cyril and Methodius only came about with them at the center of the renewed ecclesiastical and secular power: in addition to their provincial church-political role in Ohrid, a new, competing, and metropolitan function in Tărnovo emerged, which was at once secular/stately and sacral. However, the associated "Bulgarization" of the cult of Cyril and Methodius can only be seen in a few Bulgarian documents.

Hagiographic texts about the brothers also appear in the lands of the Bohemian Crown which were associated with the legitimation of Přemyslid and Luxembourg rulers.[86]

Latin and Orthodox holy rulers

Saintly rulers were known both in the East and in the West. In Byzantium, emperors were often depicted haloed in illuminations, but no emperor was venerated as a saint, with the exception of Constantine the Great.[87] In Bulgaria, Boris/Mikhail, who probably converted in 865, did not become a saint, and as a consequence, had no *vita* written for him even though he was revered as holy in both Rome and Byzantium.[88]

Saint Wenceslas (Václav in Czech, ca. 907–935) occupies a very different position in Bohemia, for he is rightly seen as playing "a prominent role in the creation of the medieval cult of holy rulers" in Europe.[89] Murdered, most likely for political reasons, in 935, he was venerated as a martyr and proclaimed a saint in the 960s. This is a process in many respects similar to that involving Edmund, King of East Anglia (d. 870), and Edward the Martyr, King of the English (979). While the Rus' princes, Boris and Gleb, who were murdered in 1015, were already venerated four years afterward, Olaf, King of Norway, became a saint immediately after his death in 1030. There are several *vitae* of St. Wenceslas, some in Latin, others in Old Church Slavonic. One of the most important was commissioned by Otto II from Bishop Gumpold of Mantua and written in Latin at some point between 970 and 983.[90] Gumpold depicted Wenceslas as a "typical Ottonian *Werkheiliger*" with conflicting secular and sacral roles.[91] In fact, Otto II is mentioned in the prologue of the *vita* as a "most victorious and august Emperor."[92] Bohemia is then introduced as a country "inhabited by Slavic people," situated "in a northern region, more savage and more belated in faith than others."[93] His father, Duke Vratislav, who extended his rule over Moravia, is also mentioned and depicted as (the first) Christian ruler of Bohemia. Wenceslas appears as a learned ruler, who could read both Latin and "Greek or Slavic letters," the latter no doubt referring to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition of Bohemia, even though by the time Gumpold wrote his *vita*, the bishopric of Prague founded in 973 was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mainz, much like the Moravian diocese, first attested in 976. Nonetheless, the Slavonic Mass may have been used in addition to the Latin. The so-called Western Glagolitic Breviary Office, which is said to have been written around AD 1000 in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, later traveled from Bohemia to Croatia. After 1080, King Vratislav II unsuccessfully requested approval for the Slavic liturgy from Pope Gregory VII.[94]

Moreover, Wenceslas was depicted as a just ruler, defending his country against enemies, although never shown in a military posture. In other words, Wenceslas is neither a "Christian hero" nor a (permanent) wartime leader. According to Gumpold, Wenceslas failed to eliminate paganism from Bohemia or even from his own (Přemyslid) family. In the end, he was murdered by his younger brother, Boleslav. Several tales of miracles followed, in order to prove his sanctity as a martyr. As the subsequent rulers during the 11th century were also members of that (Přemyslid) family, he was venerated as the patron of the dynasty, legitimized directly by his martyrdom at the hands of members of his own family. It was only in the 12th century that he became the militant defender of his country and the patron saint of Bohemia.[95] In the process, he became a "perpetual ruler," representing the eternal body of the king—much like St. Stephen of Hungary or St. Edmund in England. The ruler of Bohemia was now just a representative or *vicarius* of the saint.[96]

Of the Bohemian origin was another saint, who later played a key role in the history of Poland, Vojtěch/Adalbert. He was born (ca. 956) to Slavník, and thus in a powerful family, the main rivals of the Přemyslids. He became the second bishop of Prague in 982. After several years in Rome, he was sent by the Polish duke, Bolesław Chrobry, on a mission to the Prussians, but was killed by them in 997. The Slavic liturgy known in Bohemia may already been known at that point in Poland.[97] In that respect, it is important to note that the *vita* of St. Adalbert depicted him as "apostle" of the Prussians.[98] To be sure, this *vita* is not making a hero out of St. Adalbert, and there is of course no martial posturing. He is nonetheless referred to as "most holy hero."[99] To be sure, much like Cyril and Methodius, Adalbert appears and acts as a missionary. However, unlike Cyril, who died in Rome, and Methodius, who died in Moravia, both in peace, Adalbert was killed by "barbarians."

Adalbert's *vita* begins with a description of "Sclavonia" located "in the parts of Germany."[100] The people elected Adalbert, and that was confirmed by the emperor, who is described as "Christian Caesar," who allowed him to be consecrated by the archbishop of Mainz.[101] Adalbert then returned to Bohemia, "his beloved native country."[102] In Rome, he met "the august empress Theophano,"[103] the mother of Otto III and the niece of the Byzantine Emperor John I Tzimiskes, who supported his wish to travel to Jerusalem. While Adalbert did not eventually make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, while in Rome, he was still at the center of the world—"the holy citadel, the mistress of all the cities and the capital of the world."[104] Wenceslas is mentioned only once in the *vita* of Adalbert, and in a rather neutral, nonreligious context.[105] However, Adalbert's deeds are set within the context of the consolidation and continuation of the ongoing Christianization of Bohemia.

Somewhat similar to the *vita* of Wenceslas is the *passio* of the two Rus' princes, Boris and Gleb, both of whom died in 1015 as the result of a succession feud within the ruling Rurikid family. In the *passio* (which is also a praise), written ca. 1100, their father, Vladimir, the prince of Kiev, is introduced as the one "who enlightened this entire land of Rus' with holy baptism." While he had children from several wives, both Boris and Gleb were born "from a Bulgarian woman."[106] Boris, therefore, may have been named after the first Christian king of Bulgaria, but at baptism, he was given the name, Roman.[107] Following Vladimir's death, his son, Sviatopolk, ordered the murder of the two brothers, in order to secure his father's succession for himself. The *passio* indicates that already before dying, both Boris and Gleb received the "heavenly crown" of martyrdom.[108] They were not in fact dying for the faith (there is no indication that Sviatopolk was a pagan or that he had asked them to renounce Christianity). But they are specifically said to have had no desire for the "glory of this world," a suggestion, perhaps, that they were willing to yield to Sviatopolk's claims to the throne.[109] Boris was protected by a Hungarian guard,[110] but he did not defend himself, and

neither did Gleb, who was "slaughtered like a lamb."[111] The cult of Boris and Gleb gained in importance in the late 11th century, when it stimulated the growth of a Christian political culture with "home-grown saints."[112]

Like Wenceslas, St. Stephen (997–1038) was (and still is) of paramount importance for a local, specifically Hungarian setting. He, too, was involved in a power struggle within the ruling family of the Árpádians. However, unlike Wenceslas, he was the winner in that struggle, and therefore came to rule for a relatively long time. He is one of the most important examples in Central and Southeastern Europe of a ruler quickly canonized. In 1000/1001, he became the first Christian king of Hungary and laid the ground for independent ecclesiastic and secular institutions. The political setting of his realm near the Ottonian Roman Empire and on the northwestern fringes of the Byzantine Empire is reflected in his Latin *vita*, written by Hartvic, Bishop of Győr, in 1100 or at some point between 1112 and 1116. Stephen's successor, Ladislas I, oversaw the canonization in 1083 (only 45 years after Stephen's death), together with other Hungarian saints. Like Wenceslas in Bohemia, as well as Boris and Gleb in Rus', the canonization of Stephen of Hungary must be understood within the context of state foundation and the sacralization of political power.[113] To Hartvic, St. Stephen was the "king of the Hungarians and their apostle."[114] His father, Prince Géza, had been "chosen by Christ" and had a vision, according to which his son would be "one of the kings chosen by the Lord to exchange the crown of secular life [James 1:12] for an everlasting one." This happened before "the blessed Adalbert, prelate of the Bohemian Church," visited him "for his conversion" and that of his people. Géza's wife, Sarolt, who was a Christian, also had a dream in which St. Stephen the Protomartyr announced the birth of "a son, to whom first from this people a crown and kingdom is due." St. Stephen asked Sarolt to name her son after him. "Indeed 'Stephanus' in Greek means 'crown' in Latin," explains Hartvic.[115] However, Koppány, the eldest male member of the Árpádian family, who was a pagan, claimed power for himself. As a result, and as "a soldier of Christ," Stephen unified the Hungarian kingdom by force in the name of God.[116] After the establishment of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, Stephen took the chance to ask for a "royal diadem" from the Holy See, which he received instead of "Mischa [Mieszko], the leader of the Poles," for whom the diadem had originally been intended.[117] After ruling for 40 years, King Stephen died, but a number of miracles took place at his tomb. Of his remains, only the right hand survived, which Hartvic's *vita* already describes as a key element in his cult.[118] The crown of Hungary, later called Stephen's crown, and regarded as a symbol of the realm and of his reign, is in fact a Byzantine diadem, which had been sent to King Géza I by Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071–1078), with the addition of a late 11th-century Latin artwork, the two being combined probably at some point after the mid-12th century.[119]

Stefan Nemanja/Simeon as a holy ruler of Rascia/Serbia

Stefan Nemanja (1113–1199) was born into a family of great *župans* of Raška, a region of the central Balkans named after the main center of power, the fortress of Ras (near present-day Novi Pazar, Serbia). Stefan was baptized a Catholic in Duklja (modern Montenegro), where the presence of the Roman Church was prominent in the 12th century. However, he was apparently baptized one more time as Orthodox in Ras, the church of which was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ohrid.[120] In 1158 or 1159, Stefan received the eastern parts of Raška to rule over and was granted the region of Dubočica by Emperor Manuel I Comnenus. He assumed sole rule over Raška in 1166, without approval from Constantinople. His goal seems to have been to unify several predominantly Slavic areas, or "Serbian tribes."[121]

At the same time, he aimed at establishing a broader dominion and taking the first steps toward independence from Byzantium.

His son, Ratko (later venerated as St. Sava), wrote the *vita* of Stefan Nemanja at some point between 1208 and 1217.[122] St. Sava undertook several diplomatic missions for his brother, Stefan the First-Crowned. He obtained from Nicaea in 1219 the permission to establish a Serbian autocephalous archbishopric, with its seat at the Žiča Monastery, which his father had built in 1208. As the first archbishop of the Serbian Church, he took over existing dioceses in the former northern territory of the archdiocese of Ohrid and founded several new episcopal sees.[123] That is the context in which he established the cult of Stefan Nemanja, his father. Sava died in Tărnovo, the capital city of Bulgaria, on his way back from the Holy Land.

The *vita* of Nemanja (who took the name Simeon as a monk) was written before the *typikon* (rule) of the Studenica Monastery, Nemanja's foundation. Because of that, Nemanja (St. Simeon) is called "our venerable father" and founder of the monastery.[124] Sava then depicts Nemanja in accordance with the Byzantine model[125] as "appointed […] [by] God" to govern as a "sole ruler" over the "whole Serbian land," which had only just been united for the first time and was increasingly being staged as a single entity.[126] Sava represented Nemanja's reign as "conferred by Christ." When in 1196 Nemanja crowned his son, Stefan, he did it himself, with no bishop's assistance. In Sava's words, Nemanja saw his son as "a good root, born out of my body," and also blessed him himself, "as Isaac once [blessed] his son Jacob." Sava, on the other hand, equated the people entrusted to Stefan (his "flock") with Israel, the Chosen People of God.[127] In doing so, he followed a European-wide practice, which has already been established under the Merovingians.[128] Following the model of the Byzantine universal rulers, Stefan himself was staged as their peer, an Old Testament-style, unanointed king.[129] The description of his coronation in the *vita* not only glorified Nemanja and his rule but, at the same time, also legitimized the commemoration of Stefan's coronation in the most sustainable way, by sacralizing his rule. The *vita* thus served not only to remember and commemorate Simeon but also directly as a medium of the thereby sacralized social and lordly integration of the "whole Serbian country" under the new rule, which was nonetheless framed and sanctified in Old Testament terms. Tradition was invented to help the project of a new dominion succeed.

According to Sava, Nemanja transferred to his son, Stefan the First-Crowned (*ca.* 1160–1227), not only the political power but also responsibility over the churches so that the clergy "pray for you."[130] His rule was to be based on prayer, in the social practice of the commemoration of the ruler by the clergy. In Sava's words, the connection between the ruler and churches was clear: "Glorify the churches, so that they too may glorify you."[131] Religious memoria were the most direct form of sacral support for the ruler. Following the model of other Christian states based on associations of individuals, but especially following the example of Byzantium, the political rule in the consolidated Rascian realm was to be based fundamentally on the church, and thus sacralized within salvation history.

Nemanja spent the final years of his life as a monk on Mt. Athos, taking the name, Simeon, in what the *vita* describes as the "fields of peace with magnificent trees," where Simeon himself was "putting down roots in the right faith and shining brightly, like a wonderful tree that stands in the sheltered harbor, that is to say, on the holy mountain [Athos]."[132] The terms of this description of Simeon the monk are the traditional means of Christian paradise rhetoric.[133] His son, Stefan, who was still described as a "root" from Nemanja's body, is now stylized the scion of a tree of paradise. There are Latin models for this juxtaposition of the theme of dynastic rule and the theme of paradise or that of the "root of Jesse." There is hardly

any evidence of that theme in Byzantium. However, even if they are related, the consequence of the sacralization of Nemanja and his successor's royal rule clearly goes beyond similar phenomena known from the Ottonian era.[134] The pictorial representation of the "root of Jesse" was not directly integrated into the representation of the dynasty in Hildesheim, St. Denis or Orvieto. Even if the representation there may have served as a direct model for the Nemanjid dynasty, for all the examples mentioned the larger context, dominated by Byzantium, remains clear.[135]

Stefan the First-Crowned also assumed responsibility over the monks of the monastery of Studenica, which had been founded by his father and which Sava specifically described as a "holy place."[136] Located in a remote valley, the monastery was to become a dynastic burial place soon after Nemanja's death, thus turning into a central site of Rascian power in more than a geographical sense. Accordingly, it was transformed into a center of lordly memorial culture: Simeon's remains were translated to Studenica—a *translatio* that Sava compared with Joseph's transfer of Jacob's bones from Egypt[137]—and interred in the monastery.[138] The *vita* ends with the hope for intercession through Simeon, who is placed next to Christ and the Mother of God.[139] Sava's concern was clearly not just the timeless, salvation-historical sacralization and legitimization of his father's rule. He, along with his brother, who had prompted the translation, also wanted the cult of Simeon, established at the monastery of Studenica, to reconcile the quarreling sons, Stefan and Vukan, and to stabilize the dynasty's rule.[140]

In an office written at some point between 1209 and 1213, Sava compared his father, or the "new Serbian Simeon," with a "fruitful vine" that had "brought forth a grape."[141] Moreover, he had increased the number of his children "like a pine of Lebanon."[142] The Nemanjids as the "root of Jesse" have thus become part of liturgical textuality and of religious practices directly within religious services. Furthermore, in contrast to the *vita*, this liturgical text frequently refers to the "fatherland." Thus, Simeon, who "left behind the earthly empire,"[143] shows "the way to those ruling in his fatherland" and illuminates it: "You are a candlestick to the fatherland."[144] In contrast to the *vita*, the emphasis is on the miraculous effect of the relics.[145] As an intercessor, Simeon was to obtain "peace for the fatherland from God."[146] The term "fatherland" in the sense of the country or province of the origin is now linked to elements of paradise rhetoric and the idea of peace. Nonetheless, much like in the case of the term "patria" in contemporary Western Europe, "fatherland" takes here a new meaning in conjunction with the "theocratic concept of kingship."[147]

Nemanja/Simeon as "Moses" in the work of his son, Stefan the First-Crowned

Stefan the First-Crowned also wrote a *vita* of his father, Simeon. He also emphasized the establishment of new monasteries in Stefan Nemanja's realm and described them as steps on the road to emancipation from Byzantium.[148] Unlike Sava, however, he very explicitly placed Simeon in the same context as St. George, whom Simeon had repeatedly called upon as a "helper"[149] against his brothers and also as a warrior saint. With his help, just like Joseph's for the Pharaoh, he was to be liberated by the Lord "with his strong hand" and led "to the throne of his fatherland:" God "elevated him to be a great ruler of the whole world."[150] In this rhetorical exaggeration,[151] the manipulation of the Byzantine model is just as surprising as the universal claim to power. "With the aid of God and St. George," Nemanja had defended his "fatherland" and with it his dominion.[152] By contrast, St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki, the other warrior saint of the region, is only mentioned in connection with a church that Nemanja had built in that city.[153] King Stefan described his father's enemies as

"godless," enemies whom Nemanja had to "destroy" "with the cross," as in a crusade.[154] The aim of the plot was to extinguish the memory of the heretics, the so-called Bogomils and their purported leader.[155] However, Nemanja's fight against Byzantium, which is described as a defensive war, was also waged to increase the "wealth and fame of his homeland" and of that of his followers.[156] The justification of the war is explained in terms of an Old Testament, martial reference: "He defeated his enemies like Moses defeated Amalek by carrying the cross of Christ before him without tiring, and overcame the barbarian enemies with his help."[157] The ruler, who only rose in the wake of the Latins' crusade of 1204, apparently followed their example by turning his own campaigns into crusades and interpreting the weakened Byzantine dominance as barbarism.

By commemorating Simeon as a founder, as a Christian or Old Testament military leader, as Moses, Stefan caused Simeon's subjects to become—here still implicitly—members of a new Israel. This form of sacralization of the ruler and his ruling alliance was well known in the Frankish empire, extolled as the new kingdom of David, and its ruler, Louis the Pious, officially as the embodiment of David, a "New David."[158] In the Rascian case, the social reach of that idea was most likely limited, however, to the dynasty, the higher clergy, and the close entourage of the ruler. Simeon's veneration as a saint also earned him the reputation of intercessor. In social practices of collective remembrance, described wholly pragmatically and recommended as behavioral guidelines, Simeon himself became a medium for integration between secular and spiritual rulers.[159] On the basis of the purported sanctity of his father's actions, as presented in the *vita*, Stefan therefore justified his own claim to power, which was contested at that time by his brother, Vukan.[160] His own victory was to be further secured by the translation of Simeon's remains, indeed the sacrality of the "desecrated" "fatherland" was to be restored.[161] The Rascian dominion was thereby rhetorically described as almost a holy land or the "Holy Land"— a discursive overlay that would otherwise take an increasingly important role at the turn of the 14th century in the description of France.[162] Stefan directly manipulated his father's body to obtain the integration of the sacralized rule: after the translation of Simeon's remains to Studenica, Stefan thanked God (and Sava) for the return of "the light which illuminates all parts of the Serbian land."[163]

With the aim of further cementing the perception of Simeon as a saint, Stefan described a number of miracles that do not appear in the *vita* written by Sava. The first three are linked to the myrrh coming out of Simeon's coffin, the healing of a man possessed by demons, and that of a lame. The fourth miracle is about Simeon as a patron saint. Stefan describes his coming to the defense of the realm against the Bulgarian emperor, Boril, and the Latin emperor of Byzantium, Henry of Flanders.[164] The fifth miracle also involved political events, namely, the sudden death of the Bulgarian ruler, Strez, which is interpreted as the result of Simeon's "help and protection," in other words a miracle for the benefit of "his fatherland."[165] The sixth miracle also deals with the protection of the realm as a "possession" of the saint.[166] The commemoration of Simeon as a saint in Stefan's account is mostly about his interceding powers on behalf of his "fatherland,"[167] for which he serves as "spiritual fortress."[168] Any political miracles involved embracing the saint's coffin and invoking him.[169] Simeon's work could thus be portrayed as secure in the distant future as well.[170] The cult of Nemanja was thus initially designed directly by his sons, furnished with the central texts, and institutionalized using the methods discussed. Unlike Sava, Stefan the First-Crowned directly utilized the reference to Nemanja to legitimize his own reign.[171] The cult was continued by the other Nemanjids and connected further dynasties until the collapse of the state.[172] Serbian historiography also highlights Nemanja's veneration primarily by the dynasty itself.[173]

This very selective overview makes clear the pivotal roles of hagiographic writing in the context of the establishing and consolidating Christian rule in the regions north of Byzantium and Rome, respectively. The texts about missionaries, such as Cyril and Methodius, Clement of Ohrid, or Adalbert of Prague, illustrate the ongoing cooperation and competition between the clerical and political actors involved. Moreover, from a long-term perspective, some of the same features may be observed in the High Middle Ages with *vitae* of holy rulers. The hagiographic production related to Wenceslas of Bohemia, Stephen of Hungary, Boris and Gleb, and Stefan Nemanja is based on patterns known both in the East and in the West, but is meant to consolidate the cults of saintly rulers in order to establish a Christian community and the religious legitimation of the statehood and political rule.

Described as apostles, martyrs, and Christ-, Moses-, or David-like, as leaders of a new Israel, all saints discussed in this chapter were glorified in text that contributed to the fostering and consolidation of identity communities, based on religion, but also to the gradual establishment of ethnic denominations connected to realms and "fatherlands." The continuous spiritual rule of Saints Wenceslas and Stephen over Bohemia and Hungary, respectively, is matched by the veneration of Stefan Nemanja/Simeon and his sons, Sava and Stefan the First-Crowned, as well as their offspring as the holy Nemanjid dynasty, described and depicted as a root of Jesse. In that context, the certainly peculiar sacralization of the whole Nemanjid dynasty may be seen as a culmination within a larger, European development, of entanglements between East and West, and not as an isolated, local phenomenon.

Notes

1 James T. Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), p. 5.
2 Frank Kämpfer, "Herrscher, Stifter, Heiliger. Politische Heiligenkulte bei den orthodoxen Südslaven," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, edited by Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), pp. 423–45, here p. 442.
3 Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), p. 271.
4 Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography*. For recent developments pertaining to Byzantine hagiography, see the studies collected in *Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes and Projects*, edited by Antonio Rigo, Michele Trizio and Eleftherios Despotakis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).
5 *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, edited by Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
6 See Stefan Rohdewald, *Götter der Nationen. Religiöse Erinnerungsfiguren in Serbien, Bulgarien und Makedonien bis 1944* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2014). The English version of this book is about to be published by Brill as *Sacralizing the Nation through Remembrance of Medieval Religious Figures in Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia*. The book is going to be part of the series "East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450."
7 For "dynastic sanctity" among the Ottonians, see Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986); Hans Werner Goetz, *Moderne Mediävistik. Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999). For a diachronic perspective, see *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume. Fünfzehn interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einem weltweiten und epochenübergreifenden Phänomen*, edited by Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie, 2002). On Byzantium, see Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Sakralität und Priestertum des byzantinischen Kaisers," in *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume. Fünfzehn interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einem weltweiten und epochenübergreifenden Phänomen*, edited by Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie, 2002), pp. 143–63. For France, see Alexandre Y. Haran, *Le lys et le globe. Messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France à l'aube des temps modernes* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2000).
8 Mariano Delgado, "Religion und Nation in der abendländischen Geschichte. Mit einem Seitenblick auf den baskischen Nationalismus," *Nation und Nationalismus in Europa. Kulturelle Konstruktion*

von Identiäten. Festschrift für Urs Altermatt, edited by Catherine Bosshart-Pfulger, Joseph Jung, Franziska Metzger (Frauenfeld/Stuttgart/Vienna: Huber, 2002), pp. 115–35, here p. 123.

9 Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1959), p. 1.

10 Endre V. Ivánka, *Rhomäerreich und Gottesvolk. Das Glaubens-, Staats- und Volksbewußtsein der Byzantiner und seine Auswirkung auf die ostkirchlich-osteuropäische Geisteshaltung* (Freiburg/Munich: Karl Alber, 1968); Hans-Georg Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1978), p. 108.

11 Kämpfer, "Herrscher," p. 435.

12 However, see In Stolis repromissionis. *Svettsi i sviatost v tsentralna i iztochna Evropa*, edited by Adelina G. Angusheva-Tikhanova (Sofia: Rod, 2012); *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald and Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).

13 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982).

14 For a short overview, see Markus Peter Beham and Stefan Rohdewald, "Kyrill und Method" in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), pp. 473–93.

15 Dimo D. Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii v bălgarskata istoricheska pamet prez srednite vekove* [Cyril and Methodius in Bulgarian historical monuments of the Middle Ages] (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2001). See also Boniu St. Angelov, "Kăm istoriiata na praznika na Kiril i Metodii prez srednite vekove" [On the history of the feast of Sts. Cyril and Methodius during the Middle Ages], in *Sbornik v chest na akademik Aleksandăr Teodorov-Balan po sluchai devetdeset i petata mu godishnina*, edited by Vladimir Georgiev (Sofia: Bălgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1955), pp. 55–68; Vasil Sl. Kiselkov, "Kirilometodiesvkiiat kult v Bălgariia" [The cult of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Bulgaria], in *Khiliada i sto godini slavianska pismenost, 863–1963. Sbornik v chest na Kiril i Metodii*, edited by Dimităr Angelov (Sofia: Bălgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1963), pp. 339–58. For the cult of Sts. Cyril and Methodius among other Orthodox Slavs in the Middle Ages, see Izabela Lis, *Święci w kulturze duchowej i ideologii Słowian prawosławnych średniowieczu (do XV w.)* [Saints in the spiritual culture and the ideology of the Orthodox Slavs in the Middle Ages (until the 15th c.)] (Cracow: Scriptum, 2004).

16 *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, edited by Stanislaus Hafner, 2 vols. (Graz/Vienna/Cologne: Styria, 1962, 1976).

17 Kämpfer, "Herrscher."

18 Boško Bojović, *L'idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du moyen âge serbe* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Kult Stefana Dečanskog* [The cult of Stefan Dečanski] (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Balkanološki Institut, 1997).

19 For a survey of the relevant literature, see Radovan Samardžić, *Pisci srpske istorije* [Writers of Serbian history], vol. 2 (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1981). See also two important collections of studies: *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje. Međunarodni naučni skup* [Sava Nemanjić-St. Sava. History and tradition. An international scientific conference], edited by Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1979); *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji. Međunarodni naučni skup* [St. Sava and the Serbian history and tradition. An international scientific conference], edited by Sima Ćirković (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1998).

20 Dmitrii Polyviannyi, "The cults of saints in the political ideology of the Bulgarian Empire," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Approche comparative*, edited by Marek Derwich and Mikhail Dmitriev (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999), pp. 401–17.

21 For Bohemia, see Robert Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bohemia* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill 2017); Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, edited by Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 214–62; Bohumil Zlámal, "Die Entwicklung der kyrillo-methodianischen Tradition in der tschechoslovakischen Geschichte," in *Konstantin-Kyrill aus Thessalonike*, edited by Antonín Salajka (Würzburg: Augustinus, 1969), pp. 77–157; Stefan Samerski, "Wenzel," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, edited by

Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie, 2013), pp. 501–11; Eligiusz Janus, "Adalbert," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie, 2013), pp. 512–23. For Poland, see Przemysław Urbańczyk and Stanisław Rosik, "Poland," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, edited by Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 263–318. For Hungary, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001); Zoltán Magyar, "Der heilige Stephan, König von Ungarn," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie, 2013), pp. 534–43. For Rus', see Ludolf Müller, "Studien zur altrussischen Legende der Hl. Boris und Gleb," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 23 (1954), 60–77; 25 (1956), 329–63; 27 (1959), 274–322; and 30 (1962), no. 1, 14–44; Jonathan Shepard, "Rus," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, edited by Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 369–416.

22 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 171; Alexander Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Zum Problem der Rezeption und Transformation (6. bis 12. Jh.)* (Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), p. 66; Gerhard Podskalsky, "Griechische Autoren in der bulgarischen und serbischen Literatur des Mittelalters (9.–15. Jh.)," *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994), pp. 1–38, here pp. 1–4. According to his *vita*, the emperor granted Methodius a Slavic principality to govern, "so that he could learn all the Slavic customs and gradually become accustomed to them." See *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonischen Legenden und der Klemensvita. Bericht von der Taufe Russlands nach der Laurentiuschronik*, edited by Josev Bujnoch (Graz/Vienna/Cologne: Styria, 1972), pp. 54 and 113. The so-called "short *vita*," written for liturgical purposes, claims that Methodius learned the Slavic language in that principality (*Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 218). Constantine's mother tongue is therefore likely to have been Greek.

23 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, pp. 273–74.

24 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 274. Its oldest surviving copy is found in a collection of sermons produced in the 12th and 13th centuries in Chernigov and Kiev. The collection is in itself a testimony of Methodius'memorialization in Rus'.

25 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 274.

26 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 54.

27 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, pp. 105–06.

28 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 55; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 275.

29 *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, edited by Marvin Kantor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1983), p. 37.

30 *Medieval Slavic Lives*, p. 71.

31 *Medieval Slavic Lives*, p. 71.

32 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, pp. 275–76.

33 *Medieval Slavic Lives*, p. 117.

34 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 65.

35 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia* [Complete works], edited by Boniu Angelov, Kuio Kuev and Khristo Kodov, vol. 1 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1970), p. 426; *Stara bălgarska literatura* [The old Bulgarian literature], edited by Boniu St. Angelov and Donka Petkanova, vol. 2 (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1981), p. 81. On the text, see Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, pp. 183–84.

36 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 426; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 81.

37 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 426; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 82.

38 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 426; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 82.

39 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 427; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 83.

40 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 427; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 82.

41 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 427; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 84. See Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 184. See also Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 115–16.

42 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 427; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 84.
43 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 428; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 84.
44 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 470; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 88; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, pp. 274–75.
45 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 469; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 86. On the similarities and differences between the eulogy and comparable Byzantine texts, see Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur*, p. 155.
46 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, pp. 468–69; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 85; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 278.
47 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, p. 473; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 92; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 278.
48 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, pp. 468–69; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 85; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 278.
49 According to Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 278, Cyril was "placed by the side of Christ as a life-giving spiritual source."
50 *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 92.
51 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, pp. 472–73; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 90.
52 Clement of Ohrid, *Săbrani săchineniia*, pp. 470–71; *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 89.
53 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 429.
54 Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii*, p. 17.
55 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, edited by Boniu Angelov, vol. 2 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1959), pp. 3 and 5; see Iordan Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedoniia* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1908; reprint 1970), p. 290; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 429.
56 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, p. 10.
57 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, pp. 1 and 12.
58 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, p. 16.
59 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, p. 12.
60 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, p. 16.
61 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 233; Beck, *Kirche*, p. 649.
62 Gerhard Podskalsky, "Griechische Autoren in der bulgarischen und serbischen Literatur des Mittelalters (9.–15. Jahrhunderts)," *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994), 1–38, here 13; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 285. However, see *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 129.
63 Gerhard Podskalsky, "Die Verehrung des Hl. Johannes (Ioann) von Rila in Bulgarien und in der Slavia Orthodoxa," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Age et a l'époque moderne. Approche comparative*, edited by Marek Derwich and Mikhail V. Dmitriev (Wrocław: Pracownia Badań nad Dziejami Zakónow i Kongregacji Kościelnych, 1999), pp. 419–30, here p. 419.
64 *Grătskite zhitiia na Kliment Okhridski*, edited by Aleksandăr Milev (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1966), pp. 128–29; *Materialy dlia istorii zhizni i deiatel'nosti uchenikov svv. Kirilla i Mefodiia*, edited by Nikolai. L. Tunitskii (Sergiev Posad: Izdanie Otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1918; reprint London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), pp. 122–23; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 178.
65 Podskalsky, "Griechische Autoren," pp. 21–22 and 38; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 176 with n. 752.
66 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 139.
67 *Grătskite zhitiia*, pp. 132–33; *Materialy*, pp. 126–27.
68 *Grătskite zhitiia*, pp. 132–33; *Materialy*, pp. 126–27.
69 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 285; but see Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur*, p. 158. For a long time, Theophylaktos' testimony was regarded as secondary, supposedly based on revised, Slavic sources (*Materialy*, p. 129).
70 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 137.
71 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 144.
72 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 145.
73 *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz*, p. 164.
74 *Materialy*, p. 115.
75 Gatia Simeonova, *Deniat na Kiril i Metodii* [The feast of St. Cyril and Methodius] (Sofia: Etnografski Institut s Muzei pri BAN, 1994), pp. 27–28.

76 To be sure, and in contrast to Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 285, Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur*, pp. 158 and 174 believed Theophylaktos' *vita* to be nothing but the Greek translation of a lost Slavic original.
77 Beck, *Kirche*, p. 185.
78 Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii*, p. 92.
79 *Sinodik tsaria Borila* [The Synodikon of Emperor Boril], edited by M. G. Popruzhenko (Sofia: Dărzhavna Pechatnitsa, 1928), p. 77; see Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii*, p. 92.
80 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, pp. 173 and 284.
81 Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 284.
82 Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii*, pp. 85–86 and 101.
83 *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, pp. 63–66; Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, pp. 28–29.
84 Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, pp. 290–99; Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodii*, p. 96.
85 Cheshmedzhiev, *Kiril i Metodiĭ*, pp. 80–81.
86 See Zlámal, *Die Entwicklung*, pp. 77–157; Beham and Rohdewald, "Kyrill und Method," pp. 473–93.
87 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 79–80; Dimo Cheshmedzhiev, "Kăm văprosa za kulta na kniaz Boris-Mikhail v srednovekovna Bălgariia" [On the cult of Prince Boris-Michael in medieval Bulgaria], *Istoricheski pregled* 55 (1999), nos. 3–4, 158–75; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur*, p. 60.
88 Polyviannyi, "The cults of saints," p. 403.
89 Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 100.
90 Marina Miladinov, "Preface," in *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 19–26, here pp. 19–21.
91 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 107–08.
92 Gumpold of Mantua, *Passio Sancti Venceslavi Martyris*, in *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 28–75, here p. 31.
93 Gumpold of Mantua, *Passio*, p. 32.
94 Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, *Bohemia and Moravia*, p. 234.
95 Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler*, pp. 110 and 117; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 164–65.
96 Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler*, p. 111; Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, *Bohemia and Moravia*, p. 241.
97 Urbańczyk and Rosik, "Poland," pp. 283–84.
98 *Passio Sancti Adalberti martiris Christi*, in *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Centuries)*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 96–181, here p. 173.
99 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 166.
100 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 96.
101 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 115.
102 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 115.
103 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 129.
104 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 137.
105 *Passio Sancti Adalberti*, p. 116.
106 *Narrative and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*, translated by Marvin Kantor, in *Medieval Slavic Lives*, pp. 166–253, here p. 167.
107 *Narrative*, p. 169.
108 *Narrative*, pp. 177 and 192–93.
109 *Narrative*, p. 183.
110 *Narrative*, p. 179.
111 *Narrative*, p. 191.
112 Shepard, "Rus," p. 399; see also Müller, "Studien."
113 Hartvic, *Life of King Stephen of Hungary*, translated by Nora Berend, in *Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 375–98, here p. 376. See also Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 25–29 and 42–48.
114 Hartvic, *Life*, pp. 379–80.
115 Hartvic, *Life*, pp. 380–81.

116 Hartvic, *Life*, p. 382.
117 Hartvic, *Life*, pp. 383–84.
118 Hartvic, *Life*, p. 396.
119 Engel, *The Realm*, p. 28.
120 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 11.
121 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 60 and 76.
122 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 32.
123 Günter Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219 im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Entwicklung der byzantinischen Teilstaaten nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels infolge des 4. Kreuzzuges* (Munich: Institut für Byzantistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Univ., 1972), pp. 169–72; Beck, *Kirche*, p. 185.
124 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 35–36.
125 Matschke, *Sakralität*, p. 162.
126 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 35.
127 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 41.
128 Delgado, *Religion und Nation*, p. 123.
129 Matschke, *Sakralität*, pp. 154 and 162.
130 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 41.
131 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 44.
132 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 50.
133 Stephen Baehr, *The Paradise Myth in Eighteenth-Century Russia. Utopian Patterns in Early Secular Russian Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 22–23; Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 11th ed. (Tübingen/Basel: Francke, 1993), p. 206. Not on the paradise topos: *Serbisches Mittelalter,* vol. 1, p. 141; Eva Haustein, "Der Nemanjidenstammbaum. Studien zur mittelalterlichen serbischen Herrscherikonographie," Ph.D. dissertation, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität (Bonn, 1984), pp. 207–10.
134 The idea of "holy king" is disputed for Ottonian, both because of the royal "stirps beata" and the veneration as saints of several *female* members of the family. In fact, the only saint of the family is Henry II. See Egon Boshof, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jh.* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), p. 111; Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens*, pp. 112–13 and 242–45.
135 Haustein, "Der Nemanjidenstammbaum," pp. 151–57; Kämpfer, *Herrscher*, pp. 436–38.
136 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 48.
137 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 58.
138 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 59.
139 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 61.
140 Kämpfer, *Herrscher*, p. 431.
141 *Srbljak. Službe, kanoni, akatisti*, vol. 1, edited by Đorđe Trifunović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1970), p. 16; Haustein, "Der Nemanjidenstammbaum," p. 207.
142 *Srbljak*, p. 20.
143 *Srbljak*, p. 14.
144 *Srbljak*, pp. 8 and 22.
145 *Srbljak,* p. 24.
146 *Srbljak*, p. 18.
147 Thomas Eichenberger, *Patria. Studien zur Bedeutung des Wortes im Mittelalter (6.–12. Jh.)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 248–49.
148 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 77.
149 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 81–82.
150 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 80.
151 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 153.
152 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
153 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 90.
154 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 85.
155 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 86.
156 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 86–87.
157 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 86–87.
158 Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, pp. 81–83; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "Pro patria mori in medieval political thought," *American Historical Review* 56 (1951), 472–92; Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen*

Peoples. Sacred Sources of National Identity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 107; Haran, *Le lys et le globe*, p. 32.

159 See the collective memory of the ruler at Simeon's deathbed: "And all spoke as if with one mouth: 'Remember us, venerable one, in your blessed rest'" (*Serbisches Mittelalter,* vol. 1, p. 107).

160 *Serbisches Mittelalter,* vol. 1, p. 108.

161 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 109.

162 Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, pp. 108–09; Kantorowicz, *The King's two Bodies*, p. 237; Joseph R. Strayer, "France. The Holy Land, the Chosen People and the most Christian king," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, edited by Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 3–16.

163 *Serbisches Mittelalter,* vol. 1, p. 110.

164 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 112–13. Simeon as healer appears also in Domentijan's *vita* of Sava; see Domentijan, *Žitije svetoga Save* [The Life of St. Sava], edited by Ljiljana Juhas-Georgievska and Tomislav Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 2001), p. 138.

165 *Serbisches Mittelalter,* vol. 1, p. 117: "Just as the martyr Demetrios, the glorious, protecting lover of his fatherland, had once pierced the emperor, a relative [of Strez], and had him die an evil death so that his fatherland would not suffer harm, so also my holy lord offered his fatherland help and protection by piercing this villain."

166 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 119.

167 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 121.

168 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 123.

169 The threat to Rascia by the Hungarian King Andrew and the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders, who "turned against the land of St. Simeon, my fatherland," was an occasion for further miracles (*Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, p. 125).

170 *Serbisches Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pp. 128–29.

171 Stanoje Stanojević, *Nemanja* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1933), pp. 37–38.

172 Kämpfer, *Herrscher*, pp. 429, 435, and 438; Frank Kämpfer, "Nationalheilige in der Geschichte der Serben," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 20 (1972), 7–22.

173 The examples, which Stanojević, *Nemanja*, pp. 38–39 compiled, show how the references to Nemanja were in the first instance about legitimizing rule: "All the rulers of the Nemanjid dynasty, from both direct and ancillary lines, have always proudly emphasized that they are descendants of Nemanja, and that he is their ancestor, that they rule, acquire land, and are saved with his prayers and his help."

27
MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE

Alice Isabella Sullivan

The dynamics between the eastern and western cultural spheres in regions of the Balkans Peninsula, the Carpathian Mountains and farther to the north have contributed to the emergence of new visual and spatial idioms eclectic with respect to sources. Monasticism and religious reform guided some of the most innovative developments in church architecture both east and west, with ramifications in the territories where traditions intersected. Changes in patterns of patronage, the relationships between patrons and builders, as well as workshop practices also left a mark on monumental building projects. The archaeological, architectural and artistic records demonstrate the networked positions of these Eastern European lands that emerged at the crossroads of Byzantium and the West. The negotiations between different building traditions are especially evident in the religious sphere.

The extant material evidence from the period between ca. 500 and ca. 1300 consists of archaeological remains, sculptural works, mosaic and mural decorations, painting on wood, as well as carved and painted inscriptions. This kind of evidence seldom allows for definitive conclusions. Few structures are securely dated, and, in most cases, little is known about the circumstances of their design and erection, as well as aspects of subsequent use. For the earlier periods, the historical record is scarce, and so the archaeological evidence takes center stage, although its interpretation is not without problems. Therefore, it is important to put forth critical and multilayered readings guided by hypotheses, and that offers further lines of inquiry. When extensive sources are lacking, facts can distort the past, what remains of the historical record, and historiography on a subject. Therefore, this chapter places less emphasis on chronology and geography, and more on themes, typologies, issues and further guiding questions. The material is not all-encompassing, but highlights key monuments, themes and questions. An important reason for adopting this approach is the desire to blur, if not push aside, the modern geographic frontiers that have guided scholarly inquiries. This chapter is meant to demonstrate the fluidity of architectural forms and features across political divides, and their availability to patrons and builders in disparate regions. The material under consideration is organized into subsections that explore the relationship between architectural forms and rituals, architectural developments in the monastic context, fortifications and other secular projects, and the collaborative efforts and workshop practices that gave rise to architectural innovation. Finally, the reader should regard this chapter as structured in dialogue with the following chapter on monumental painting and mosaic.

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Architecture and rituals

Monumental architecture throughout the Middle Ages developed in dialogue with ritual activities, both secular and religious. The surviving evidence from Eastern Europe reveals a multitude of typologies of religious structures, which demonstrate the variety of designs, forms and models that circulated and were available to patrons, builders and workshops, as well as the creativity involved in conceiving new forms from existing models. Basilicas and centrally planned structures, as well as their variants, reveal the different types and functions of religious buildings erected in cities, monastic complexes and rural environments. Some served public, semi-public, funerary and/or commemorative functions, while others were designed as domestic chapels or monastic churches. Although centrally planned buildings came to be largely associated with the Byzantine cultural context, especially with later developments in Byzantine architecture, basilicas were in fact just as popular across Eastern Europe during the period under scrutiny here.[1] For example, important basilican monuments from the 5th century include the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki—hailed as one of the oldest still standing churches in the Balkans—but also basilicas in the old Macedonian cities of Stobi and Philippi, as well as in Corinth and Salona, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia.[2] The early medieval architectural remains demonstrate that the story of the development of monumental architecture is more complex than a strict division between basilican structures associated with western medieval architecture and centrally planned buildings most typical for the Eastern Christian traditions. During the 9th and 10th centuries, in fact, basilicas and centrally planned structures were equally popular in the Balkans, and there are even monuments that combine the two models, no doubt in response to the desires of the patrons and the needs of local communities. Moreover, what comes to characterize monumental architecture in Eastern Europe between ca. 500 and ca. 1300 are elements of continuity with past traditions, as well as innovations and experimentations in local contexts.[3]

The basilican layout was well-suited for monumental structures with diverse functions and intended to accommodate large audiences. Basilicas generally had a nave with side aisles delineated by rows of columns, a rectilinear narthex on the western side and an altar facing east beyond the transept. This building type emulated and transformed the models put forth by imperial basilicas, such as the Basilica Ulpia and the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome, as well as early Christian basilicas, such as the Old St. Peter's in Rome. St. Domnius at Manastirine in Salona (now Solin, in Croatia) was built over the tomb of the 4th-century martyr St. Domnius, bishop of Salona, during the first half of the 5th century and experienced transformations in the following centuries.[4] Designed as "a miniature version of Old St. Peter's in Rome," Manastirine suffered during the turbulent 7th century.[5] As a consequence, the complex shrank in size. The transept, which focused on the martyr's tomb, became the new church. Over time, the site acquired new burials (*ad sanctos*) and ceased to serve regular liturgical purposes, instead operating as a cult building and a "cemetery basilica."[6] In fact, St. Domnius at Manastirine became one of the earliest Christian cemeteries in the Balkans. In Pliska, the first capital of the First Bulgarian Empire, the Great Basilica also emulated Old St. Peter's.[7] Rebuilt over an 8th-century structure, and then later enlarged, the monumental church consisted of two aisles on either side of the central nave. Measuring 100 m in length and 30 m in width, the Great Basilica in Pliska was one of the largest churches in Eastern Europe. Although Pliska continued to develop through the 12th century,[8] Preslav became the second capital of the Bulgarian Empire in 893. It, too, received a large cathedral in the form of a three-aisled basilica, yet smaller in scale than that in Pliska.[9] Each of its side

aisles carried galleries above and culminated in a semicircular apse. As such, the east end of the church displayed three apses pointing in the direction of the rising sun, with the central one reserved for the main altar. Although little survives of these structures, the archaeological evidence has revealed that they were originally lavishly decorated with spoliated marble columns, revetments, as well as sculptural, painted and mosaic works. These buildings thus extravagangly unified the congregational aspects of Roman and early Christian basilicas with the eulogizing functions of martyria in efforts to commemorate the deceased and propel the faith.

It was not long before basilicas also acquired the function of mausolea. In Split, the 7th-century Cathedral of St. Domnius—regarded as one of Europe's oldest Catholic cathedral—was built over the 4th-century Mausoleum of Diocletian (Figure 27.1).[10] The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and its prominent belfry, which was added in the 12th century, was dedicated to St. Domnius (the patron saint of Split). Some of his relics were brought to the site from St. Domnius in Manastirine near Salona (with the others sent to Rome) and stored in the first-floor sacristy. Other local basilicas were designed from the outset to accommodate and commemorate the lives of their founders and immediate family members. The Church of St. Mary at Biskupija, near Knin, Croatia, became the seat of the bishop of Croatia by the 11th century.[11] The church was designed with a westwork (monumental western entrance)—the earliest in Croatia—the first floor of which served as a mausoleum for the 9th-century rulers of Croatia.[12] The primary visual models for the extant figural sculptures from that site—displaying Marian and Christological imagery—were carefully selected and adapted under royal patronage from Byzantine and North Italian examples in order to foreground the Virgin's protective role.

Similar basilican structures survive from Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Kievan Rus'. The 10th-century basilica of St. George in Prague resembles churches of the previous century from Moravia. In Hungary, the church likely dedicated to St. Hadrian discovered in the stronghold at Zalavár was also built on a basilican layout with a 5-room narthex and an ambulatory around the eastern apse, supposedly "the earliest known example of an ambulatory with radiating chapels in Europe."[13] The mid-11th-century Church of St. Gereon in Cracow is also a notable three-aisled basilica with two towers on the west façade and a transept with a gallery at the northern end. The same applies to the large Tithe Church in Kiev, built out of brick during the last decade of the 10th century, and formally emulating the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. However, whereas Ottonian and early Romanesque architectural models and ideas were mediated in regions of East Central Europe, the buildings of Kievan Rus' derive stylistically from Byzantine architecture and are the result of the Christianization of the region that began in the late 10th century.[14]

Although most basilicas had timber, flat roofs, some were vaulted and others capped by domes. One of the earliest examples of cross-domed churches is Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.[15] The church was built on the site of a late 5th-century basilica and rebuilt after damages that it suffered during the earthquake of 620. It was reconstructed on a smaller scale, yet still sizable, measuring 35 × 43 meters (possibly the largest church in the Balkans at the time). It incorporated into its design spoliated capitals from the earlier structure, while the narthex of the old building was integrated into the new one. Its main features include the basilican layout with massive pier clusters in the nave, a barrel-vaulted "cross" and a dome over the central square bay. The dome rests on four pier clusters made up of four thinner piers, which, in essence, is the "cross-domed" scheme as the dome occupies the entire area of the naos (inner chamber). Columnar arcades separate the aisles from the naos with alternating patterns of solid piers and smaller, lighter columns, thus offering a change in the

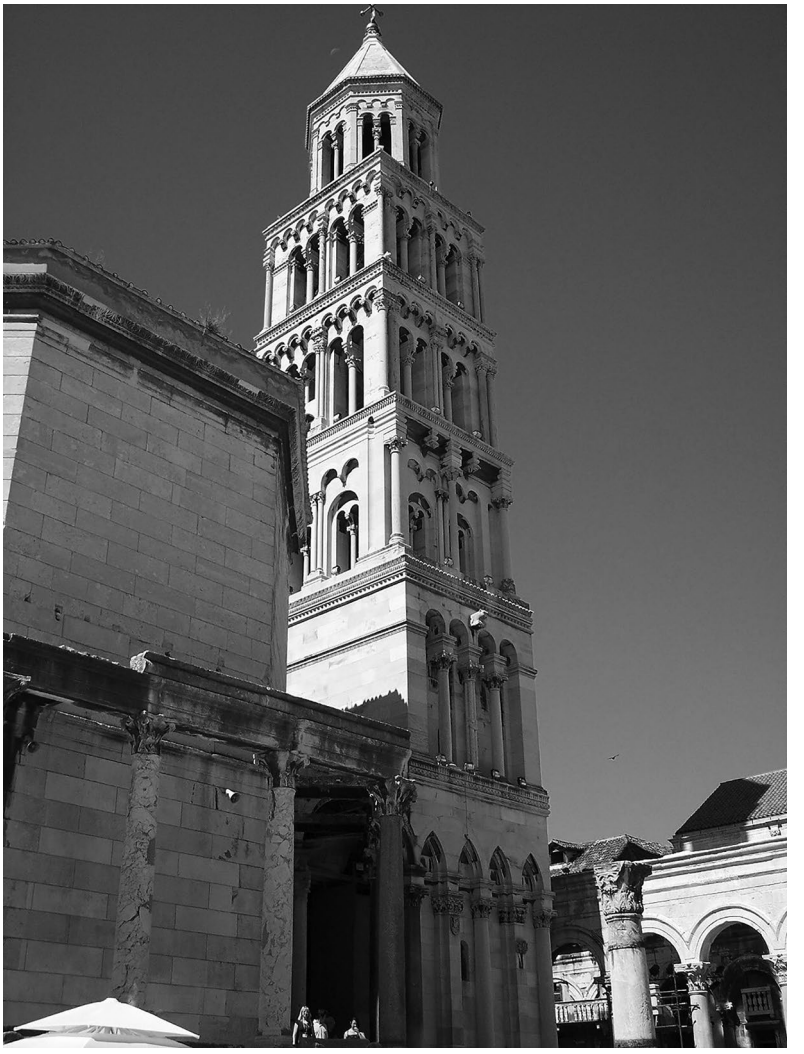

Figure 27.1 Cathedral of St. Domnius, 7th century, Split, Croatia. Photograph by Bill Higham
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

traditional scheme of basilican churches. The building terminates in a semi-cylindrical apse framed by two subsidiary rooms (*pastophories*) each with an arched window. The three-apse design and the building technique are of Constantinopolitan origin. The technique consists of alternating bands of five courses of brick with several courses of small, cut ashlars.[16] Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki sits at the root of the architectural developments that follow in monumental buildings projects in the Balkans.

During the 10th and 11th centuries, cathedral churches began exhibiting projecting transepts of the same dimensions as the nave, with a dome over the crossing. The Church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, for example, served as the seat of the Bulgarian patriarch and was closely tied to a nearby palace and affiliated with a now-lost urban monastery.[17] The church was rebuilt by Archbishop Leo (1037–1056) after the Byzantine reconquest of the

Bulgarian Empire in 1018. Its basilican plan displays galleries over the side aisles and a dome at the crossing. Toward the west, above the central bay of the narthex, a belfry marked the entrance. Although this feature is rare in Byzantine church architecture before 1204, the example from Hagia Sophia in Ohrid is noteworthy.[18] Much further north, in Kievan Rus', the mid-11th-century Cathedral of the Dormition inside the Monastery of the Caves was similarly built as a domed basilica.[19] Unfortunately, the *katholikon* (or main monastic church) was destroyed during World War II. Possibly inspired by the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Chernihiv, the Church of the Dormition placed emphasis on a pyramidal structure that culminated at the crossing.[20] This was also the case with the Church of Hagia Sophia in Kiev, built by Yaroslav the Wise (1019–1054) during the first decades of the 11th century.[21] This building demonstrates the reworking in a local context of Eastern Christian building models that inspired its forms and also its dedication—that is, the basilican Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, and the famed Constantinopolitan Church of Hagia Sophia, unique in the history of medieval architecture. The basilican layout of the Kievan Rus' churches, with a subdivision of the interior spaces into smaller sections, and a vertical emphasis at the dome over the crossing, became characteristic features of the late church of Rus' and Russia.[22] The specifics of how architectural models were mediated in this northern cultural context relative to Byzantium, the medieval West and local traditions remain to be fully explored.

The layout that became most characteristic of, and suited for, the celebrations of the Orthodox liturgy was the cross-in-square church plan. It consists of a square central portion of the naos delineated by four columns or piers bearing a dome overhead. In essence, such buildings contain a domed square naos with an oblong narthex toward the west and a tripartite sanctuary at the east. In cases in which the narthex and the sanctuary are of the same dimensions, the dome appears central over the structure when seen from the outside. Aside from examples in Constantinople, Mount Athos, Bulgaria and select areas of the Adriatic coast, this type of church layout is "virtually unknown until circa 1000."[23] The so-called Palace Church in Pliska is arguably the earliest cross-in-square church in the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire.[24] Dated to the late 9th century, the church is small—only 8.5 × 13 m in plan—and displays similar architectural designs as churches from the Byzantine capital. The links between the first Bulgarian capital and Constantinople emerged after the Christianization of the region in 864, informing local cultural, religious, artistic and architectural facets of the new Christian state. Moreover, since 9th-century Constantinopolitan churches unfortunately no longer survive, what remains of the Palace Church in Pliska arguably offers insight into contemporary church architecture in the Byzantine capital. Noteworthy 9th-century examples of cross-in-square churches from the Adriatic coast include the Church of St. Tryphon in Kotor (Montenegro), built ca. 807,[25] the crypt of the Church of "Old St. Peter's" in Dubrovnik (Croatia) and the Church of St. Thomas at Prčanj, in the Bay of Kotor (Montenegro). The latter has been hailed as perhaps "the finest example of the cross-in-square type along the east Adriatic."[26] Although these examples exhibit markedly Carolingian architectural features, such as westwork, their layouts derive from the Byzantine cross-in-square scheme.

One explanation for the dissemination of this church plan across the Eastern Christian cultural sphere—across the Adriatic, in the Balkans and further north into Kievan Rus'—is the cultural and religious sway of Constantinople and Mount Athos, in particular. The *katholikon* of Zygos Monastery on Mount Athos exhibited the cross-in-square layout ca. 1000. The Church of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis in Strumica (Republic of North Macedonia) was built according to the exact dimensions of the Zygos *katholikon* and similarly displayed 4 piers (not columns) for the dome support. Likewise, the Church of the Holy Trinity at the

Monastery of the Caves in Kiev (1106–1108) uses cruciform piers that further isolate the corner compartments of the naos. In Bulgaria, the Church of St. George in the village of Kolusha (near Kyustendil) was also built on a cross-in-square plan but this time likely through direct contact with Constantinople. What emerges from these considerations is the availability to patrons of different models, and the deliberate selection of certain forms, materials and techniques, which direct attention to the networked position of these lands across Eastern Europe.

In addition to basilicas, domed churches and cross-in-square structures, rotundas also enter the repertoire of monumental architecture. Although generally rare, these centrally planned buildings are not entirely circular, *per se*. Instead, they display various configurations that direct attention toward the center of the building and other relevant sections, such as an east-facing altar. One of the best-known examples is the rotunda of the Holy Trinity, now of St. Donatus, in Zadar (Croatia).[27] Begun ca. 800, the large structure—one of the largest in Europe—is roughly cylindrical. It contains a main space with a smaller one inscribed within, on two levels, and three protruding apses. Although some scholars have linked the rotunda of St. Donatus with Byzantium (noting its similarity to San Vitale, Ravenna),[28] others have pointed to Carolingian precedents, such as Charlemagne's Palace Chapel in Aachen.[29] Perhaps a more fruitful avenue of inquiry would be to examine the church in its own right, and as a monument that negotiated between different traditions in a local context.[30] Indeed, this is demonstrated also by the so-called Round Church in Preslav (Bulgaria), the unique, early 10th-century rotunda that combines a centrally planned main space, a large narthex with corner towers with spiral staircases within, and a rectangular atrium (courtyard) with slender columns and niches (Figure 27.2).[31] Called the "Golden Church" on the basis of the written

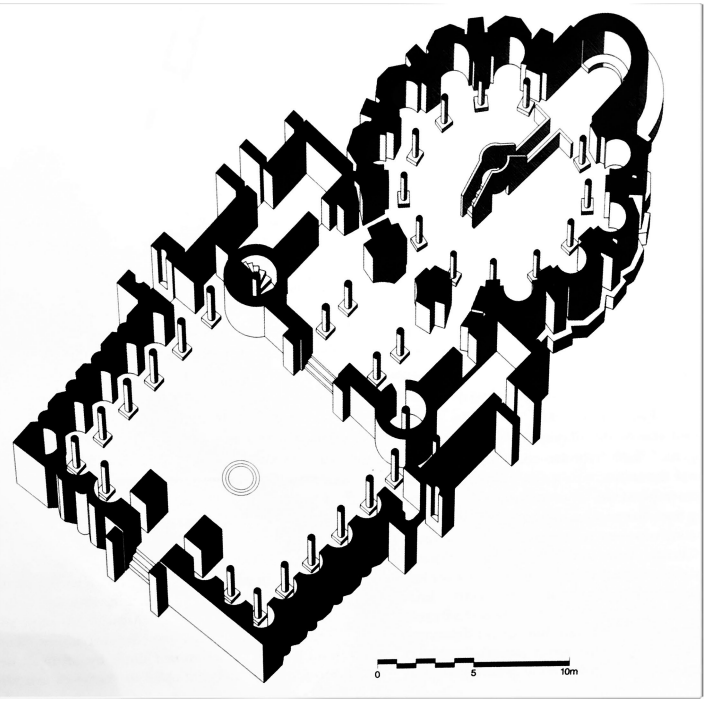

Figure 27.2 Plan of the Monastery of the Round Church, 10th century, Preslav, Bulgaria. Drawing by Joel Kelly

sources,[32] this large structure displayed two tiers of colonnettes around the dome and eight niches in the walls. Besides serving as a monastic church, its other functions are difficult to identify. Nevertheless, while its prominent Carolingian *westwork* has provided evidence of western architectural models in medieval Bulgaria, the main rotunda finds more immediate prototypes in Constantinople, and more specifically in the now-lost centralized Church of the Prophet Elijah in the Great Palace, built by Basil I (867–886), and in the Chrysotryklinos ("Golden Hall" or main throne room of the Great Palace, built by Justin II during the 6th century, and later decorated and enhanced by Tiberios and Michael III during the 9th century).[33] The latter, both secular and religious in function, offers insight into the multitude of uses of rotundas in their respective contexts.

There are more rotundas in Eastern Europe in the 10th century than in earlier periods. In Moravia, a timber-and-stone rotunda was discovered in the northeastern bailey of the Pohansko stronghold near Břeclav (Czech Republic), and another survives as the Church of St. Catherine in Znojmo, dated to the late 11th century or early 12th century.[34] The remarkable parallels between rotundas in Moravia and those in the Adriatic region deserve further investigations.[35] In Bohemia, the first building under the still standing cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague was also a centralized structure. Founded by Duke Wenceslas I (921–935) in 930, the rotunda was selected as an appropriate form to accommodate and commemorate the holy relic (the arm of St. Vitus) that it housed.[36] In 1060, the building was expanded and a basilican layout was selected to facilitate movement throughout the space for larger groups of the faithful. The building was subsequently expanded further, and the current large structure on the site dates to 1344. Another noteworthy example is the Romanesque rotunda of St. George—one of the oldest masonry buildings in the Czech Republic—built before 1126 on the Říp Mountain. The centralized building with a semicircular apse extending toward the east has been interpreted as a commemorative monument. Soběslav I, Duke of Bohemia (1125–1140), subsequently refurbished and expanded the structure with a western tower, following his victory over King Lothair III at the Battle of Chlumec on February 18, 1126. In Poland, several rotundas are known that were attached to palatial complexes in Cracow, Przemyśl and Wiślica. They have been dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.[37] In Kievan Rus', notable rotundas include St. Michael (built before 1268) and St. Basil (1294), both in Vladimir-in-Volhynia.[38] The rotunda proved a versatile building type that witnessed proliferations in various contexts, long after the 10th century. This may also be the result of more durable materials being employed in the later constructions, or the functional fluidity and popularity of this building type among varied strata of society. By the 13th century, rotundas also begin appearing as part of residences of noblemen in Hungary and Bohemia.[39]

In addition to monumental structures, which were generally the result of royal patronage, smaller and less architecturally elaborate buildings were erected at the expense of lower-rank individuals. This is the case with hall churches, which offer a simplified variant of the basilican plan, consisting only of a nave ending with a semicircular or rectilinear apse. These types of single-nave churches, modest in size, likely commissioned by noblemen, are found throughout present-day Hungary, Transylvania (Romania) and Poland. In Istria, the churches of St. Sophia in Dvigrad and of the Virgin Mary in Velika Gospa were built ca. 800 as hall churches.[40] They exhibit closest typological affinities with buildings from northern Italy and southern Switzerland.[41] The Church of St. Margaret of Antioch in Kopčany (Slovakia), also dated to the 9th century, is the only extant rectangular church with a right-angle chancel and the "oldest church in East Central Europe."[42] Farther to the south, in the Balkans (in Serbia, Bulgaria and even Romania), as well as the Mediterranean region

from Italy to Crete and Cyprus, smaller single-aisled domed churches take center stage. Although few are still standing today, in part due to later reconstructions and enlargements, such structures are found either freestanding or as part of larger religious complexes, or as subsidiary churches. The village of Gornji Matejevac (near Niš, in Serbia) has a notable example dated to the 11th century. The small church consists of three interior spaces arranged longitudinally: a central square domed bay with a semicircular sanctuary extending toward the east, and a western narthex. For this structure, the emphasis is on height and the interior progression from one space to the next. The shallow niches that articulate the exterior do not indicate aspects of the internal division of the church, offering a disjunction between exterior decoration and interior spatial organization. Typologically, this building is related to churches on the Dalmatian coast.[43]

Although it is possible to suggest that small-scale churches with simpler layouts and architectural designs could have emerged as the result of declining economic conditions, the privatization of patronage may offer a better explanation for their spread across Eastern Europe from the 9th century onward.[44] Indeed, changes in patterns of patronage should be examined in light of shifting demographics and the spread of Christianity. In the 9th and 10th centuries, for example, Christianity arrived in Bulgaria (864) and Kievan Rus' (988). Following the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–787 and 814–843), the "Triumph of Orthodoxy" led to Christian missions across Eastern Europe. The Christianization of Eastern Europe informed cultural changes evident in monumental architecture and painting.[45] However, the monuments that emerged in those disparate regions should be viewed as more than just "Byzantine" buildings. They certainly emulate Byzantine church building traditions, but they more readily interpret the Byzantine examples in a local context alongside models adopted from elsewhere and those developed locally. As such, the monumental architectural production is linked to, yet not synonymous with, Byzantium.

Architecture and monasticism

Some of the most remarkable architectural achievements of the period between ca. 500 and ca. 1300 unfolded in monastic contexts. In the Byzantine cultural sphere, the post-Iconoclasm period witnessed an increased importance of Orthodox monasticism, as well as the involvement of private patrons in monastic projects. Aside from the archaeological record and a few written sources, the evidence for the early stages of development of monasticism in the Balkans is scarce.[46] A possible early example is the 5th- or 6th-century complex with a basilica and a rectangular burial crypt (*hypogeum*) with 24 burial pits found during the excavation of the 13th-century site at Studenica Hvostanska (near Kraljevo, Serbia).[47] The archaeological evidence uncovered on the Trapezitsa Hill in Tărnovo, Bulgaria, has also been interpreted as a possible 5th- or 6th-century monastic site, in this case associated with an episcopal complex.[48] Although the evidence is meager, it would not be out of the question to consider the initial development of monastic architecture in the Balkans in dialogue with urban planning. From the early 10th century, the previously mentioned monastery around the Round Church in Preslav is a prominent example that reveals aspects of the architectural innovations that could occur in the monastic context—offering a building that juxtaposes a centrally planned main structure preceded by a rectangular narthex with a *westwork* and a large atrium. Such eclectic architectural projects were to become the norm across Eastern Europe.

Related to the late antique *cella-trichora* and its funerary connotations, triconch churches became increasingly popular during the 11th century in regions of the Balkans, especially

in Kastoria (northern Greece) and in Ohrid, and in the context of monasticism.[49] Around Ohrid, triconch churches are associated with the Bulgarian presence in the region through which Byzantine traditions left a mark. The Church of the Monastery of St. Clement, dedicated to St. Panteleimon, was built in Ohrid before 893 on an elongated triconch layout. Shortly thereafter, ca. 900, the Church of the Holy Archangels at Monastery of St. Naum in Ohrid was built in a similar manner. Although slightly different in wall construction, as well as in their circular and rectilinear features around the apses, both edifices served a monastic function and became burial sites for their respective patrons.[50] Although by the turn of the 12th century the triconch plan was relatively rare in freestanding churches in the Balkans, it became nevertheless characteristic of monastic churches. Scholars have determined that the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos (963) was the first Athonite building to adopt the triconch plan.[51] The church was initially rectangular in shape and had three semicircular apses only toward the east end. In the late 10th century, however, the naos area received a north and a south semicircular apse. According to one explanation, these niches were added in order to facilitate the antiphonal singing of the two choirs of monks that assembled there for liturgical rituals.[52]

Free-cross churches, which generally displayed a cruciform shape with rectilinear lateral apses, functioned similarly to triconch buildings and were also widespread geographically. From the 11th century onward, the free-cross church type, generally smaller in size, became popular for private and monastic chapels. Therefore, it was tied to the emergence of private patronage and the desire for remembrance and commemoration of the part of the *ktetors*.[53] A good illustration is the church at Đunis, near Kruševac in central Serbia. It is built on a free-cross plan, originally with a dome over the crossing, and displays local adaptations of more established building traditions. The monastic church of the Theotokos Eleousa (Mother of God of Piety) in the village of Veljusa, near Strumica, is another example, regarded as "one of the finest eleventh-century monuments to survive in the Balkans."[54] According to the dedicatory inscriptions, the structure was built in 1080 by a certain Bishop Emanuel of Tiberioupolis as his funerary chapel.[55] The church was also lavishly decorated. Portions of the original templon have been preserved, and the original floor pavement displays similarities with designs found in Athonite churches of the 10th and 11th centuries. Although built almost entirely out of brick in the recessed-brick technique—"another hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction"[56]—the exterior was likely plastered and painted. I will return to this aesthetic choice in the conclusion of this chapter.

The most popular type of church in the Eastern Christian cultural context during the 9th and 10th centuries was the inscribed-cross plan. The general features of the building are a rectangular volume with three semicircular apses extending toward the east and a massive dome at the center. The dome rises over the crossing on four massive, rectangular piers, yet the internal division of the space consists of three aisles covered by longitudinal barrel vaults and a transversal barrel vault in the middle of the building. The interior subdivision of the space is not easily discernable from the outside. Unlike cross-in-square churches, the dome here rises on piers and not on columns, and the "side aisles" function as separate chapels that are not as smoothly integrated spatially with the main axis of the church. As Slobodan Ćurčić has concluded, this type of church "must be seen as a genuinely Byzantine invention, whose popularity quickly spread beyond the frontiers of the Byzantine state."[57] Through Byzantine-Bulgarian connections, the inscribed-cross building type spread throughout Macedonia from the 10th century onward. Numerous examples of this type survive, such as the 11th-century churches of St. Leontius at Vodoča, near Strumica, and the Church of St. John the Baptist in Nesebăr (Bulgaria). The Church of the Virgin of Peshkopi at Leshnice

Figure 27.3 Church of St. Panteleimon, 12th century, Gorno Nerezi, Republic of North Macedonia
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

e Sipërme (southern Albania) is another noteworthy example. However, perhaps the most famous church of this type in the 12th century is the Church of St. Panteleimon at Gorno Nerezi, near Skopje (Figure 27.3).[58] As the dedicatory inscription reveals, the *katholikon* was built in 1164 by a member of the Byzantine imperial family. It preserves one of the "oldest formulations of the inscribed-cross scheme" with a domed naos framed by four side chapels located in between the arms of the cross.[59] In addition to the main dome, the exterior is accentuated by four additional rectilinear domes positioned above the corners of the edifice, in between the arms of the cross layout. This type of church was particularly suited for commemorative purposes as the side chapels could have been designated to hold important relics, objects or the remains of patrons. These spaces would have been "activated" during liturgical and paraliturgical celebrations, in the context of communal and private worship.

Farther to the north, in the predominantly Catholic regions of Poland and Hungary, the Benedictines and Cistercians, the canon orders (particularly the Augustinians, Premonstratensians, and the Carmelites), and, later, the Franciscans and the Dominicans informed the development of monastic architecture. In fact, they were active throughout Europe, and the pastoral and missionary work of many of those orders, particularly the Franciscans and the Dominicans, allowed them to reach more distant corners of the medieval world.[60] Western monasticism arrived on the scene in the early 10th century. Some of the earliest Benedictine monasteries from Poland, Tyniec and Lubin date to the 11th century. The general features of their abbey churches center on a three-aisle basilica with a prominent *westwork*. By the 13th century, Poland was peppered with over 300 monasteries that helped spread Catholicism and western traditions. The mendicants also moved to Hungary in the early 13th century, erecting initially monasteries akin to Dalmatian and Italian examples.[61] The 13th-century parish church in Ják (Vas County, Hungary), which is dedicated to St. George and is the most complete Romanesque church in Hungary, originally belonged to

a Benedictine abbey. It displays a basilican layout with three eastern apses and a monumental *westwork*, bringing together Romanesque and Gothic features alongside rich sculptural works both inside and outside. The Porta Coeli ("Heaven's Gate") Convent in Tišnov (near Brno, Czech Republic), the foundation of Queen Constance of Hungary, the wife of the Bohemian King Přemysl Otakar I (1198–1230), displays Gothic elements akin to monasteries in northern France and Austria. Farther to the east, in Transylvania, the region of present-day Romania extending within the giant western cleft of the Carpathian Mountains, which was part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages, all western monastic orders established houses. The Cistercians had prominent abbeys in Cârța (near Sibiu) and Igriș (near Arad). Still standing, the basilican church at Cârța reveals two phases of construction—one derived from Romanesque models (early 12th century), and preceding the Mongol invasion of 1241, and the second, following Gothic building practices and designs (late 12th century), after the Mongol invasion (Figure 27.4). The church displays a transept that terminates in square chapels, a polygonal choir at the east end, and sexpartite and quadripartite rib vaults over the nave and aisles, respectively. As evident also in the Balkans and along the Adriatic coast, it was common for such monuments to combine different church building traditions.[62] Whereas the Benedictine and mendicant houses helped spread building practices and designs rooted in Romanesque traditions, the Cistercians especially began introducing Gothic elements in monastic architecture, as evident in the long churches with transepts and pointed arches in the door and window framings.

In Transylvania, Romanesque and Gothic elements were also introduced with the arrival of German-speaking "guests" from Flanders, Saxony and Bavaria ("Saxons").[63] They came to the region beginning with the 12th century, and first settled in the Sibiu area and then in Sighișoara and in Mediaș, perhaps in an effort to increase the economic value of the eastern borderlands of the Hungarian kingdom. The earliest stone churches in the Saxon territories of Transylvania are dated to the first decades of the 13th century and display markedly

Figure 27.4 Cistercian Monastery, 12th century, Cârța, Romania
Source: Andrei Dan Suciu/Wikimedia Commons.

Gothic features. The Cistercian monastery at Cârța is one example, but other examples of Gothic architecture appear in the Banat region. In addition to ecclesiastical establishments, the Saxons contributed to the fortification of the area, especially after the Mongol invasion of 1241. Fortified locales helped defend the local communities from subsequent attacks.[64] Important examples of such fortifications have been preserved in Bistrița, Sibiu, Brașov, Mediaș and Sighișoara.[65] For these territories of Eastern Europe that developed at the crossroads of competing worldviews, defensive architecture became an important mechanism through which to ensure protection.

Fortifications and secular projects

From the beginning, monastic communities set up enclosures in efforts to delineate the monastic sphere and set it apart from the rest of the world, as well as to protect it in times of need. Although the archaeological remains cannot reveal extensive details about the fortifications of earlier sites, it is known that from the 11th century onward the surrounding structures took on large proportions. The Monastery at Daphni, near Athens, well known for its 11th-century church, received rectilinear fortifications surrounding the entire monastic complex (93 × 100 m). Scholarly opinions still oscillate on the dating of these fortifications between the 5th century and the Middle Byzantine period.[66] This was common throughout the Eastern Christian cultural sphere. The famous Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, the 6th-century Justinianic church, was fortified in the manner of a Roman camp, as were the monasteries on Mount Athos. In addition to monasteries, which regularly received enclosures, other ecclesiastical complexes did as well. The 5th-century religious site known now as the Stag's Basilica at Pirdop, in Bulgaria, preserves a fortress built in relation to the church.[67] Although the evidence remains elusive, it is possible that this was an episcopal church. Fortified Christian monuments across Eastern Europe thus combined religious and military functions, offering spiritual and physical protection for their varied communities.

The ecclesiastical fortifications often emulated those encountered in the secular context, which generally followed Roman examples. First, cities in the Balkans and beyond regularly received surrounding enclosures. Thessaloniki—the second most prominent city in the Balkans, established by King Cassander of Macedon (305–297 BC)—received imposing fortifications like Constantinople. The architectural record from this period is difficult to establish, but the walls of the city were massive and impressive. They were about 8 km long and known to have been reconstructed between the 380s and the mid-5th century.[68] This project corresponds roughly with the reconstruction of the land walls of Constantinople under Emperor Theodosius II (402–450), which began in 412–413.[69] The walls of Thessaloniki, with large sections still standing, consisted of a double enclosure system: an inner, main wall and an outer wall, both with towers, separated by a space, and preceded by a moat. The archaeological evidence and extant inscriptions (especially that of 862) reveal that the walls of the city were rebuilt before and after the Arab attack of 904.[70] Like Thessaloniki, other fortified locales started appearing in the Balkans during the 5th century, as evident in residential, ecclesiastical and monastic buildings and complexes.[71] Emperor Justinian (527–565), for example, was very active in the fortification of the Balkans. According to his court historian, Procopius, Justinian restored the fortifications at over 248 sites while building anew 146 fortifications.[72]

In addition to cities, monasteries and ecclesiastical compounds, the archaeological record reveals other types of fortifications. These include domestic architecture and large *castella*, among others.[73] These are usually more rectilinear complexes, positioned on a hilltop and

with a lower enclosure, usually more irregular. The hillfort at Balajnac near Niš likely had a sizable population; remains of a three-aisled basilica and a large underground cistern have been uncovered at the site.[74] *Oppida* and *oppidula*, or "minuscule cities," were also enclosed.[75] They were often positioned on high, dominant locations and displayed irregular layouts dependent on the topography of the land. Important early examples preserved at Čučer, near Skopje and Qafa, south of Elbasan in Albania. Other large cities, such as Caričin Grad in Serbia, built anew in the 6th century, were also fortified.[76] The city consisted of an acropolis (at the peak of the hill), upper town and lower town, with a sewer system below, all enclosed within a massive fortification wall with monumental gates. The city also had a palace complex, a cathedral that was a three-aisled basilica preceded with atrium and adjacent baptistery, and nine other churches. They were all constructed out of brick and local stone. In essence, the city showed "an abridged layout of Constantinople itself, with the Mese, leading from the Golden Gate, through the circular Forum of Constantine, toward the Augustaion, the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, and the adjacent patriarchal palace, echoed at a greatly reduced scale."[77] When the city of Pliska was designated as the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire in the 9th century, it too received fortifications and, later, churches, akin to the prominent cities that preceded it.[78] Finally, smaller-scale fortifications include small-scale *tetrapyrgia*, which were simple, miniature forts consisting of a square enclosure with corner towers. Remains of such fortifications have been uncovered at the monastery of Hagia Matrona near Thessaloniki, at Malathrea in southern Albania and on the Monemvasia peninsula in southern Greece.[79] Residences were also enclosed, especially if they belonged to an important individual or family. The 5th-century villa complex at Polače, on the island of Mljet in Croatia, displayed on the main façade facing the harbor two large cylindrical towers (13 m in diameter).[80] The towers gave the impression of a massively fortified locale, thus coopting military forms for symbolic purposes.

Fortified sites are found across Eastern Europe, and the archaeological evidence reveals that fortification projects only gained in momentum from the 6th century onward. The turmoil brought on by conflicts, on the one hand, contributed to economic, political, cultural and demographic shifts. On the other hand, it resulted in innovations in military architecture, which, in the case of religious sites, also functioned to enclose and delineate the spiritual sphere from the outside world. The Avars, the Persians and the Slavs posed a great threat to Byzantium and the Balkans for the first half of the 7th century. Although, the Avar-Persian attempt to put Constantinople under siege in 626, and the Arab-Byzantine wars between the 7th and 11th centuries were equally ineffective, other of the attacks on the Balkans and farther to the north were successful and transformed the architectural landscapes of the regions.

Collaborative efforts: patrons and builders

The financing, design and execution of monumental architectural projects throughout the Middle Ages were a collaborative endeavor. Although little evidence survives from the period between ca. 500 and ca. 1300 to reconstruct the dynamics of these collaborations, they certainly unfolded between a patron who financed the project, the builders and their workshops who designed and erected the buildings, and, in the case of religious structures, theologians who offered guidance for appropriate forms and iconographic themes to be incorporated into the designs of the structures. For the latter, the spiritual and commemorative dimensions of the project took center stage. The founders and subsequent *ktetors* were part of all strata of society, from imperial patronage, kings and queens, to local noblemen and clergy.

Women, too, likely had a role in monumental architectural projects, although the extant evidence offers little. By the 11th century, shifts in patterns of patronage gave rise to smaller private churches and chapels built throughout the Balkans. The privatization of patronage contributed to innovations in design, materials and function of religious spaces dependent on the desires of the patron and their means.

Architectural, stylistic and iconographic choices in building designs were also politically motivated.[81] This is the case with rulers who used architecture and stylistic choices to underscore their status.[82] Imperial buildings presented apt models to be interpreted locally by all members of society with the means and desire to devote resources to monumental building projects. Outside of royal lineages, however, little is known about the identity of local founders, like aristocrats and churchmen, who often built churches that reimagined in local contexts imperial examples. Both design features and aesthetic concerns were part of this local emulation. For instance, Constantinopolitan imperial churches were routinely built in the "cloisonné" technique, in which rows of ashlar are separated by one to three courses of thin bricks.[83] Across the Eastern Orthodox sphere, the buildings were erected using local materials that were affordable and more readily available, and the exteriors of the buildings were later plastered and painted with designs that emulated the cloisonné masonry of imperial churches. This is the case at the Church of St. George at Kurbinovo. Figural murals cover the upper portions of the exterior walls, and the surface up to the height of the door lintel was plastered and painted with a facsimile of brick and stone layers.[84] Farther to the north, in Moravia, the churches were also routinely plastered and painted on the outside, such as the 9th-century church in Pohansko.[85] Whether architectural, decorative or figural, these painted facades (or what remains of them) offer insight into aesthetic concerns surrounding monumental building projects. This aesthetic conundrum, in fact, could help link different and divergent monumental building traditions across Eastern Europe. Ultimately, these projects ought to be understood as multifaceted efforts that include not just the design of the building but the choice of images and non-figural decoration of its interior and exterior walls, as well as more ephemeral facets such as light effects, sounds and rituals.

Carved or painted inscriptions help identify individuals who either built the structures in questions or provided later financial assistance to renovate the site. The oldest dedicatory inscription, from Pallandion (Arcadia, Greece), mentions that the (local) Church of St. Christopher was consecrated on May 15, 903, by Nicholas, Bishop of Lakedaimon.[86] Since no other name appears in the inscription, it is possible that the bishop was the founder as well. Also, from the 10th century, the Church of St. Panteleimon in Ano Boularioi (Lakonia, Greece) preserves a dedicatory inscription, dated to 991/992, which mentions a priest-monk as the founder.[87] In addition to the name and status of the patron, these inscriptions tend to offer details about dates of construction or restoration, the dedication of the site, and sometimes even the name of the architect responsible for the design or the artist entrusted with the decoration. Although generally formulaic, these references were intended to remind contemporary and future audiences of the deeds of the founders and *ktetors* who devoted time and resources to building or rebuilding projects. As such, these inscriptions operate in the context of *memoria*—memory or remembrance—which appears to have been the utmost concern of the donors.[88]

Yet the textual evidence also poses problems of interpretation. For example, scholars have been at odds over the appropriate explanation of the extant inscriptions from the Church of St. Michael on the island of Koločep, near Dubrovnik.[89] The extant sculptural works from this site belonged to a chancel screen, including a gable displaying the archangel Michael and the epigrams *soror* and *regina*. Although the lack of primary textual sources renders the

contextualization of these fragments difficult, a recent reconstruction of the chancel screen and reading of the inscription suggests that the site was not a royal foundation but rather the patronage of a brother (local dignitary) and a sister who were also buried inside the church. The analysis engaged with an alternative interpretation for the inscriptions, rendering *regina* as a name for the sister, and not as a title previously associated with the Croatian queen Helena. In situations such as this, when the historical record is scarce, it is best to allow possible scholarly interpretations to coexist so that future research could "fill in the gaps" and reveal more concrete readings.

At the crossroads of traditions

The architecture of Eastern Europe reveals an eclectic visual vocabulary. This is especially true of the Balkans in the period between the 11th and 13th centuries. The Church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija (near Prokuplje, southern Serbia) offers one noteworthy example (Figure 27.5).[90] Built sometime between 1166 and 1168 by the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196), this Orthodox *katholikon* offers "a curious blend between Byzantine and Romanesque architectural features that graphically reveals the position of Serbia as a land between the eastern and western cultural spheres."[91] Indeed, the Romanesque barrel-vaulted portico flanked by large square towers attached to a rectangular exonarthex at the west end of the church opens, through a narrow entryway, into a domed structure that follows Byzantine, and more specifically Constantinopolitan, church building traditions characteristic of the Comnenian era. Beyond the Romanesque façade, the west end of the church comprises an oblong pronaos, or narthex, that leads through a large semicircular arch into the square domed naos. This space, in turn, terminates in a tripartite eastern sanctuary. The original structure was constructed using

Figure 27.5 Church of St. Nicholas, 12th century, Kuršumlija, Serbia. Photograph courtesy Stanislav Zivkov, Stanislav Zivkov Collection, Department of Arts and Archaeology, Princeton University

an all-brick building technique, which suggests that Constantinopolitan designs (and possibly masons as well) were involved in the project.[92] The combination of eastern and western architectural traditions in the church at Kuršumlija is indebted in part to the presence in the first half of the 12th century, especially along the eastern Adriatic littoral, of Romanesque churches such as the famous Cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor, begun 1124.[93] The area came under Serbian control in 1186.

Whereas the Romanesque cathedral of St. Tryphon—a domed three-aisled basilica—was likely built at once, the *katholikon* at Kuršumlija may have been constructed in two phases. Indeed, the twin tower façade and the exonarthex built out of brick and stone postdate the main liturgical space of the church at the east end that was built entirely out of brick (employing the recessed-brick technique). The supposedly older part of the church measures 14 meters in length and 8 meters in width, with the square domed naos measuring 7.5 meters along the sides and 9 meters in height. It is possible that Stefan Nemanja was responsible for both phases of construction, or perhaps he initiated the construction of the façade on the preexisting Church of St. Nicholas that could have been the commission of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180).[94] Nevertheless, the architecturally eclectic final form of the church was likely celebrated, as it was readapted in other contemporaneous religious buildings.[95]

The eclectic visual vocabulary of the Church of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija—bringing together Byzantine church construction traditions (i.e., central dome on pendentives) and Romanesque architectural forms (namely the westwork)—suggests, nevertheless, that at least in the second half of the 12th century, artistic and cultural links extended between Serbia and Byzantine centers such as Constantinople, as well as regions in the western cultural sphere, such as Norman Sicily (Cefalù), Apulia (Bari) and perhaps even Hungary (Buda). The church retains the spatial scheme required for Orthodox monastic churches but incorporates features and construction methods characteristic of western Romanesque ecclesiastical buildings. It is very possible, then, that builders trained in western workshops (on the Adriatic coast or in Italy) were summoned to Stefan Nemanja's court to work on his new projects, perhaps not due to lack of "highly trained builders" in Serbia at that time,[96] but rather as a result of Serbia's outreach and contacts with its neighbors that contributed to new visual and architectural forms taking shape in a new milieu. Some scholars have suggested that the Romanesque elements reflect Nemanja's political redirection toward the West, while others point to symbolic meanings behind the massive western towers, suggesting evocations of the topography of the land and the ideologies of the patron.[97] Others, however, have pointed to symbolic meanings behind the massive towers of St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija, tied to the topography of the land and the ideologies of the patron. Ecclesiastical monuments, and in particular monastic churches, deriving their visual vocabulary from distinct architectural traditions survive in other regions of Eastern Europe. The Serbian examples all date to the long rule of the Nemanjid dynasty (1166–1371), but later monuments from Serbia and neighboring regions are similarly eclectic with respect to sources.

Monumental architecture in Eastern Europe in the period between ca. 500 and ca. 1300 developed at the crossroads of traditions. At any given moment, each region negotiated differently among the design practices and visual idioms that came to be characteristic of the eastern and western cultural spheres. Certain elements were thus adopted in local contexts, and alongside local traditions, in order to respond to the motivations of the patrons and the communities, as well as the knowledge of the builders. Other forms were rejected. The cultural contact between East and West evident in the monumental architecture of Eastern Europe did not yield "hybrid" building projects. The process, in fact, was selective.

Therefore, cultural contact should be viewed as a give-and-take, with elements and meanings accepted, rejected and transformed with each individual project and dependent on many factors. Moreover, each new project left a mark on the architectural landscapes of these regions that, in turn, further informed future developments.

The symbolic value and adaptability of certain architectural designs and forms to different contexts certainly made them appealing to patrons. For instance, the dissemination of the Byzantine cross-in-square plan across the Balkans—arguably through Mount Athos—demonstrates the malleability of this type of building, its capacious functions and its adaptation in various contexts across the Eastern Christian world. The popularity of this type of church also raises questions about workshop practices across Eastern Europe and beyond. The question of design methods and whether Byzantine buildings used architectural drawings (none have been preserved) has been at the forefront of scholarly concerns. Whereas some scholars have suggested that Byzantine master builders did not use architectural drawings,[98] others disagree.[99] The extant stone slab discovered at Kale, in Krupište (near Štip, Republic of North Macedonia), displays an incised triconch structure and could have been used as a preparatory work or as a relevant design to present to a patron.[100] The transfer of architectural knowledge and engineering through such sketches and designs in both Byzantium and the medieval West enabled the spread of ideas, but the means through which this unfolded are not known for the earlier period. Extant Gothic architectural drawings divulge design practices and trechnology, and could have easily traveled east.[101] Likewise, builders in Byzantium and the Balkans may have used similar methods to plan and transfer their designs, but unfortunately nothing concrete survives.[102] Such portable methods of planning and recording architectural practices could have offered patrons a variety of options and ideas for new monumental projects. Individuals, too, could have facilitated the transfer of knowledge across the medieval world.

The archaeological record reveals much about the past—about the structure of buildings, complexes, towns, and their enclosures, their designs, functions, etc.—but there is still more to be explored. The archaeological evidence, when studied against the backdrop of the historical, textual, architectural and visual records, as well as in the context of more ephemeral facets of built environments that are harder to recreate (rituals, celebrations, light effects), enhances understandings about a particular place and time. Therefore, it is important to approach the historical remains with an open mind and a willing imagination and to ask nuanced questions, drawn from varied disciplinary perspectives in order to gain a fuller understanding of the monumental structures of the past and the social dynamics that enabled their creation.

Notes

1 Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 308–09. One of the areas in which the late antique type of basilica was favored in the Early Middle Ages was Bulgaria. See Dimităr Alekseev Dimitrov, *Khristianskite khramove po bălgarskite zemi, I-IX vek* [Christian Buildings in Bulgaria, 1st–9th c.] (Sofia: Fondatsiia "Pokrov Bogorodichen," 2013).

2 Charalambos Bakirtzis, *The Basilica of St. Demetrios* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1988); Ćurčić, *Architecture*, pp. 106–07 (on St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki), pp. 110–14, esp. 112–14 (on the Episcopal Basilica in Stobi), pp. 118–19 (on the three-aisled "Basilica A" of Philippi), p. 127 (on the three-aisled great basilica dedicated to Hagios Leonidas at Lechaion, Corinth—"the longest-known early Christian basilica in the Balkans"—measuring 115.55 m in length), pp. 127–29 (on the martyr shrines of St. Domnius at Manastirine and St. Anastasius at the site of Marusinac). Subsequent work has challenged some of Ćurčić's interpretations of these sites. For Stobi, see Carolyn S. Snively, "The episcopal basilica, the via sacra, and the

semicircular court at Stobi, R. Macedonia," *Nish i Vizantija X Simpozijum, Nish, 3.-5. jun 2011*, edited by Miš Rakocija (Niš: NKC, 2012), pp. 185–200. For Philippi, see Georgio M. Velenis, "He basilike B ton Philippon sto plaisio tes Ioustinianeias architektonikes" [Basilica B in Philippi against the background of Justinianic architecture] *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon* 77 (2002), 119–40.

3 This is, in fact, the underlying argument of Ćurčić's magisterial work, *Architecture*.

4 Noël Duval, Emilio Marin, and M. Bonačić Mandinić, *Manastirine: établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone* (Rome/Split: Ecole française de Rome/Musée archéologique de Split, 2000).

5 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 128. This, however, is now a debunked theory as there is no evidence of destruction by the Avars or the Slavs in Marusinac or Salona. Moreover, the numismatic evidence from the latter site points to occupation continuing into the 7th century. See Danijel Džino, "The secret life of Salona in 7th and 8th century," in *Aspice hunc opus mirum. Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Nikole Jakšića*, edited by Ivan Josipović and Miljenko Jurković (Zadar/Zagreb/Motovun: International Research Center for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 2020), pp. 163–70.

6 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 261.

7 For the history of research at Pliska, see Florin Curta, "Medieval archaeology in South-Eastern Europe," in *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957–2007*, edited by Roberta Gilchrist and Andrew Reynolds (London: Maney Publishing, 2009), pp. 191–223, here pp. 196–205; Florin Curta, "With brotherly love: the Czech beginnings of medieval archaeology in Bulgaria and Ukraine," in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Patrick J. Geary and Gábor Klaniczay (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 377–96, here pp. 379–84.

8 See, for example, Pavel Georgiev, "Asenevtsi v Pliska" [The Assenids in Pliska], in *Iubileen sbornik. Dokladi i nauchni săobshteniia ot petite muzeini cheteniia ot regionalen istoricheski muzei Veliko Tărnovo posveteni na 70-godishninata na prof. Dimităr Ovcharov, 17 mai 2001 g.*, edited by Khristo Kharitonov, Khitko Vachev and Galia Chokhadzhieva (Veliko Tărnovo: Regionalen istoricheski muzei, 2002), pp. 87–92; Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, "Pliska ot kraia na X do 60-te godini na XI vek" [Pliska from the late 10th century to the 1060s], in *Evropeiskiiat iugoiztok prez vtorata polovina na X-nachaloto na XI vek. Istoriia i kultura. Mezhdunarodna konferentsiia, Sofiia, 5–6 oktomvri 2014 g.*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev and Georgi N. Nikolov (Sofia: Izdatelstvo za Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 2015), pp. 322–43.

9 It measured 29 meters in length and 16.5 meters in width (Ćurčić, *Architecture*, pp. 287–88).

10 Frane Bego, *Cathedral of St. Domnius Split* (Zagreb: Turistkomerc, 1989).

11 Nikola Jakšić, "O katedralama hrvatske i kninske biskupije" [On the Cathedral of Croatia and the Knin Bishopric], *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 27 (1987), 115–33; Magdalena Skoblar, *Figural Sculpture in Eleventh-Century Dalmatia and Croatia* (London/New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 83–117.

12 The Church of St. Thomas in Rovinj (Istria, in northwestern Croatia) preserves similar burials in the western part of the building.

13 Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The ambulatory of Zalavár," *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 15 (2009), no. 1, 161–70, here 168; Florin Curta, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)* (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), p. 617.

14 Pavel A. Rappoport, *Building the Churches of Kievan Russia* (Aldershot/Brookfield: Variorum, 1995); Robert G. Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 540–50.

15 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, pp. 258–60; Chrysanthi Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, *Hagia Sophia: The Great Church of Thessaloniki* (Athens: Kapon, 2014).

16 Kalliopi Theocharidou-Tsaprali, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), p. 156.

17 Vojislav J. Urić, *The Church of Saint Sophia in Ohrid* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1963); Boris Čipan, *St. Sophia: The Cathedral Church of the Ohrid Archbishopric – A Chronology of the Architecture* (Skopje: Sigmapress, 1996).

18 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 399.

19 Dmitrii O. Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 23.

20 The building inspired the Cathedral of St. Michael of the Golden Domes, built by Sviatopolk, Yaroslav's grandson, in 1108.

21 Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, pp. 17–21.
22 Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, pp. 13–71; Olga Z. Pevny, "Kievan Rus'," in *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, AD 843–1261*, edited by Helen C. Evan and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 281–87, here 283.
23 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 337.
24 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 284.
25 The church was destroyed in the 12th century and replaced by a large Romanesque basilica.
26 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 338.
27 Miljenko Jurković, "Karolingische Renovatio: Architektur und Bauausstattung im Alpen-Adria-Raum," in *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Kunst in Ostmitteleuropa, 1: 400–1000: Vom spätantiken Erbe zu den Anfängen der Romanik*, edited by Christian Lübke and Matthias Hardt (Berlin/Leipzig: Deutscher Kunstverlag/Leibniz Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa, 2017), pp. 188–201, 406–07, and 449–50. See also Pavuša Vežić, *Sveti Donat: Rotonda Sv. Trojstva u Zadru* [Saint Donatus: Rotunda of the Holy Trinity in Zadar] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2002); Rozmeri Basić, "Re-examining selected early Byzantine monuments in Zadar and surrounds: The Church of St. Donat," in *Vizantija i slovenite: srednovekovni i moderni percepcii i recepcii. Zbornik na trudovi od Pettiot medjunaroden simpozium "Denovi na Justinijan I," Skopje, 17–18.11.2017*, edited by Mitko B. Panov (Skopje: Univerzitet "Evro-Balkan," 2018), pp. 146–57.
28 Vojislav R. Korać, "Ravensko poreklo Sv. Donata (Sv. Trojice) u Zadru" [The Ravenna Origins of St. Donatus (Holy Trinity) in Zadar], *Zograf* 21 (1990), 9–17.
29 Miljenko Jurković, "Quelques aspects des influences carolingiennes en Croatie," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1995), 319–32.
30 Ivo Petricioli, *Od Donata do Radovana: pregled umjetnosti u Dalmaciji od 9. do 13. stoljeća* [From Donatus to Radovan: An Overview of Art in Dalmatia from the 9th to the 13th century] (Split: Književni krug, 1990).
31 Ellen C. Schwartz, "Reconsidering the Round Church of Symeon," *Palaeobulgarica* 25 (2002), no. 2, 2–15; Beatrice Tolidjian, "The architecture of the Round Church at Preslav and its Transcaucasian parallels," in *Prof. d. i. n. Stancho Vaklinov i srednovekovnata bălgarska kultura*, edited by Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Boris Borisov, and Rosina Kostiva (Veliko Tărnovo; Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii, 2005), pp. 254–63; Ćurčić, *Architecture*, pp. 288–90; Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine antecedents of the Round Church at Preslav," *Problemi na izkustvoto* 45 (2012), no. 2, 3–5.
32 Ćurčić, *Architecture*, p. 289.
33 Cyril A. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (Milan/New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1985), p. 174; Ćurčić, *Architecture*, pp. 289–90.
34 Curta, *Eastern Europe*, p. 615; Jiří Macháček, Adéla Balcárková, Pavel Čáp, Petr Dresler, Antonín Přichystal, Renáta Přichystalová, Eliška Schuplerová and Vladimír Sládek. "Velkomoravská rotunda z Pohanska u Břeclavi" [The Great Moravian rotunda at Pohansko near Břeclav], *Památky Archeologické* 105 (2014), 87–153; Lumír Polaček, "Great Moravian religious architecture," in *Great Moravia and the Beginnings of Christianity*, edited by Pavel Kouřil (Brno: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2015), pp. 92–97.
35 Curta, *Eastern Europe*, p. 616.
36 Jiří Kuthan and Jan Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016); Naďa Profantová, "Archaeology and written Sources on eighth- to tenth-century Bohemia," *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), no. 3, 286–310; Judyta Nawrot, *Kościoły centralne na terenie Czech i Moraw (IX - XIII w.)* [Round-Plan Churches from Bohemia and Moravia (9th to 13th cc.)] (Rzeszów: Mitel, 2013).
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28
MONUMENTAL ART

Maria Alessia Rossi[1]

This chapter focuses on mosaics, wall paintings and painting on wood in Eastern Europe from ca. 500 to 1300. The material evidence is examined through the following themes and issues: religious iconographies and their meanings in church spaces; art as a reflection of the needs of monastic communities by means of its liturgical, theological and funerary functions; secular iconographies and the role of donor compositions; and the movement of workshops and objects as a way to highlight the interconnectedness of those territories at the crossroads of the Byzantine, Mediterranean and Western European cultural spheres. The themes and issues discussed in this chapter are meant to complement and supplement the evidence presented in Chapter 27, pairing mosaics, wall paintings and painting on wood with the architecture that contains them.

Central to this chapter is the effort to present the visual evidence in a fluid narrative, disregarding the limits imposed by modern geographical borders or traditional historiographical patterns. More often than not, the East European artistic production has been grouped together by modern countries.[2] While this approach can be useful to categorize artistic developments of the Balkan Peninsula, the Carpathian Mountains and the North-Eastern Europe, it prevents scholars from seeing a fuller and broader picture of those territories. This approach is the result of research limited within national borders and employing only national languages, which hampers not only the circulation of knowledge and access to excellent scholarship, but also a comparative study of these regions. Similarly, the fact that Eastern Europe developed at the intersection of different cultural and religious traditions has also allowed for common patterns of polarizations and (hypothetical) confessional lines. Southeastern Europe (the eastern and central Balkans), the Carpathian region to the north, and Eastern Europe proper (modern Ukraine, Belarus and Russia) have been grouped with the Orthodox *oikoumene* and the Byzantine heritage, while the western Balkans, modern Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia and Poland have been generally aligned with the West and the Roman Catholic world.[3]

In this chapter, I will deal with Eastern Europe as one territory of encounter, transfer and movement where mosaics and paintings reveal the rise and demise of reigns and empires, the spread of religions, and the movement of artists and objects. The artistic production discussed has as a starting point the Christianization of the Slavs and covers the kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria and Kievan Rus'; the Byzantine and Frankish Empire; the Duchy (and later Kingdom) of Bohemia and Croatia; and the principalities of Vladimir-Suzdal' and Novgorod.

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Religious iconography and the space of the church

Since the early 5th century, Thessalonica (modern Thessaloniki, Greece) gathered some of the best ateliers of mosaicists, preserving to this day an extraordinary range of early Christian monumental decorations in mosaic. Examples include the Rotunda (St. George), the Acheiropoietos, Hosios David (Latomou Monastery), St. Demetrios and St. Sophia,[4] which was the cathedral of the city in Byzantine times.[5] St. Sophia was rebuilt in the late 7th century, after an earthquake that took place in ca. 620 destroyed the 5th-century early Christian basilica. The decoration of the church includes both mosaics and frescoes, and their dating is still uncertain: the first phase can be dated between 780 and 788 and includes a pre-Iconoclastic program, namely non-figurative decoration of the arch in the sanctuary, with crosses and leaves, and a cross in the apse. After the end of Iconoclasm in the mid-9th century, the Ascension in the dome was added. Finally, in the 11th century, the Mother of God in the apse was superimposed on the cross and the narthex was painted.[6] In the dome, Christ is at the center of a circular mandorla, seated on a rainbow, and upheld by two flying angels. Twelve Apostles and the Virgin Mary, flanked by two archangels, surround Him. The iconographic theme of the Ascension was not a common choice for the dome, yet a comparison can be seen in 10th- and 11th-century churches in a different part of the Byzantine Empire, namely, Cappadocia. In the city of Thessaloniki itself, a parallel can be found in the semidome in the apse of the Rotunda.[7] This wall painting has been dated to the same period (late 9th century), and close comparisons have been suggested between the two, including the possibility that they were executed by the same workshop.

Unlike the example preserved in Thessaloniki, the workshop that painted in the early 12th century the Ascension above the triumphal arch in the Church of St. Foška at Peroj (near Vodnjan, in Istria, Croatia) clearly drew inspiration from elsewhere (Figure 28.1).[8] Here, Christ is represented on a bejeweled throne, not on a rainbow, and, most importantly, the figure of the Virgin Mary is missing. Scholars agree that this is one of the most significant examples of Romanesque monumental decoration in Europe, yet the origin of the iconographic decoration has been a matter of debate, with solutions ranging from 12th-century French sculpture to Benedictine paintings, and most recently a North Italian workshop (possibly Lombard) inspired by southern Italian models.[9]

In the Western medieval context, the semidome was usually decorated with the scene of *Maiestas Domini*, which blends elements from the various apocalyptic and prophetic visions, and for which one can find parallels in Hungary.[10] With the accession to the Hungarian throne of Stephen (1000–1038), an Árpádian prince, the kingdom was converted to Christianity, and Romanesque churches were built throughout the region.[11] An example is the Church of St. George at Kostoľany pod Tribečom (near Nitra, Slovakia) where the *Maiestas Domini*, alas fragmentary, is found in the sanctuary.[12] This pre-Romanesque church built in the northern region of the Hungarian Kingdom has been dated to the early 11th century with its murals likely by the middle of that same century.[13] The preserved monumental decoration includes scenes from the Life of the Virgin, such as the Visitation, Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi, as well as fragments from Old Testament narratives. The mid-11th-century wall paintings in the Church of St. Agatha near Kanfanar (near Rovinj, in Istria, Croatia); those in the crypt of the Abbey Church in Feldebrő (near Eger, Hungary), which are dated to the second half of the 11th century; and those in the Church of St. Andrew in Hidegség (near Sopron, Hungary), which are dated to the 12th century—all follow the same model.[14] In the latter case, the lower register of the apse houses the apostles in arcaded colonnades and on the vault is Christ in a mandorla surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists (Figure 28.2).[15]

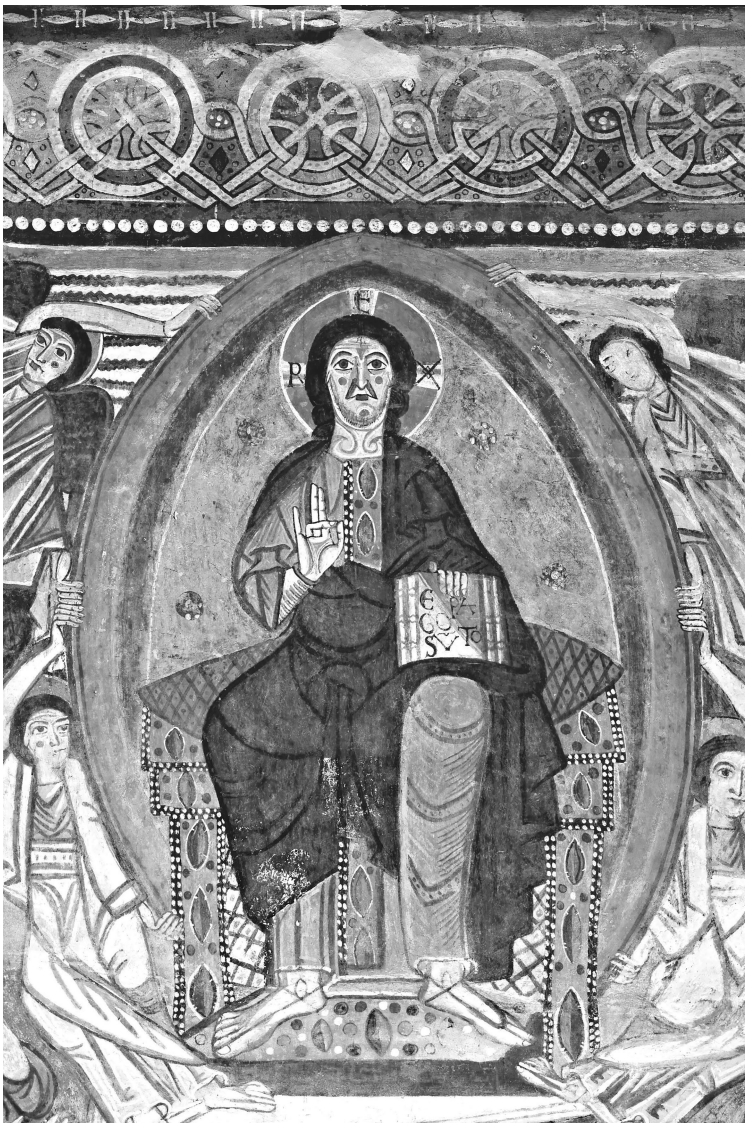

Figure 28.1 Church of St. Foška in Peroj, Croatia: the Ascension, wall painting in the triumphal arch (early 12th century). Photo by Ivo Pervan. Courtesy of The Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria and Kuća fresaka u Draguću – Casa degli affreschi a Draguccio

During the 11th century, a program for Middle Byzantine church decoration developed.[16] The system follows "a hierarchy from heaven above to earth below," and the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Steiris (Greece) is a good example of how that system was applied.[17] The monastery was a renowned medieval healing shrine and pilgrimage destination.[18] The *katholikon* (main church), built in the first decades of the 11th century to house the saint's relics, is decorated with extensive marble revetments, mosaics in the nave, and wall paintings in the side chapels and in the crypt.[19] Following the hierarchic scheme, the dome represents heaven and would usually show Christ Pantokrator (now lost in Hosios Loukas), while the

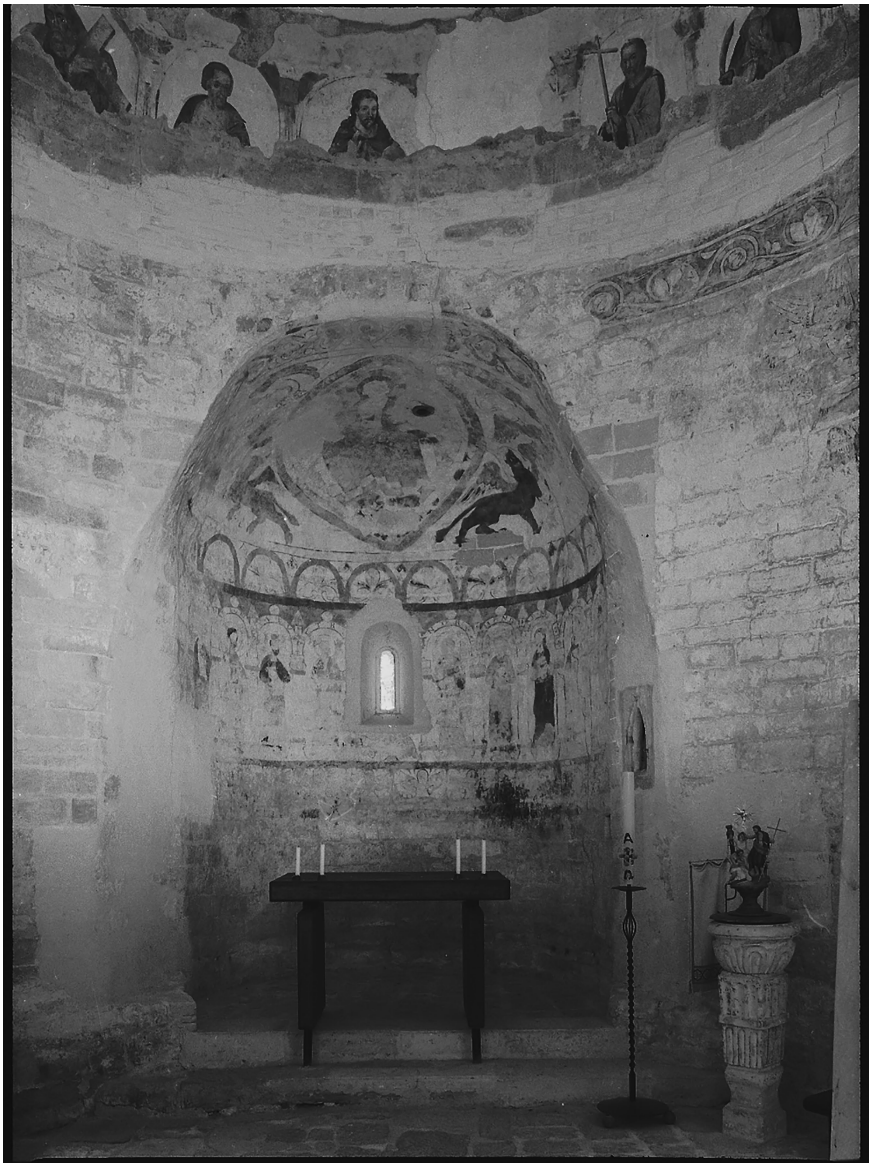

Figure 28.2 Church of St. Andrew in Hidegség, Hungary: Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, with a row of Apostles below, wall painting in the apse (12th century)

Source: Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center, Photographs Collection of the Monument Protection Document Centre, 205.736N.

tympanum is devoted to the prophets, as intermediaries between God and humanity below. The semidome of the apse shows the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child. The higher register, in this case, the four squinches above the naos depict the *Dodekaorton* (the 12 most important feasts of the ecclesiastical year), with the earthly saints on the lower walls and on the vaults. This visual scheme was conceived in connection with the architectural space: the

horizontal and vertical axes are enhanced by the monumental decoration, and the concave surfaces allow for images to extend beyond the picture place.

The church of St. Sophia in Kiev (Ukraine) is a unicum in terms of its architecture and decorative program. However, some precedents may be found, it would probably be in the Byzantine Empire.[20] After the Rus' prince Vladimir (ca. 979–1015) converted to Christianity, artists, most likely from Cherson, were invited to decorate the newly erected churches in Kiev.[21] Vladimir's son, Yaroslav the Wise (1019–1054), built and decorated the church of St. Sophia between 1037 and 1048. A Constantinopolitan atelier worked together with local artists combining mosaics with wall painting: the former for the dome, the central apse and the four arches of the central crossing; the latter for the remaining surfaces. Sixty years later, Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavich (1093–1113) also invited Greek artists to embellish the *katholikon* of the Monastery of St. Michael of the Golden Domes in Kiev.[22] The decoration was modeled on the nearby St. Sophia. Unfortunately, the church was destroyed in the 1930s, and only parts of the mosaic decoration of the apse have survived, including the Communion of the Apostles and the figures of saints. Among the extant fragments, the Communion of the Apostles is strikingly similar to that of St. Sophia in Kiev.[23]

The Communion of the Apostles is an iconographic theme that is part of the development of the apse decoration in Byzantium between the 11th and 12th centuries. The earliest instance in the main apse of a Byzantine church can be found in the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (1028).[24] The communion of the bread is depicted on the south wall and the communion of the wine directly opposite.[25] The inscription on the lintel over the western entrance mentions the *ktetor*, a *katepano* (military governor) of the Byzantine territory in southern Italy (Longobardia).[26] A different interpretation of the Communion of the Apostles, in a different medium, appears in one of the earliest surviving icons from Ohrid (Republic of North Macedonia), which is dated between 1070 and 1130 (Figure 28.3).[27] Here the artist had to condense the episode in a very small space the episode, and the apostles are represented in two crowded groups of six.

The Communion of the Apostles is part of a broader modification of the sanctuary into multiple registers, facilitating and mirroring the priestly liturgy unfolding at the altar. The Virgin Mary is represented in the semidome, below is the Communion, and on the bottom register are the fathers of the church. This scheme can be seen in the apse of the Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid, which was decorated in 1040.[28] Archbishop Leo of Ohrid (1037–1056) donated the church's decoration, and scholars have argued that the iconographic program reflects different aspects of his religious policies.[29] By the late 12th century, the new image of the *melismos* was introduced in the Byzantine sanctuary: the representation of a diminutive figure of Christ on the altar or within a bowl-shaped paten.[30] The earliest securely dated image as the Eucharistic offering can be found in the Church of St. George at Kurbinovo (1191).[31]

It is interesting that the iconographic program of the Panagia ton Chalkeon of Thessaloniki includes the latest iconographic additions alongside the Ascension in the dome rather than the Pantokrator, as seen previously in St. Sophia in that same city. The depiction of a fully developed and detailed Last Judgment scene covers the vault and walls of the narthex. A less complete version of this iconography can be found in the first layer of frescoes on the barrel-vault of the narthex of the Church of St. Stephen in Kastoria (northern Greece), which has been dated to the third quarter of the 10th century.[32] Here, in addition to Christ enthroned, with Eve at his feet, the Apostles, and the angels, there is also the depiction of the Weighing of the Souls on the northern wall and the Damned on the western wall.

Figure 28.3 Communion of the Apostles, icon, tempera on wood (dated between 1070 and 1130)
Source: Icon Gallery Ohrid, N.I. Institute for the Protection of the Monuments of Culture and Museum-Ohrid, Republic of North Macedonia.

The iconography of the Last Judgment finds its place also on the vault and walls of the narthex of the Cathedral of St. Demetrios in Vladimir (Russia), which was decorated between 1193 and 1197.[33] The Rus' cities of Vladimir, Novgorod and Pskov absorbed the cultural traditions of Kiev and during the 11th and 12th centuries started developing their own local visual idioms.[34] St. Demetrios was built by Grand Prince Vsevolod III the Big Nest (1177–1212), and the wall paintings were completed by Greek artists, probably from Thessaloniki, working together with an atelier of local painters.[35] The parts identified with the hand of the Byzantine artists have been compared to the best works of art in Greece. The remaining decoration has been connected to local artists due to a Slavonic inscription. Worth highlighting once again is the cooperation between local and itinerant artists, allowing for the gradual transformation and adaptation of the existing Byzantine heritage into a new forms of local expression. The Church of the Savior in Nereditsa (Spas-on-Nereditsa), near Novgorod (1198), was conceived from the beginning by Grand Prince Yaroslav II, Vsevolod's son, as his resting place.[36] This funerary function gives further ramifications to the extended depiction of the Last Judgment on the western wall in two zones. Unfortunately, the fresco was destroyed during World War II, and only photographs and documents can now be used to get a full picture of the decoration: Christ in a mandorla was flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, and six apostles and archangels on each side.[37] Below,

the scene displayed the Weighing of the Souls, the Fiery Stream and the depiction of hell and that of Paradise, including narratives such as the Bosom of Abraham and the torments of Hell.

The remaining surfaces of a church were covered with cycles drawn from the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and other holy figures. In the Church of Szalonna (near Miskolc, Hungary) the fragmentary 12th- and 13th-century frescoes in the sanctuary preserve scenes from the legend of St. Margaret of Antioch; the fresco has been dated to the 12th and 13th centuries.[38] Of great interest is the Premonstratensian Church in Ócsa (near Budapest, Hungary) the cycle of St. Ladislas is still visible. King Ladislas I (1077–1095) was canonized in 1192.[39] In Ócsa, where the 12th- and 13th-century frescoes has been dated to the last quarter of the 13th or the early 14th century, two scenes can be identified on the northern wall: Ladislas wrestling the Cuman soldier, and Ladislas holding the head of the Cuman warrior, as the fair maiden he saved proceeds to decapitate him.[40] Another early example of the same cycle may be found in the Church of St. Catherine in Veľká Lomnica (near Poprad, Slovakia), dated to 1317.[41] Monumental depictions of the cycle of St. Ladislas appear at a precise historical juncture, namely when the Árpádian dynasty was superseded by the House of Anjou, closely related with the Neapolitan Angevin court, but the popularity of such images grew considerably during the 14th and 15th centuries.[42]

Despite the architectural variety and diversity across Eastern Europe described in Chapter 27, certain image cycles developed and emerged as "canonical" for particular areas within both the western and the eastern churches. The connections were most often due to the liturgical function of the space, especially the sanctuary, but also to the interaction with the beholders. Furthermore, in addition to the Christological and Mariological cycles, scenes more closely related to the specificsite, such as scenes from the life of the patron saint of the church or other holy figures, and donor compositions were included. I will return to this point later in the chapter.

Art, function and monasticism

In the Orthodox world, the importance of Mount Athos and monasticism is evident especially in the rock-cut churches of Ivanovo (near Ruse, northern Bulgaria). Inhabited by monks since the late 12th century, the cliffs on both sides of the river Rusenski Lom hold cells, chapels and churches cut into the rock.[43] The earliest preserved wall paintings are in the Gospodev Dol Chapel (late 12th century to early 13th century), and although in a fragmentary state, one can still discern the episodes of the Descent into Hell, the Ascension, the *Koimesis* (Dormition of the Virgin), as well as full, standing figures of saints. The best-known wall paintings from Ivanovo are those in The Church (14th century), including scenes from the Life of Christ, two episodes from the life of St. John the Baptist, and episodes from the life of St. Gerasimos.

Within the monastic setting, of particular significance is the way the function of buildings, besides the *katholika* discussed until now, informed their monumental image program. For instance, in the already mentioned Monastery of Hosios Loukas, there is a crypt below the *katholikon* that houses the original tomb of St. Luke and two tombs of the first abbots of the monastery.[44] The crypt is entirely decorated with some of the best-preserved wall paintings from this period. The choice of images—the *Deësis*, the Passion Cycle, the *Koimesis*, martyrs, apostles and holy men—has a distinctly funerary character. The images conveyed a message of hope for salvation by evoking St. Luke's intercessory and miraculous powers. In addition, they had a commemorative and celebratory function through the depiction of the first abbots of the monastery. An important parallel in this regard is the ossuary of the

Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bachkovo (near Asenovgrad, Bulgaria).[45] It was established by Gregory Pakourianos, the *megas domestikos* (chief commander) of the Byzantine troops in the western (Balkan) provinces of the empire. Its decoration has been dated to two consecutive phases: the middle to the third quarter of the 12th century and the mid-14th century. The structure is a two-storey, single-aisle funerary church, designated for the bones of the monks. The themes of death, intercession, afterlife and resurrection are at the center of the monumental decoration that includes the iconographic scenes of the *Deësis*, the Vision of Ezekiel and the Last Judgment.[46] The architecture, function, iconography and style of the Bachkovo Monastery situate it at the crossroads of the medieval Georgian and Byzantine cultural spheres, with particular connections to Mount Athos.

Moving farther to the north and northwest, the monumental remains offer a clearer picture of the relevance of the Western monastic orders for the artistic and architectural production of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland.[47] Unfortunately, little remains of the murals of this period, and what is left is often fragmentary. However, it is clear that under the guidance of the Benedictines, a great number of Romanesque churches were built, and later, the Cistercians and the success of the mendicant orders have been credited with the difussion of the early Gothic architecture in these regions. Examples of the former trend include the already mentioned abbey church at Feldebrő.[48] The church of the Benedictine monastery is consecrated to St. Martin, and the wall paintings in its crypt have been dated to two different phases: the choir to the second half of the 11th century and the nave to the 12th century. A German-Bavarian connection, specifically to the ecclesiastical centers of Salzburg and Regensburg, may account for the iconographic models used in the second decorative phase. Another renowned Benedictine abbey is that of Ják (near Szombathely, in western Hungary), which was founded in the 1220s and consecrated in 1256.[49] In addition to the portal and sculptural decoration, this Romanesque church preserves fragments of monumental paintings, including a scene with St. George, to whom the abbey is dedicated, on the east wall of the main apse, and fragments of a possible burial scene of the founder, Márton Nagy Jáki, and depictions of the Jáki clan on the ground floor of the west gallery.[50] A significant Polish Benedictine figure is Alexander of Malonnes, Bishop of Płock (d. 1156), who commissioned both the collegiate Church of Tum, near Łęczyca (ca. 1143–1161), and the Abbey of Czerwińsk (ca. 1145), both of which preserve wall paintings.[51]

The Benedictine idiom emanating from the abbey of St. Michael on Monte Gargano (Italy) can also be found in the Romanesque wall paintings of the three-aisled basilica of St. Martin in Sveti Lovreč (near Poreč, Istria, Croatia); the Church of St. Michael over Lim near Vrsar (Istria, Croatia), which is dated to the first half of the 11th century and deserves special mention because of the powerful scene of the Stoning of St. Stephen; and the Church of St. Michael in Ston (near Dubrovnik, in southern Croatia).[52] The latter was a votive chapel and has been dated to the second half of the 11th century. The donor depicted holding the model of the church and wearing a lavish crown has been identified with Mihailo I, King of Duklja (1050–1081).[53] Initially an ally of the Byzantine Emperor, he turned to Pope Gregory VII for legitimization in 1077, receiving a crown and the title of "King of the Slavs."[54]

The surviving instances of painting on panel offer an insight into the decoration and appearance of the interior of monastic churches. Crucifixes, for instance, played a key role in Catholic churches and usually stood in the middle of the chancel screen, or on the altar table, or hung from the triumphal arch. The Crucifix preserved in the Franciscan Priory in Zadar (Croatia) is a puzzling work of art dated to the second half of the 12th century.[55] Christ is depicted in relief on the cross, and is shown triumphant and alive, with a calm face and eyes open. He is flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, with the Archangel Michael

figure above. Between the figures, Latin and Greek letters are interspersed. This remarkable painted relief has no equals, and it has been read as a manifestation of the cultural plurality of the Adriatic coastal region. Another example of panel painting is the late 13th-century fragment, representing Sts. Catherine and Agnes, from the Church of St. Michael at Dębno (Poland), but now in the Archdiocesan Museum in Cracow.[56] The two saints are pictured holding martyrdom palms. The fragment was originally part of a larger composition, probably an altarpiece, depicting holy figures flanking the Virgin and Christ Child in the center. Its origins are still debated with connections either to Cracow or to Spiš (northeastern Slovakia).

Icons were also fundamental to the interior decoration of Orthodox churches. Among the earliest surviving icons from ovgorod is that of Sts. Peter and Paul dated to the 11th century.[57] Originally from the St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod, the icon measures 236 × 147 cm and has a silver revetment. The cathedral did not have any wall paintings, and it is possible that this, icon, together with three others, hung on the west side of the pillars, separating the altar area from the naos. Icons often played an important liturgical role in connection to specific feast days, such as the well-known double-sided icon from Kastoria representing the Hodegetria and the Man of Sorrows (second half of the 12th century).[58] This icon was created for the Good Friday celebration, and the damage at its base suggests that it was carried on a pole in processions. Likewise, the 13th-century double-sided icon from Melnik with the Hodegetria on one side and the Passion scenes on the other was most likely carried in processions.[59] The placement of the Descent for the Cross and of the Lamentation at the center of the reverse, flanked by 12 scenes, is unusual they illustrate the passages from the Gospel that are read during the Holy Week. Icons also played crucial roles beyond the liturgical space in the civic sphere, specifically to assist in the protection against foreign attacks. For instance, the 12th-century icon of the Virgin of the Sign is believed to possess miracle-working powers and to have played a crucial role in the defense of Novgorod against the siege of the Suzdal troops in 1169.[60] This is a double-sided icon representing the Virgin in an *orans* position on one side, and the unusual pairing of the Apostle Peter and St. Natalia on the other. The Virgin's role as a civic protector is a reinterpretation in a local context of Byzantine *exempla*, where the Virgin plays a crucial role in the deliverance of Constantinople.[61]

Secular iconography and donor portraits

Secular themes, although not as common as religious imagery, also appeared in churches. The Church of St. Vincent in Svetvinčenat (near Rovinj, Istria, Croatia) houses the calendar cycle with allegorical representations of the months (although many have not been preserved or are in fragmentary condition).[62] The church underwent different phases of decoration, starting in the late 10th century. The wall paintings are dated ca. 1230 and offer a comprehensive and rich sample of narratives, ranging from the Life of Christ and the Last Judgment to the Martyrdom of St. Vincent and St. Valerius. The labors of the month start in the right lateral apse with January and continue all the way to the left lateral apse. From what is left, it is clear that the agricultural aspect of life is emphasized. Parallels can be found in monumental painting in northern Italy, between the 12th and the 13th centuries, and in sculpture in France, especially the portals of the Vézelay Abbey Church and of the Cathedral in Autun.[63]

One of the best-known examples of secular themes in the monumental art in Eastern Europe is that of the wall paintings in the southwestern tower of St. Sophia in Kiev, which depict various sporting activities held of the Hippodrome in Constantinople (Figure 28.4).[64] These were probably executed during the time of Prince Yaroslav the Wise in the mid-11th century. The emperor is represented in the *kathisma*, surrounded by bystanders in the open

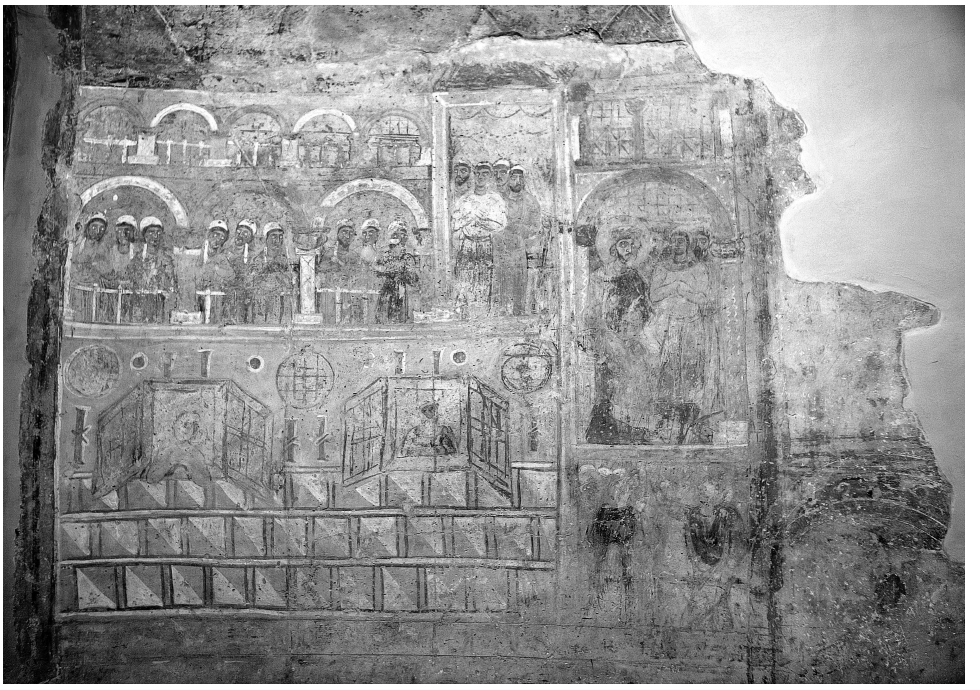

Figure 28.4 Church of St. Sophia, Kiev, Ukraine: the Hippodrome narrative, detail of the *kathisma,* wall painting in the southwestern turret (early 12th century)

Source: Google Art Project, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons.

galleries and the competitors and quadrigas below. This subject was adapted from the Byzantine cultural sphere and deployed to glorify the Kievan princes. According to Elena Boeck,

> the painted hippodrome simulates the complex power mechanisms of the outside Byzantine culture (control of labor, technological acumen, mobilization, and discipline) and puts them to work in a local performance of power. (…) The Rus' ruler aspired to the imperial management, control, and timing abilities embedded in the hippodrome performance.[65]

Monumental art also preserves invaluable evidence regarding the patrons and donors of building projects.[66] The lavishly decorated, 6th-century Euphrasiana Cathedral in Poreč (Istria, Croatia) houses a portrait of its patron, Bishop Euphrasius (543–553).[67] In the semi-dome of the apse, the enthroned Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child is flanked by angels, and holy figures. To her left, stand St. Maur; the city's first bishop, Euphrasius (who holds a model of the church), and the archdeacon Claudius and his son. A mosaic inscription in the apse records that Euphrasius rebuilt the church on a previous structure and refurbished it with marble, sculptures and mosaics. The church may be compared to the 6th-century Churches of St. Apollinare in Classe and St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The panel of St. Demetrios with the founders in the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki attests less to a personal message of faith and more to a community endeavor. The mosaic decoration of the church has been dated to the period between the 5th and the 9th centuries.[68] Of particular interest is the 7th-century northern panel on the southwestern pier, representing St. Demetrios with a bishop and an imperial official (Figure 28.5). Demetrios places his hands upon the shoulders of those

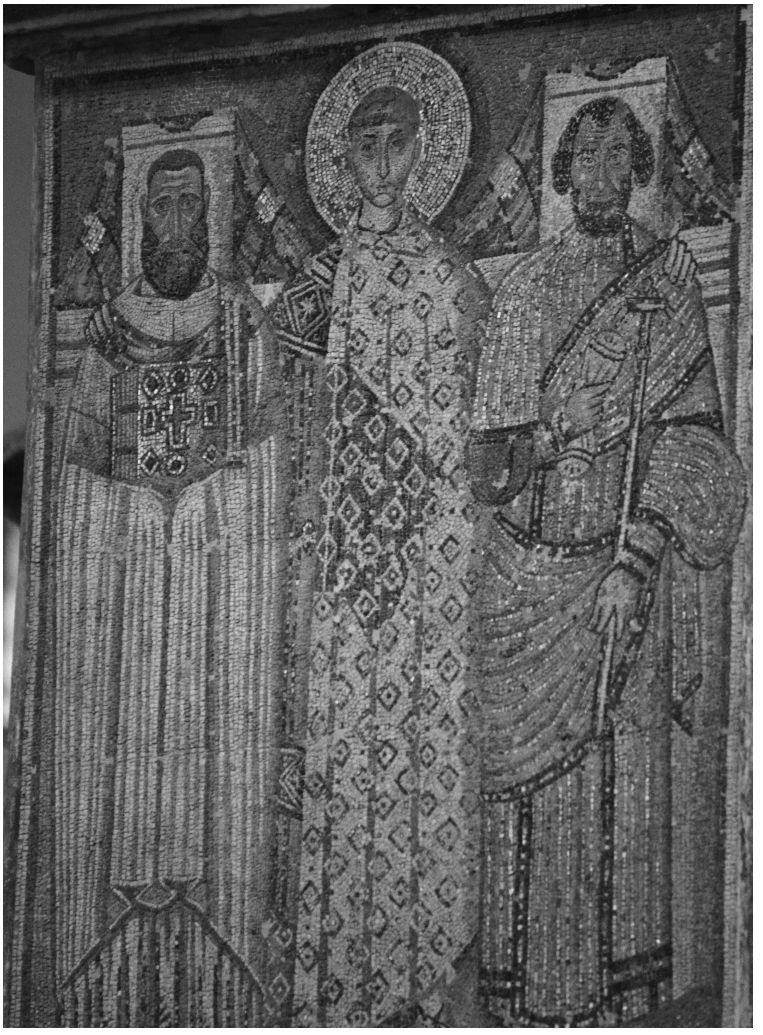

Figure 28.5 Church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, Greece: St. Demetrius with two founders, mosaic on the northern panel of the southwestern pier (7th century)

Source: David Hendrix/The Byzantine Legacy.

two individuals, possibly identifiable as the eparch Leontios, who founded the 4th-century church, and an unknown archbishop of Thessalonica, who restored the church in the 7th century.

One of the earliest surviving founder portraits in the monumental painting of Eastern Europe is in the Church of the Holy Unmercenaries (Agioi Anargyroi) in Kastoria painted in ca. 1000.[69] Constantine, the founder, is depicted in simple garments standing beside his namesake, the saint. An inscription reveals the date of Constantine's death, which suggests that he was buried in the church. Kastoria, occupied by the Bulgarians, was recaptured by the Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976–1025) in 1018. Except for the temporary conquest by Normans, the city remained in Byzantine hands throughout the rest of the 11th century, which resulted in a period of peace and artistic accomplishments.[70] Twelfth-century donor

portraits of the flourishing local aristocracy can be found in a second layer of paintings in the Church of the Holy Unmercenaries, as well as in the Church of St. Nicholas tou Kasnitzi.[71]

The wall paintings of the monastery of Gradac, near Raška, in Serbia (ca. 1280), are in a fragmentary state, but deserve special attention.[72] The *ktetor* was Queen Jelena of Anjou (1236–1314), wife of the Serbian King Stephen Uroš I (1242–1276). When she commissioned Gradac, Jelena was already a widow, but she is represented in the dynastic composition with her husband and her two sons. She was also buried in the monastery. Female patronage can also be identified in the 12th-century church of the Transfiguration, in the convent of the Savior (Spaso-Efrosinievsky Manastir), Polotsk (Belarus), commissioned by the princess, nun and abbess, St. Euphrosyne.[73] Another significant example is the mid-13th century donor composition in the Boiana Church, near Sofia (Bulgaria). The church contains multiple layers of painting, starting in the 10th century.[74] The portraits of the donors are on the north wall of the narthex. The *sebastokrator* Kaloyan holds a model of the church, alongside his wife Desislava. On the opposite wall are the portraits of the Bulgarian emperor Constantine Tih (1257–1277) and his second wife Irene, the daughter of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea. The iconographic program of the narthex serves to legitimize Kaloyan and Desislava by associating them with the imperial couple, with the Serbian dynasty to which Kaloyan claimed to be related, as well as with the Byzantine capital. The program thus presents the Boiana Church as a key example of artistic exchange in the 13th century. Similar examples of donor portraits can be found in the aforementioned Churches of St. Michael at Ston and in St. Sophia in Kiev (1045). In the latter, a group portrait of Yaroslav's family adorns the western wall of the central nave and the adjoining southern and northern walls. The composition is very fragmentary, and different reconstructions have been offered including a hypothetical central figure of Christ enthroned, flanked by Grand Prince Yaroslav, holding a model of the church, and his sons and on the other side, his wife, Irene, the daughter of the Swedish king Olof Skötkonung. Not unanimous is the reconstruction, that includes in the composition Yaroslav's daughters, and similarly disputed is the notion that Yaroslav is wearing a crown of the Byzantine type, drawing visual ties with Byzantine imperial iconography, is similarly disputed.[75] Another unique example is the dynastic cycle of the Přemyslid family in the nave of the Church of St. Catherine in Znojmo (Moravia, Czech Republic), dated ca. 1100. The duke of Znojmo and later duke of Bohemia Conrad I (1092) is shown together with his wife Wirpirk. Both are flanked by other members of the Přemyslid family.[76]

Akin to donor portraits, inscriptions functioned as a way to legitimize the *ktetor* in society at large upon the walls of the church.[77] The oldest dedicatory inscription in painting is that from the Church of St. Panteleimon in Ano Boularioi (Lakonia, Greece), which bears the date 991/2.[78] Another example is the bell tower of the Benedictine convent Church of St. Mary in Zadar.[79] The wall paintings are accompanied by a solemn inscription in which Coloman, the donor, identifies himself as the King of Hungary and Croatia (1095–1116). In 1102, Coloman brought together Hungary and Croatia under his rule, and in 1105, he commissioned the bell tower to record and celebrate this event.[80] The inscription together with the wall paintings on the first floor suggests the space was meant to be the king's chapel and was decorated by Western artists.

Innovations at the crossroads of traditions

Between the 6th and the 14th centuries, Eastern Europe stood at the intersection of different cultural spheres, among them Latin, Greek and Slavic. Itinerant artists, the circulation of

objects and the tradition of gift giving, traveling monks and diplomatic embassies, all made it possible for those territories to acquire, use, transform and reinterpret models from Western Europe, Byzantium and the broader Mediterranean region. These influences were not exclusive. They were combined with each other and with local traditions, fostering an eclectic, prismatic and interconnected forms of artistic production.

The Byzantine visual models were particularly strong in specific areas that were at the time, or had previously been, part of the Empire. For instance, the military, political and cultural expansion of Byzantium into the Balkans between the 11th and 12th centuries strongly affected the artistic production in the area.[81] Constantinopolitan artistic workshops were active in the region, as in the case of the Church of St. Panteleimon in Gorno Nerezi, near Skopje (Republic of North Macedonia).[82] The church was constructed in 1164 as a foundation of Alexios Angelos Comnenus, grandson of the founder of the Comnenian dynasty, Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118). The wall paintings are especially renowned for their overtly emotional tone conveyed through figural gestures and facial expressions.

Similarly, artists from Constantinople and Thessaloniki made their way to Kievan Rus' and trained local artists there. In addition to the examples already discussed, this trend is also evidenced in the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior in the Mirozhskii Monastery in Pskov.[83] The church, completed in 1156, was commissioned by Nifont, Bishop of Novgorod (1130–1156). Nifont was Greek by birth, and he summoned Greek artists to cooperate with local painters from Pskov to decorate the church. Stylistic parallels can be drawn to the Church of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi, and Greek inscriptions can be seen throughout the decoration. Yet, the presence of Greek artists would not yield the same results as in Nerezi. For instance, instead of the usual 12th-century Pantokrator in the dome, one finds the Ascension; instead of the Virgin in the semidome of the apse, one finds the *Deësis*. The Ascension in the dome, in fact, can be read as the result of a local visual expression that can be seen also in other 12th- and 13th-century churches in Staraia Ladoga, Nereditsa, Polotsk and Pskov. The artists also had a crafty solution for the lack of gold available to them, substituting a rich yellow pigment instead.

The best-known example of a travelling workshop is tied to signatures of a 14th-century artist named Michael Astrapas. Scholars have suggested that he was from Thessaloniki and trained in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/5) with his father Euthychios, whose signatures are also found on that monument.[84] Michael then moved to the Serbian Kingdom, where he became the chief painter of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321).

For other regions, such as the northern Adriatic, the circulation of Byzantine models was not always direct. Fundamental was the role of Ravenna, an exarchate since the 6th century, as demonstrated by the Euphrasiana. Between the 11th and 12th centuries, the role of Ravenna was taken by the patriarchate of Aquileia, and from the 13th century onward, by Venice. A good example of role these intermediary points of contact played is the mid- to late 12th-century, monumental decoration in the Church of St. Jerome in Hum (northern Istria, in Croatia).[85] Despite its fragmentary state, one can easily identify the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Crucifixion, the Deposition of Christ, and the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, among other scenes. The paintings have been attributed to a workshop from Aquileia, mediating Byzantine models with western trends. Another telling example is the Benedictine Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar (1175).[86] The wall paintings (dated between the third quarter of the 12th century and the mid-13th century) survive in a fragmentary state in the northern apse and on the adjacent northern wall. They include a *Deësis* in the conch of the apse, eight holy figures below it, a Nativity scene on the northern wall, and an unusual depiction of St. Michael within a symbolic representation of the Last Judgment.[87] The mix

of western iconography and Byzantine elements, together with the fact that when the church was built, Zadar was no longer under Byzantine rule, have led scholars to suggest Apulia as a point of reference for the wall paintings of St. Chrysogonus.[88]

Despite its strong Byzantine ties, Eastern Europe was also in constant contact with Western Europe. This is the reason for which Romanesque and Gothic elements are often found side by side with Byzantine models in monumental image cycles and smaller painted objects. The late 13th-century murals in the Church of St. Vincent in Svetvinčenat constitute one of very few instances where the painter left his signature: PIN(XIT) OGNOBENUS HOC TRIVISANUS.[89] Ognobenus was from Treviso and came to the hinterland of Rovinj to paint this church. The movement of artists, who brought with them model books, an indispensable part of the workshop practice, is key to our understanding of the transmission and adaptation of iconographies, subjects and forms. In the case of the church of St. Vincent, the depiction of the labors of the months has been linked to the 14th-century model book, which is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.[90] The latter comprises a wide range of subject matter, including an entire calendar cycle, and has been attributed to the circle of Tomaso da Modena (1325/1326- ca. 1379).[91] The transmission of iconographic models did not only rely on sketchbooks. For instance, the unusual iconography employed in the previously mentioned Church of St. George in Kostoľany pod Tribečom may be explained by late antique and Carolingian models from the West, transmitted through small, portable artifacts such as ivories or manuscripts.[92]

Among such portable artifacts, icons deserve special attention. Unfortunately, not many have survived, from before 1300, but a key example is the Constantinopolitan icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, today in the Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.[93] Painted toward the end of

Figure 28.6 Sainte-Face de Laon, icon, tempera on wood (first half of the 13th century). Cathedral of Laon, France. Photo by Vassil, Public Domain, Wikimedia Commons

the 11th century, the icon reached Kiev during the first half of the following century. In 1155, it was taken by Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii (1157–1174) to his newly founded city of Vladimir, thereby acquiring its name.[94] Another example that emphasizes the interconnected nature of those regions is the Sainte-Face de Laon.[95] The icon is dated to the first half of the 13th century and is first attested in Rome and from there, in 1249, it was sent to the cathedral of Laon in northern France (Figure 28.6). This icon shows the Mandylion, the face of Christ that miraculously imprinted on the cloth, identified by an inscription in Old Church Slavonic.[96] Comparisons have been made between this icon and the double-sided

Figure 28.7 Church of the Mother of God, Studenica Monastery, Serbia: eastern wall and sanctuary (1190–1196). Courtesy of BLAGO Fund, USA/Serbia, www.srpskoblago.org

icon from Novgorod that also depicts the Holy Face.[97] East European connections with Rome, specifically with the papacy—in this case through the previously mentioned Serbian Queen Jelena—can be found in yet another 13th-century icon, now preserved in the Vatican Treasury.[98] The icon shows Christ blessing Sts. Peter and Paul, with Queen Jelena below, flanked by her two sons, being blessed by a nimbed western bishop, identified as St. Nicholas.

Artists, monks and objects traveled through Eastern Europe, and the artistic production reflects a unique combination that can be seen as the mixture of Romanesque, Byzantine and early Gothic features in addition to local traditions. An early example of this eclectic visual dynamic is found in the Cathedral of Veszprém (Hungary). Queen Gisela (d. ca. 1060), the Bavarian wife of King Stephen, has been credited with the raising of that cathedral, which means that the building must have begun before 1038, the year in which Stephen died.[99] Of particular interest is the 13th-century chapel that preserves early Gothic features, such as the keystones on the vaults, and wall paintings depicting the Apostles following earlier Byzantine models.

An extraordinary example of the eclectic artistic production that can be found in Eastern Europe is the Church of the Mother of God in the Monastery of Studenica in Serbia (1190–1196) (Figure 28.7).[100] This monument was the crowning achievement of the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja (1166–1196), the founder of the Nemanjid dynasty, which ruled Serbia for nearly two centuries.[101] The conspicuous mixture of Byzantine and Romanesque elements plays out throughout the wall paintings (which have been ascribed to Constantinopolitan artists), the marble decoration of the exterior, the sculptural ensembles and the architectural plan (which has been attributed to craftsmen from the Adriatic region or from Italy). However, what should also be taken into account is how this deployment of Western and Byzantine traditions was transformed and used side by side with local visual and textual idioms, such as the Old Church Slavonic inscriptions.[102] This church, like many of the others presented in this chapter, is characterized by the two of key features of the art of this period in Eastern Europe: first, the breadth of iconographic and stylistic models that patrons and artists alike had at their disposal to create and commission monumental art and architecture, spanning from Georgia, the Byzantine Empire, and the Mediterranean sea to the Adriatic coast, Italy, France and Germany; and second, the careful selective process through which forms and idioms were transformed in the local context, contributing to the development of eclectic visual styles and offering us a glimpse into contemporary religious, sociopolitical and aesthetic needs.

Notes

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3 Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); Paschalis Kitromilides, *An Orthodox Commonwealth. Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). For critical remarks about such a division, see Christian Raffensperger, "Reimagining Europe: An outsider looks at the

medieval East-West divide" in *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe; Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, edited by Balázs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder and András Vadas (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 9–24.

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29

NEW POWERS—SERBIA AND BULGARIA

Francesco Dall'Aglio

Shortly before and after the year 1200, the balance of power in the Balkan peninsula shifted dramatically. The fragmentation of imperial authority, the most evident manifestation of which was the conquest of Constantinople by the Western crusaders in 1204, and the establishment of the so-called, and short-lived, Latin Empire of Constantinople, created a political vacuum that was exploited by various powers that vied for regional supremacy, as well the imperial legacy. Most active in this struggle, which extended well into the 14th century, were the kingdoms of Bulgaria and Serbia. In the late 12th century, both were able to assert, or re-assert, their independence.

After the war that Emperor Basil II waged against Emperor Samuel in the early 11th century, the whole Balkan peninsula came under Byzantine rule. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the imperial control over Bulgaria remained relatively stable, but it was only intermittent in the Serbian principalities. The local župans, notwithstanding their formal dependence from Constantinople, managed to preserve some degree of autonomy, usually taking advantage of the competition between the Byzantium and the Hungary.[1] In 1165, Manuel I Comnenus re-established direct control over the region after a successful military expedition. He assigned the throne of the most important of the Serbian provinces, Raška, to a local nobleman, Tihomir, who shared power with his three brothers. When the hostilities between Hungary and Constantinople broke out again, in 1166, the youngest brother named Nemanja, who had received the eastern provinces of Raška, expanded his dominions westward, in the direction of Zeta and the Adriatic littoral.[2] Tihomir tried to stop him, but was defeated and eventually killed, and Nemanja was recognized grand *zhupan* by his brothers. Manuel, worried about his expansion and his alliance with Venice, with serious repercussions on the balance of forces in the Adriatic region, invaded his lands and forced him to recognize Byzantine sovereignty, while allowing him to remain ruler of Raška.[3] In the following years, Nemanja consolidated his power in close association with the local ecclesiastical authorities, sponsoring an extensive program of church building and renovations.[4] After Manuel's death in 1180, he denounced his oath of obedience to the empire and, allied with Béla III of Hungary, significantly enlarged his territories in the east, taking control of Duklja and annexing a part of Macedonia and the region of Niš.[5] The state over which he ruled combined two very different areas: an internal region of farmland and woodlands, culturally attached to Constantinople and under

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the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Orthodox archbishopric of Ohrid, and the coastal cities whose bishops were under the jurisdiction of Rome, and whose inhabitants had strong commercial ties with the Italian states, as well as with the powerful merchant city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Nemanja, now free of external interference due to the political instability in Constantinople, styled himself *autokrator* and, following the Byzantine tradition of emperors as founders of ecclesiastical buildings, began in 1190 the construction of the royal monastery of Studenica.[6]

In 1185, a revolt broke out in Paristrion, the region between the Danube and the Stara Planina Mountains,[7] which was inhabited by a mixed population of Bulgarians, Vlachs and Cumans.[8] The uprising was led by two brothers, Theodore (who will soon change his name to Peter) and Asen. Apparently, it was sparked by an extraordinary tax introduced at the time of the impending marriage between Emperor Isaac II and Margaret, the daughter of Béla III of Hungary. However, it is likely that secession from the empire had been an idea entertained for a while, with the tax being only a pretext.[9] According to Choniates, the rebels wanted to rebuild the former Bulgarian kingdom "as it had been before," and since the beginning of the uprising, the brothers had made constant references to the glorious past of the country.[10] The spiritual protector of the revolt was St. Demetrius, who, according to the story circulated by Peter and Asen, had left Thessaloniki after the Norman invasion, in order to come to Tărnovo, the center of the uprising, and help the Bulgarians and the Vlachs in their quest for freedom.[11] Invaluable help also came from the Cumans living north of the river Danube, with whom Peter allied himself, and who participated in all the main campaigns of the restored state of Bulgaria.[12] The Byzantine reaction was ineffective, and besides minor and ephemeral victories, in the space of a few years Isaac II was forced to acknowledge the loss of the northeastern provinces. A truce was signed in 1188 and the younger brother of Peter and Asen, John (also known as Kaloyan), was sent to Constantinople as a hostage.[13]

Nemanja took advantage of the conflict between Bulgaria and Constantinople to secure and enlarge his dominions. In 1189, when the Third Crusade army led by Frederick Barbarossa crossed the Balkans, Nemanja welcomed him in Niš and offered military assistance. Some Bulgarian envoys were also present at the meeting and made the same offer.[14] This suggests that relations between the two countries were friendly at that moment, even though the area of Belgrade-Braničevo-Sofia would often be disputed between Serbia, Bulgaria and Hungary in the coming decades. Frederick declined both offers, but later on, when his relations with the Byzantines deteriorated almost to the point of open war, he was approached once again in Adrianople. Military assistance was offered again, but this time the Bulgarian envoys requested a crown for Peter as "emperor of Greece." In exchange for that, Peter promised 40,000 Vlachs and Cumans.[15] Barbarossa and Isaac eventually reached an agreement, and there was no need for Serbian or Bulgarian military help anymore. After the crusade moved to Asia, and Barbarossa to his untimely death, Isaac resumed the military operations against Bulgaria and Serbia. His advance into Bulgaria achieved nothing though, and, on his way back to Constantinople, he fell into an ambush and barely escaped alive. In a symbolic performance of *translatio imperii*, he abandoned to the victors his imperial insignia and his golden cross reliquary.[16] His actions against the Serbs, on the contrary, were more successful. In 1191, he won a battle on the Morava river and concluded a peace treaty with Nemanja. The Serbian župan returned the lands he had recently conquered, but his position and independence were recognized. While the battle on the Morava marked, for the time being, the end of Serbian expansion, it also strengthened Nemanja's diplomatic ties with Constantinople. Stefan, his second son and heir apparent, married Evdokia, Isaac's niece and the daughter of the future emperor Alexios III. Stefan was also granted the prestigious title of

sebastokrator, further proof of the dignity of the Serbian ruling family, albeit in a subordinated position to Constantinople.[17]

Military operations on the Bulgaro-Byzantine front continued with further Bulgarian success, even if in 1193 the brothers separated, with Peter retiring in his appanage in the region of Pliska, and Asen continuing his campaigns in Thrace and Macedonia.[18] The Bulgaro-Cuman raids continued unopposed, owing also to the fact that in 1195, Isaac's brother, Alexios, seized the throne. However, in 1196 Asen was murdered by a relative, Ivanko, who briefly took control of Tărnovo.[19] Peter hastened from Pliska and besieged the Bulgarian capital. Ivanko fled to Constantinople. Alexios welcomed him, married him to Isaac's daughter and gave him the command of the region of Philippopolis. Ivanko remained loyal for some time, but in the end, he seceded from the empire, creating his own autonomous principality; another local commander, Dobromir Chrysos, did the same in Macedonia.[20] Peter's rule was very short. In 1197, he was murdered as well, and his brother Kaloyan, who had already been associated with the throne, was crowned emperor.[21] There are no data on the first years of his rule, during which he probably subdued the internal opposition that had costed both his brothers and their lives.

The year 1196 brought important changes in Serbia as well: on March 25, Nemanja abdicated and took the vows, choosing the monastic name of Simeon.[22] The title of grand župan passed to Stephan, while Vukan was given the rule over Duklja. At some point between 1190 and 1193, Nemanja's third son, Rastko, turned a monk under the name of Sava in the Rus' monastery of St. Panteleimon on Mount Athos, where his father would soon join him.[23] In June 1198, Nemanja (whose monastic name was now Simeon) and Sava asked and received from Alexios III the permission to restore and enlarge the monastery of Hilandar, which was granted in perpetuity to the Serbian monks. It will soon become one of the most prestigious monasteries of the Orthodox world, of extraordinary importance for the Serbian culture and identity, and for the imperial claims of the Nemanjid family.[24] Nemanja died on February 13, 1199. Vukan had already written to the newly elected pope, Innocent III, asking him to send legates to his lands, in order to reform the local Church. The political significance of Vukan's request is evident. He made no mention of the conflict with his brother and did not ask for help against him, but he signed himself *Rex Dalmatiae et Diocleae*, as the ruler of an independent state. He was subsequently addressed as such by Innocent.[25]

The election of Innocent III produced tremendous changes for Southeastern Europe. One of his first and main concerns was the organization of a new crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land. He spared no effort in building a coalition as large as possible, which, according to his plan, was supposed to include the Byzantine empire and its neighboring states. The mission sent to Duklja enjoyed a great success from the get-go. Stefan wrote to the pope as well, worried as he was that Vukan may outdo him with such a powerful patron. In the end, Innocent's legates visited both sovereigns and received promises of obedience from both.[26] Between the end of 1199 and the beginning of 1200, the pope also wrote an exploratory letter to Kaloyan (now the sole rule in Bulgaria), but received no immediate answer, for reasons that remain unknown.[27] In 1201, Kaloyan resumed military operations against the empire, taking Varna and the fortress of Konstantia, and in the following year, he and Alexios agreed on a truce that, at least for Bulgaria, came at a very convenient moment.[28] The fast expansion of the Bulgarian kingdom had caused the reaction of King Emeric of Hungary (1996–1204), who took advantage of the Byzantine progressive withdrawal from the Balkans to enlarge his state and his influence in the region. He invaded the northwestern provinces of Bulgaria, and the Hungarian hostility prompted Kaloyan to reconsider Innocent's opening. The main diplomatic advantage that Emeric and Alexios enjoyed over Kaloyan was the fact that his

authority over Bulgaria had not been recognized outside his country, especially not by a religious authority such as the patriarch of Constantinople or the pope. They could therefore easily push the narrative according to which Kaloyan was just a usurper, with no rights over the lands he ruled. However, an agreement between Kaloyan and Innocent changed the situation. In the final months of 1202, Kaloyan finally wrote back to Innocent, stating rather bluntly that he wanted to be crowned by a pontifical legate in exchange for his obedience to Rome.

Hostilities between Bulgaria and Hungary had important repercussions on the situation in Serbia, where the conflict between Vukan and Stefan had escalated into open warfare. Vukan was assisted by Emeric, while Stefan could not receive help from Constantinople. He had in fact repudiated Evdokia and asked Innocent to send a legate and crown him as king of Serbia. Innocent agreed at first, but after Emeric's intervention, he changed his mind.[29] Vukan got the upper hand, at least in the beginning, and Stefan had to leave the country. He returned and secured the throne after, but not necessarily because of, the victorious campaigns of Kaloyan against Vukan and Emeric in the regions of Niš and Braničevo, in 1203. Vukan, however, maintained his possessions in Duklja.[30]

The correspondence between Kaloyan, Innocent and Vasiliy, the bishop of Tărnovo, went on for almost two years and, notwithstanding Emeric's opposition, Kaloyan was eventually crowned by the papal legate, Cardinal Leo Brancaleone, on November 8, 1204.[31] By then, the political situation in the Byzantine empire had suffered a veritable shock, since the Fourth Crusade had deviated first to Zara and then to Constantinople. On May 16, 1204, Baldwin of Flandres had been crowned emperor of Constantinople. Boniface of Montferrat, the other candidate to the imperial throne, received the "kingdom" of Thessalonica: while technically under the suzerainty of Baldwin, he was in practice independent. Kaloyan tried to get on good terms with the crusaders, but his friendly openings were dismissed with haughtiness.[32] It was only natural for the hostility between Constantinople and Bulgaria to continue even after the Queen of Cities was conquered by the Western crusaders, since the basic lines of their diplomacy, at least in principle, did not change. In the winter of 1204–1205, the local nobility of Thrace, whose lands had been seized by the crusaders, approached Kaloyan, and the former enemies now negotiated an agreement: the Thracian lords would retake control of their estates and towns, taking advantage of the fact that many crusaders had crossed the straits to start the occupation of the Anatolian lands, and Kaloyan would gather his army to deliver the final blow.[33] On April 14, 1205, the Bulgaro-Vlach army, with a sizeable force of Cuman cavalry, defeated the Latin army besieging Adrianople, one of the towns that had rebelled against the crusaders. Baldwin was taken prisoner and subsequently died in captivity, and many crusaders were killed. The Anatolian lands just subdued had to be vacated, for Kaloyan's victory made reinforcements an emergency. That, in turn, secured the survival of the small independent principality that Theodore Laskaris had begun organizing in Nicaea.[34]

After his victory at Adrianople, Kaloyan did not push toward Constantinople, knowing very well that a siege of the city would be pointless. Instead, he occupied or devastated a large part of Thrace and Macedonia, profiting from the Latin disorganization. His Thracian allies left him and sided with Baldwin's successor, his brother Henry, who did not repeat the mistake of the previous emperor and did not antagonize them.[35] Kaloyan, however, continued his expansion, with only minor setbacks. Innocent's pleas for peace between the Latins and Bulgaria were ignored by both, and no attempts at a diplomatic resolution of the conflict are recorded.[36] Between 1206 and 1207, Kaloyan and Theodore Laskaris concluded an alliance. Henry, who had no resources or manpower to fight on two fronts, decided to

end the war in Anatolia, ceding to Theodore Laskaris more of his possessions in the area.[37] To gain at least some ground in Thrace, Henry approached Boniface, and the two former crusaders agreed on the necessity of a joint action against Kaloyan: but on his way back to Thessaloniki, Boniface was ambushed and killed by the Bulgarians.[38] Kaloyan decided to seize this unexpected opportunity and moved against Thessaloniki, besieging the city with a large army in October 1207: but there he died, possibly the victim of a plot against him, although the legend has it that he died at the hands of St. Demetrius himself.[39]

The death of Kaloyan triggered a serious crisis in Bulgaria. He was the last male representative of the main line of the Asenids and left no direct heirs. Asen's firstborn, John, was underage and was taken to Halych by his supporters along with his brother Aleksander.[40] The strongest candidates for Kaloyan's succession were two of his kinsmen, possibly cousins, Boril and Slav. Boril got the upper hand marrying Kaloyan's widow, a Cuman princess, and securing the continuation of the military alliance between Bulgaria and its northern neighbors.[41] Slav, who was the governor of Melnik, seceded and sought the assistance of Henry of Flanders.[42] The Latin emperor gladly recognized him as the legitimate king of Bulgaria and presented Boril, in his correspondence, as a usurper and an enemy of the Church, in order to diminish his authority.[43] The alliance with Slav was of utmost importance for Henry, who in this way secured his northwestern borders and was free to intervene in Thessaloniki, in order to strengthen the position of his candidate to the throne that had belonged to Boniface. Boril continued the aggressive politics of his cousin, but with considerably less success: his army was defeated by the Latins at the Battle of Philippopolis, on July 31, 1208. The Bulgarian expansion into Thrace stopped.[44]

While the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople had significant consequences for the history of Bulgaria, Serbia was mostly unaffected. Stefan the First-Crowned was able to strengthen his state, while the other local powers were fighting and weakening each other. On February 9, 1207, the remains of Nemanja were transferred by Sava from Mount Athos to the monastery of Studenica. Stefan and Vukan, at least formally, were reconciled. The canonization process of the founder of the dynasty, no longer Stefan Nemanja but Simeon the Myrrh-Gusher, was already on its way. Its political significance will by far surpass its purely religious meaning, allowing the Serbian monarchy to characterize itself as a holy dynasty with a divine-ordained mission and eschatological significance.[45] Stefan tried to exploit the relative weakness of Bulgaria, without engaging Serbia in an open war. In 1208, Strez, Boril's brother, left Bulgaria for unknown reasons. Stefan assisted him in invading Macedonia and gave him the fortress of Prosek and "half the kingdom of Bulgaria," that is the southwestern lands of the former Bulgarian kingdom that was under Serbian control.[46] He also established friendly relations with Michael, the ruler of Epirus, whose power was on the rise. In 1207 or 1208, he arranged the marriage of his sister with Manuel, Michael's brother. In 1208, he began, under the supervision of Sava, the construction of the monastery of Žiča, the future see of the autocephalous Serbian Church after 1219.[47] Boril, who had been forced to abandon the military initiative against the Latins and was unable to recover the lands lost to Slav, reacted to Strez's defection by a show of force in Bulgaria. The central event of that show was a synod held in Tărnovo in 1211 to deal with heretics. Although the Bulgarian Church was still under Roman obedience, there is no evidence that either the pope or any one of his representatives were involved. Moreover, the proceedings of the synod known as the Synodikon of Tsar Boril show few, if any traces of Roman influence or doctrine.[48] By contrast, the political significance of the synod is quite obvious: Boril presided the council, as it was customarily done by Byzantine emperors, thus asserting his power in front of his external and internal opponents. Later in that same year,

with the support of his brother Strez, who had decided to end his subordination to the Serbian crown, the Bulgarian army clashed at Pelagonia with the Latins, at that time allied with Michael of Epirus. Once again, Boril was defeated, and shortly after that, he lost the town of Melnik to Slav.[49] This series of defeats forced him to reconsider his political stance. In 1213, he concluded a peace treaty with Henry, possibly brokered by Innocent III and sealed by Henry's marriage to Boril's stepdaughter.[50] He also entered into friendly relations with Hungary, receiving help from Andrew II to quell an uprising in the town of Vidin.[51] Slav lost the protection of Henry, who now recognized Boril as legitimate emperor of Bulgaria, for the time being ending the enmity that had characterized the relations between Bulgaria and the Latin Empire since its creation. However, he remained lord of his possessions in the region of Melnik and in 1216 made an alliance with Theodore of Epirus, who had succeeded his half-brother Michael. Strez moved against his former protector Stefan in 1214, while Boril and Henry, for the first time fighting together, attacked Niš. Worried, Sava tried to negotiate with Strez, visiting him in his encampment, but to no avail. Strez died during the night, quite possibly murdered: the catalog of miracles at the end of the *Life of St. Simeon*, written by Stefan, records Strez's death, and it is quite possible that the assassination was orchestrated by the Serbs.[52] Stefan, however, was not able to exploit the disappearance of Strez, whose lands were annexed in part by Boril and in part by the Epirote principality. In 1215, according to Stefan, the miraculous intercession of his father once again saved Serbia from its enemies, this time a joint expedition organized by Andrew of Hungary and Henry.[53]

In 1216, Henry of Flanders died: his succession was a complicated affair, which deprived Boril of a valuable ally. In the following year, he found himself even more isolated, as Andrew II of Hungary, after having thrice postponed his crusader vow, decided to set sail for the Holy Land. John Asen, who certainly had some partisans in Bulgaria, could count on the assistance of the Cumans, who had been forced to abandon their plundering raids since Boril had made peace with the Latins. John returned from Halych with an army he had recruited abroad and besieged Boril in Tărnovo. The Bulgarian nobility abandoned Boril, siding with the son of Asen. Boril was captured and blinded, and in 1218, John II Asen was the crowned emperor of the Bulgarians.[54] Much like in the case of Johannitsa Kaloyan, next to nothing is known about the first years of his rule. There can be no doubt that he had to focus on the reorganization of his kingdom and on the consolidation of his position after the civil war. What is known for certain for that period is that he continued the peaceful relation with the neighbors of Bulgaria, which had been initiated by Boril. Soon, he concluded a marriage with the daughter of Andrew II of Hungary and maintained friendly relations with the Latin Constantinople, while observing, much like everyone else in the region, the rapid ascension of Theodore Dukas of Epirus, who conquered Thessalonika in 1224 to be crowned emperor there three years later.[55]

Between 1215 and 1217, Sava left Serbia and went back to the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos. Some believe that his departure was in reaction to Stefan's openings to Rome, but there is no evidence in the written sources to support that interpretation. True, at that moment precisely, Stefan reinforced his relations to Rome, as well as Venice, as he married Anna, a niece of the former doge Enrico Dandolo.[56] On the contrary, all monasteries on Mount Athos, including Hilandar, were under the protection of the Latin emperors of Constantinople, as a consequence of the dramatic shifts and negotiations in political and religious loyalties that happened in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. Stefan's diplomatic activity bore fruits in 1217, when Pope Honorius III, notwithstanding Hungarian opposition, agreed to send him the royal crown, which earned Stefan the moniker of *Prvovenčani*, "the First-Crowned."[57]

Shortly after Stefan's coronation, and, no doubt, with his brother's consent, Sava traveled to Nicaea to ask Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (1205–1222) and Patriarch Manuel I (1217–1222) to consecrate an archbishop for the Serbian kingdom. Quite naturally, Laskaris and Manuel chose Sava himself and ordained him archbishop "of all Serbian and maritime lands." He also received permission to have the future Serbian archbishops chosen by a local synod, which effectively granted the Serbian Church an autocephalous status and detached it from the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Ohrid. In exchange, Sava recognized the patriarch temporarily residing in Nicaea as ecumenical patriarch, and, as a consequence, the emperor of Nicaea as emperor of the Romans, since he had been crowned by that patriarch.[58] This agreement was beneficial to both parties. Nicaea gained a valuable ally against Epirus and greatly reduced the extent of the land under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Ohrid, whose archbishop, Demetrios Chomatenos, refused to recognize the patriarch in Nicaea as ecumenical patriarch. Chomatenos began to appoint the local clergy without asking for confirmation from Nicaea. Sava detached the Serbian lands from their double dependence, from Ohrid, on the one hand, and from the dioceses of Bar and Dubrovnik, on the other hand. In the process, he created a single, independent religious authority in the country, mirroring and supporting Stefan's newly acquired position of king of a unified state.

Sava returned to Serbia via Mount Athos and Thessaloniki, where he finished writing his *Nomokanon* or *Zakonopravilo*, in 70 chapters. This was a compilation of canon law from Byzantine collections in earlier Slavonic translation. Its main concept was a "symphony" between Church and State. On that basis, Sava's *Zakonopravilo* not only regulated ecclesiastical matters, but became the most important law code of the 13th-century Serbia.[59] He then began the reorganization of the Church and the ordination of the new bishops. In 1221, Sava summoned a council in Žiča against the heretics, like Boril had done a decade earlier. The council also approved his *Nomokanon*. Slavonic became the official language of the Serbian Church and state.[60]

Sava's reorganization of the Serbian dioceses was not opposed either by Rome or by the local Catholic clergy. Demetrios Chomatenos, however, protested vehemently that the rights of his see had been violated and refused to consider Sava as canonically ordained archbishop (therefore as equal in status to him). In May 1220, he wrote him a harsh letter, accusing Sava of fostering worldly ambition, and reminding him that the titular and canonically established Serbian bishopric was that of Raška, under the authority of the Ohrid archbishopric.[61] In another letter, sent in 1228 to Patriarch Germanos II (1223–1240), Chomatenos used Sava's elevation, and the consequent violation of his diocesan rights, to justify his coronation of Theodore Dukas as emperor, and the resulting schism between the two Byzantine churches.[62]

Even with a "national" church established, Serbia still pursued pragmatic politics, gathering advantages wherever they could be found. Stefan maintained good relations with Rome, as testified by a letter sent to Honorius III at the beginning of 1220, since the littoral remained largely Catholic.[63] The Epirote connections were not overlooked either. In 1219/1220, Radoslav, the heir apparent, married Anna, the daughter of Theodore of Epirus, and the Serbian kingdom thus established good relations with both Byzantine successor states.[64] Some believe that at that moment or shortly thereafter, Radoslav was made co-ruler of Serbia, because of Stefan's worsening health.[65] Most scholars believe that Stefan died in 1227. After his brother's death, Sava crowned Radoslav king of all the Serbian lands, then left for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his way back, he visited again Nicaea and Mount Athos then returned to Serbia via Thessaloniki. In this way, he was able to meet both emperors.[66] It appears that during that period, Radoslav introduced a number of Byzantine,

or, more specifically Epirote elements of political tradition, such as the use of the surname Dukas, which appears in a treaty he signed with Ragusa on February 4, 1234, on the coins that he minted, as well as the correspondence he started with Demetrios Chomatenos (to the great dismay of the Serbian clergy).[67]

Radoslav, however, had nothing to fear from the internal opposition, if there ever was one, given the imperial coronation of his father-in-law Theodore, whose power seemed unstoppable. He began a series of victorious campaigns in Thrace that brought his possessions as far as Adrianople, threatening the Latins of Constantinople, who concluded an alliance with Nicaea that was also worried by Theodore's advance. To secure his back, he concluded an alliance with John II Asen in 1227 or 1228, sealed by a marriage between John II Asen's daughter and Manuel, Theodore's brother, who had already been married previously to Stefan the First-Crowned's sister.[68] In 1230, Theodore assembled a large army and moved against Constantinople, but invaded Bulgaria instead, for reasons that remain unknown. According to Akropolites' sympathetic description, John II Asen, surprised and outraged, went into battle carrying as his standard the treaty signed by Theodore. The battle was fought at Klokotnitsa (near modern Khaskovo, in Thrace), on March 9, 1230, and Theodore's army was crushed. He was taken prisoner and almost all of his possessions were incorporated by John II Asen, who became, all of a sudden, the most powerful ruler in the region.[69] His extraordinary success was celebrated, in the fashion of the old Bulgar khans, in an inscription on a stone column in the Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs in Tărnovo. The inscription describes how the "tsar and autocrat of the Bulgarians" conquered all the land "from Adrianopolis to Dyrrachium," and how the Latins of Constantinople, while still independent, also obeyed his command.[70] Thessaloniki and part of Epirus and Thessaly went to Manuel, Theodore's brother and John II Asen's son-in-law, obviously under the suzerainty of the Bulgarian emperor. The occupation of such a vast territory brought along a great increase in trade, both domestic and international, and of monetary circulation. Tărnovo was enlarged and embellished, and new relics were added to the already impressive collection assembled by his father and uncles during their reigns.[71] John II Asen put all the clergy in the conquered lands under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Tărnovo, including Ohrid. He became a protector of the Athonite monasteries and bestowed rich gifts onto Zographou, the Bulgarian monastery on the Mount. The ecclesiastical subordination to Rome became increasingly irrelevant, especially now that vast areas outside its jurisdiction had been added to John II Asen's empire. In a parallel to Sava's actions, but with a more ambitious plan, he concluded an alliance with John III Dukas Vatatzes in 1234, betrothing his daughter to John's heir, Theodore II Laskaris. In the following year, the Nicaean religious authorities recognized the autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church and the archbishop of Tărnovo received the title of Patriarch of Bulgaria. In exchange, John II Asen, like Sava, recognized the patriarch residing in Nicea as ecumenical and relinquished to him his role of protector of Mount Athos, as well as the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thessaloniki and eastern Thrace. The Bulgarian and Nicaean armies then besieged Constantinople, but with no success.[72]

The alliance between John II Asen and John III Dukas Vatatzes was short-lived. It is possible that John II Asen had second thoughts, recognizing that Nicaea got the best out of the deal, especially if Constantinople would have been taken. He therefore attacked the Nicaean possessions on the Marmara Sea, only to change sides again at the end of 1237.[73] According to Akropolites, he did so because his wife and one of his children had died of a sudden outburst of plague, and he interpreted that to be divine punishment for having broken his alliance.[74] It is more likely, however, that his Cuman allies had already brought to him the troubling news about the Mongol onslaught. The threat that now represented for

the Latin Empire, as well as his rejection of the union with the Church of Rome prompted Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) to call a crusade against him. John II Asen was able to avert the crusade by means of diplomatic openings toward Hungary and Constantinople, which he attacked no more.[75]

John II Asen's victory at Klokotnitsa and the disappearance of the Epirote state had deep repercussions on Serbia. In 1233, a part of the Serbian nobility rebelled against Radoslav and chose as new king his brother Vladislav, who, at some point after 1230, had married a daughter of John II Asen. This abrupt change at the head of the Serbian state was a reflection of the shift of power from Epirus to Bulgaria. Sava, who had opposed the coup, accepted the fait accompli and crowned Vladislav, but decided to retire. He resigned his position of archbishop, leaving the see to Arsenij I (1234–1263). He left one more time for the Holy Land and, on his return, died in Tărnovo on January 14, 1236. He was first buried in the Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs, where according to his hagiographers, his relics performed the first miracles. In 1237, at the insistence of Vladislav, the relics were translated to the royal monastery of Mileševa.[76]

The Mongol invasion of Hungary, in 1241, and its long aftermath had decidedly different outcomes in Serbia and in Bulgaria, respectively. This is especially because, on June 24, 1241, John II Asen died leaving as his heir Kaliman (1241–1246), who was only seven years old.[77] Power was taken by a regency council that had little, if any support with most Bulgarian aristocrats, whose centrifugal tendencies had so often manifested in the past. To make matters worse, in the spring of 1242 the Mongol army retreated from Hungary, crossing the Danube in the Belgrade-Braničevo region and ravaging the country, including Tărnovo. Bulgaria became a tributary polity under Mongol control.[78] Kaliman died in 1246, under suspicious circumstances, and was followed by his half-brother Michael Asen (1246–1257).[79] John III Dukas Vatatzes immediately took advantage of the Bulgarian difficulties and occupied Thrace and Macedonia, including such towns as Serres, Melnik, Skopje and Prizren, and such key fortresses as Prosek and Stenimachos. When hostilities ended, the new frontier between Bulgaria and the Nicaean empire was running on the Maritsa river.[80] Moreover, the region of Belgrade and Braničevo went to Hungary in the early 1250s. Michael Asen's reaction was ineffective, on all theatres. He concluded a commercial treaty with Ragusa on June 15, 1253, which also included the prospect of joint military actions against Serbia, but nothing came out of that. On May 22, 1254, the war ended with a rapprochement between Ragusa and Serbia, and no results for Bulgaria.[81] After Vatatzes's death on November 3, 1254, Michael Asen crossed the Maritsa and recovered many of the territories he had previously lost. He also strengthened his relations with Hungary, taking as his wife Anna, the daughter of Rostislav Mikhailovich, a Rus' prince who had fled to Hungary and had married a daughter of Béla IV. Michael Asen's advance was stopped by Theodore II Laskaris's counterattacks.[82] In 1256, after another ineffective campaign, Michael Asen signed a peace treaty, whereby he returned to Nicaea all territorial gains. As a consequence, a faction of the Bulgarian nobility decided to eliminate and replace him with his cousin Kaliman II Asen. Michael Asen was ambushed and died of his wounds shortly after that. Kaliman II, however, died within that same year, and with him, the male line of the Asenid dynasty was extinguished. Taking advantage of the resulting chaos, Rostislav, Michael Asen's father-in-law, claimed the throne of Bulgaria. He did not succeed in taking Tărnovo, but took control of Vidin, styling himself emperor of Bulgaria, albeit under Hungarian suzerainty. Another local lord, Micho, who had married a daughter of John II Asen, claimed the throne and possibly held it for a very short time, depending upon which source one chooses to follow. In the end, in 1257, the Bulgarian aristocracy chose Constantine Tih, an aristocrat of Serbian

origin related to the Nemanjids, as the new emperor. To prop the legitimacy of his rule, in 1258 he married Irene, the daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, who was a niece of John II Asen.[83] His election put an end to the civil war of 1256–1257. However, by that time, Bulgaria had already been split, with local lords asserting their *de facto* independence. Such was the case of Kaloyan in the region of Sofia, Micho in the region of Preslav or Jacob Sviatoslav in western Bulgaria.

Serbia, on the other hand, had been less affected by the Mongol invasion.[84] However, the resulting unrest and the political rearrangement following the death of John II Asen prompted the Serbian nobility to challenge Vladislav. Now it was his turn to be forced into abdication in favor of his brother Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276). Notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances of his coronation, Uroš was able to rule effectively and his was a relatively long reign, during which both the state and the economy were strengthened. It was during Uroš's reign that a series of silver mines were opened, most notably those of Brskovo, Rudnik and the richest of all, Novo Brdo, generating significant revenues for the king, who began striking the first silver coins of Serbia imitating of Venetian groats. He invited to his country experienced "Saxon" miners from Hungary, to whom he granted many administrative and religious privileges, while merchants from Ragusa and Kotor increased their trade operations inside Serbia.[85] His foreign policy was mainly directed at keeping the borders safe, especially against Hungary, and in this, he was helped by the decline of Bulgaria. In the dispute between Ragusa and Bar, in which Michael Asen unsuccessfully tried to intervene, Uroš sided with Bar, in order to avert the danger of Serbian coastal cities entering the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a foreign town.[86] He invaded Nicaean Macedonia in 1257, in agreement with Michael II Dukas of Epiros.[87] However, two years later he sent Serbian troops to the assistance of Michael Paleologus (who was acting as regent for John IV Laskaris after the death of his father Theodore in August 1258). Those Serbian troops participated in the decisive Battle of Pelagonia against the coalition formed by Michael of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily and William Villehardouin, the lord of Achaia.[88] After Michael Paleologus took Constantinople in 1261, putting an end to the Latin Empire of Constantinople and becoming the main power broker in the region, Stefan Uroš changed his mind and joined the coalition created by Charles of Anjou against the new Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, in order to recover the throne of Constantinople for Baldwin II.

In Bulgaria, what worried Constantine Tih was less the restoration of the Byzantine Empire than the Hungarian threat coupled with Rostislav, the Hungarian proxy in Vidin. In 1260, Bulgarian troops attacked and took Vidin, along with the region of Braničevo, but on the following year, the Hungarians counterattacked deep into the Bulgarian territory.[89] In 1263, the Byzantines unexpectedly attacked Bulgaria, taking control of Anchialos, Stenimachos and Philippopolis. Since he was paying tribute to the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Constantine Tih called Khan Berke (1257–1266) to the rescue. In the winter of 1264, the Bulgaro-Mongol army invaded and raided Thrace, forcing Michael VIII to an inglorious retreat to the safety of Constantinople.[90] This success, however, did not change the overall balance, and the land lost remained in Byzantine hands. On the contrary, in 1266, the Hungarians sacked some Bulgarian fortresses on the Danube; to avoid fighting a conflict on two fronts, Constantine Tih made an alliance with Hungary against Constantinople, but in 1268, he reconciled with Michael VIII. Since his wife Irina had recently died, on the following year, he married Maria, the emperor's niece.[91]

In 1268, after many years of peaceful relations, Uroš joined the hostilities as well, attacking Hungary, but was defeated and captured. He too sued for peace and his eldest son, Stefan Dragutin, married Catherine (Katalin), the daughter of Stephen V, then junior king

of Hungary and, from 1270, sole king.[92] Uroš decided not to break up his kingdom and did not concede an appanage to Dragutin even after his marriage. This caused a rift between them, and with help from his brother-in-law, King Ladislas IV (who had succeeded Stephen in 1272), Dragutin forced his father to abdicate in 1276. Uroš retired to a monastery, where he died shortly after that.[93]

In 1277, Constantine Tih, unable to stop the disintegration of his country, lost the throne as well. Four years earlier, Nogai, a nephew of Berke who ruled the southwestern Mongol dominions and was de facto an independent ruler, had married an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII.[94] The alliance between Constantinople and Nogai menaced to crush Bulgaria that paid tribute to Möngke Timur, technically Nogai's overlord. Bulgaria found itself surrounded by hostile powers, especially because Michael VIII had also concluded an alliance with Hungary, and exposed to the danger of continuous Tatar raids. In 1277, a rebellion arose against the emperor, led by Ivailo, whom Pachymeres and Gregoras call the "cabbage." This is most likely an indication that he was not a member of the aristocracy. Some sources even maintain disparagingly that he was a swineherd. If true, he must have been a wealthy man, for pigs were a major source of income. Be that as it may, he was also a very successful organizer, and the bands he commanded were able to repel many Tatar raids. The provincial aristocracy sided with him, and Ivailo was hailed emperor.[95] Constantine Tih mobilized the army, but at the end of 1277, he was defeated and killed. Maria, Constantine's widow and the regent for her seven-year-old son Michael, married Ivailo, whom she associated to her son's throne, thus thwarting Michael VIII's plans to support a rival in the person of John III Asen, the son of Micho.[96] Busy fighting against Nogai's Tatars, Ivailo soon lost the support of the aristocracy in Tărnovo that first sided with John III Asen, before supporting George Terter. The latter was an important aristocrat who had just received from Michael VIII the title of despot and had married the sister of John III Asen.[97] Both Ivailo and John III Asen appealed to Nogai for help. The Mongol lord had Ivailo killed, while John escaped to Constantinople, where he set aside all his political ambitions. In 1284, at least for the time being, the war with Constantinople ended, and Andronikos II recognized Terter as the legitimate Bulgarian emperor. Nogai's raids, however, increased in number and size, and the territory under the effective control of Terter was reduced to eastern Bulgaria.[98]

In Serbia, once again, the situation was considerably calmer, at least on the borders of the kingdom. After breaking away from the tradition that his father had tried to establish, Dragutin created a large appanage for his mother Elena in the western part of Serbia.[99] He ruled as sole king until 1282, when he was forced to abdicate in favor of his brother Milutin after being incapacitated as the result of a riding accident. He may have been simply pushed out by a section of the Serbian nobility that had grown impatient with him. Be that as it may, Dragutin's abdication was meant to be temporary.[100] Indeed, after his abdication, Dragutin maintained his royal status and received as his appanage the northernmost provinces of Serbia, on the Hungarian border, which he enlarged in 1284 with a substantial concession of land by Ladislas IV of Hungary. The reason for such a gift was the conflict with Dorman and Kudelin, two Bulgarian lords (of probable Cuman origin), who were in control of the regions of Braničevo and Kučevo and were raiding Hungarian territories since the beginning of the 1280s. In this way, Ladislas was enlisting the help of a powerful ally, who helped him against the lords of Braničevo. Dragutin's lands included the important silver mines at Rudnik, which may explain why the name reserved in the sources for this territory is "the kingdom of Srem" (*Sremska zemlja*), a political formula that remained in use until 1325.[101]

After his somewhat unexpected accession, Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) immediately attacked and seized the Byzantine possessions in Macedonia, including Skopje. The new

emperor, Andronikos II, retaliated in early 1283 by sending against Serbia a contingent previously sent by Nogai Khan to assist his father-in-law Michael VIII in his war against John I of Thessaly. Milutin's troops were eventually victorious and continued their advance.[102] After his campaigns, Milutin visited George I Terter and agreed to give him his daughter in marriage. This was an alliance possibly motivated by the problems that Nogai was creating to both rulers. Given the hostility of Constantinople, Terter naturally felt the need to seek an alliance with his neighbor.[103] To put an end to Nogai's raids, Terter recognized his sovereignty over the country in 1285, arranged a marriage between his daughter and Nogai's son Chaka and sent his son Theodore Sviatoslav as a hostage.[104]

Shortly after that, in 1290, Milutin married Elizabeth, the sister of Ladislas IV of Hungary, probably terminating his alliance with Bulgaria. In 1291, assisted by Dragutin, Milutin conquered the region of Braničevo. He had been involved in the conflict since Dorman and Kudelin's troops had sacked and burnt the monastery of Žiča. As a consequence, the relics of Archbishop Eustace I (1279–1286) were translated to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Peć, which effectively became the new see of the Serbian archbishopric.[105] The possessions of Dorman and Kudelin were incorporated by Dragutin. This prompted the reaction of the Bulgarian ruler of Vidin, Shishman, a vassal of Nogai who is previously unrecorded in the sources. Shishman raided Serbia, but had to leave Vidin when the Serbs retaliated. Shishman escaped on the other side of the Danube, but in the end, he reconciled with his enemy, probably upon Mongol insistance, and returned to Vidin under Serbian suzerainty. His daughter married a Serbian nobleman, Dragoš, while Milutin's daughter Anna/Neda married Shishman's son Michael, the future emperor of Bulgaria (crowned in 1323).[106] Shortly afterward, in 1292, Terter left Bulgaria, forced by Nogai or, more likely, by the opposition of the Bulgarian aristocrats, and took refuge in Constantinople. Nogai put a local lord, Smilets (1292–1298), as his proxy on the Bulgarian throne.[107] He decided to settle matters with Serbia and began preparing an expedition against Milutin. Warned ahead of time of the Mongol invasion in 1293/1294. Milutin skillfully maneuvered diplomaticallly but had to send his son Stefan (the future king Stefan Uroš III Dečanski) to Nogai as a hostage, along with many high nobles, thus recognizing the Mongol overlordship.[108] The conflict for Vidin continued until Nogai's death in 1299, following his conflict with khan Toqta, supported by Constantinople. In the same year, Milutin received a marriage proposal from the widow of Smilets, who had died in the previous year. It is difficult to say what would the consequences have been for Bulgaria if this marriage had materialized. Milutin signed a treaty with Andronikos II Paleologos and married his daughter Simonis instead.[109] This prestigious marriage, along with the recognition of his conquests in Macedonia (which were treated as dowry by Andronikos), with the Serbo-Byzantine border now running across the Ohrid-Prilep-Štip line, increased Milutin's power and his ambitions and precipitated his relations with Dragutin. After more than a century, a Serbian king became again the son-in-law of a Byzantine emperor: but this time, the political situation was completely different. The foundations for Serbia's imperial ambitions, to be fulfilled in the 14th century, have already been laid.

After the death of Nogai, his son Chaka took refuge in Bulgaria along with Theodore Svetoslav, Terter's son. Theodore negotiated with the Tărnovo aristocracy and, in 1301, had Chaka killed.[110] This no doubt pleased Tokta, and the northern border of Bulgaria was finally free of the Tatar danger. Moreover, since Theodore acknowledged Tokta's suzerainty, he received help from his powerful ally and incorporated some of the territories that had been part of Nogai's dominion. The Byzantine expeditions against him failed, and he recovered many territories lost to local separatism. At least for the time being, Bulgaria was pacified and under the rule of a strong emperor.

Notes

1 Jovanka Kalić, "Dva carstva u srpskoj istoriji XII veka," [Two kingdoms in the Serbian history of the 12th century] *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 38 (2000), 197–214. For Serbia as part of the imperial *oikoumene* and the influence of the Byzantine imperial ideology, see Ljubomir Maksimović, "Byzantinische Herrscherideologie und Regierungsmethoden im Falle Serbien. Ein Beitrag zur Verständnis des Byzantinischen Commonwealth," in *ΠΟΛΥΠΛΕΥΡΟΣ ΝΟΥΣ. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2000), pp. 174–92; Vlada Stanković, "The character and nature of Byzantine influence in Serbia (from the end of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century): Reality – policy – ideology," in *Serbia and Byzantium*, edited by Mabi Angar and Claudia Sode (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 75–93; Vlada Stanković, "Stronger than it appears? Byzantium and its European hinterland after the death of Manuel I Komnenos," in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: 'The Sad Quarter of a Century'?*, edited by Alicia Simpson (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2015), pp. 39–47.

2 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, edited by Jan Louis van Dieten (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1975), p. 159; John Kynamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis Gestarum*, edited by Augustus Meineke (Bonn: Weber, 1836), pp. 101–13, 203–04, and 212–15; Angeliki Papageorgiou, "The earliest mention of Stefan Nemanja in Byzantine Sources," in *Nish i Vizantija, XIII. Simpozijum, Nish 3—5. jun 2015*, edited by Miša Rakocija (Niš: NKC, 2015), pp. 39–47. See also John V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1987), pp. 2–9; Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 266–71.

3 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 159, John Kynamos, *Epitome rerum*, pp. 286–88; Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela* [Complete works], edited by Ljiljana Juhas-Georgievska and Tomislav Jovanović (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1999), pp. 21–23.

4 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 25–29.

5 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 37–41.

6 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 41–45. On the political ideology of Nemanja see Ljubomir Maksimović, "L'idéologie du souverain dans l'État serbe et la construction de Studenica," in *Studeniza i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, edited by Voijslav Korać (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Utmetnosti, 1988), pp. 35–49; Boško Bojović, *L'idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du Moyen Âge serbe* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića* [The power ideology of the Nemanjids] (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1997).

7 The date of the uprising is not explicitly mentioned in the sources, but 1185 seems the most probable year: see Jan Louis van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), p. 70. There is a very rich scholarly literature dedicated to the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire, from which I can only cite here Ivan Bozhilov, *Familiiata na Asenevtsi (1186–1460). Genealogiia i prosopografiia* [The Asenid Family (1186–1460). History and Prosopography] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1994), pp. 11–42; Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 10–17 and 25–29; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 288–315; Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 357–65; Alexandru Madgearu, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 35–75.

8 For the population of Paristrion and theories regarding the ethnicity of the rebels and of the Asenids (whom the Byzantine sources call Vlachs), see Francesco Dall'Aglio, "The interaction between nomadic and sedentary peoples on the Lower Danube: The Cumans and the 'Second Bulgarian Empire," in *The Steppe Lands and the World Beyond Them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, edited by Florin Curta and Bogdan-Petru Maleon (Iași: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2013), pp. 299–312.

9 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 368–69; George Akropolites, *Opera*, edited by August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978), pp. 18–19.

10 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 373–74; Francesco Dall'Aglio, "'As it had been in the past': The idea of national continuity in the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom," in *Laudator Temporis*

Acti: Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov, edited by Ivan Biliarsky, vol. 1 (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2018), pp. 282–99.

11 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 371. See also Anastasiia S. Dobychina, "A 'divine sanction' on the revolt: The cult of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica and the uprising of Peter and Asen," *Studia Ceranea* 2 (2013), 111–24; Jelena Erdeljan, *Chosen Places: Constructing New Jerusalems in* Slavia Orthodoxa (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 154–62.

12 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 374; Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, edited by Jan Louis van Dieten (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), pp. 7–9; Konstantin Golev, "The Bulgarophilia of the Cumans in the times of the first Asenids of Bulgaria," *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie* 6 (2018), 452–71.

13 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 372–76 and 394–99.

14 Ansbertus, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, edited by Anton Chroust (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 1–115, here 31–33; *Historia peregrinorum*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, edited by Anton Chroust (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 116–72, here 135. See also Chapter 21 in this book.

15 Ansbertus, *Historia*, p. 58; *Historia peregrinorum*, p. 149. "Coronam imperialem regni Grecie" must be understood as the crown of Bulgaria, and certainly not that of Constantinople. While in Adrianople, Barbarossa continued his diplomatic correspondence with Nemanja: Ansbertus, *Historia*, p. 55; *Historia peregrinorum*, pp. 148–49.

16 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 428–31; George Akropolitesm *Opera*, pp. 18–20.

17 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 434, 531; Choniates, *Orationes*, 32–33; Božidar Ferjančić, "Kada se Evdokija udala Stefana Nemanjića?" [When did Eudokia marry Stefan Nemanjić?], *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 8 (1964), 217–24. For the political significance of this marriage, see Stanković, "Stronger than it appears?," pp. 40–45.

18 George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 20; Alexander Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 167–74; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan frontier*, pp. 290–91.

19 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 469; George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 21.

20 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 469–73 and 508–13.

21 Choniates, *Historia*, p. 472; George Akropolites, *Opera*, p 21.

22 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 51–55.

23 For Sava, see Dimitri Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 115–72; Florin Curta, "Angel on earth and heavenly man: St. Sava of Serbia," in *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe*, 900–1400, edited by Donald Ostrowski and Christian Raffensperger (London/New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 91–99. For his literary portrait, see Błażej Szefliński, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna autokreacja postać literacka* (Three faces of St. Sava Nemanjić. Historical figure, and the self-creation of a literary character) (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016). For St. Sava, St. Simeon and Mount Athos, see Mirjana Živojinović, "Sava e le relazioni della dinastia Nemanja con il Monte Athos," in *Atanasio e il monachesimo al Monte Athos. Atti del XII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, sezione bizantina, Bose, 12–14 settembre 2004*, edited by Sabino Chialà, Lisa Cremaschi and Kriton Chrysochoidis (Magnano: Edizioni Qiqajon, 2005), pp. 119–40.

24 *Actes de Chilandar. I: des origines à 1319*, edited by Mirjana Živojinović, Vassiliki Kravari, Christophe Giros (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1998), no. 4, pp. 104–110 (June 1198); no. 5, pp. 110–17 (June 1199); Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 55–71; Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "Hilandar i srpska vladarska ideologija" [Hilandar and the Serbian royal ideology], in *Osam vekova Hilandara. Gradenje i gradevine*, edited by Slobodan Nenadović (Belgrade: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1997), pp. 9–16.

25 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 1, edited by Othmar Hageneder at al. (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1964), ep. 526, pp. 759–60.

26 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 2, ep. 167, 168, and 169; pp. 322–25, 325–26, and 326–30.

27 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 2, ep. 255, pp. 485–86.

28 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 532–33 and 535; *Choniates, Orationes*, pp. 110–11.

29 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 531–32. The divorce did not bring to an end the relations between Serbia and Constantinople, as future events would show. Stefan's request for a crown is not recorded in the *Regesta* but can be reconstructed from other letters: *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 5. ep.17, p. 38; vol. 7, ep. 126, p. 200; ep. 127, pp. 205–06.

30 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 72–75.
31 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, ep. 230 and 231, pp. 409–11 and 411–12.
32 Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, edited by Philippe Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1956), pp. 62–65; Choniates, *Historia*, p. 613; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, translated by James M. Powell (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), pp. 201–02.
33 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, edited by Edmond Faral, vol. 2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1939), pp. 143–56; Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 612–13.
34 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 615–17; Villehardouin, *La conquête*, vol. 2, pp. 159–70; Clari, *La conquête*, pp. 105–06.
35 Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 618–25, 527–37, 642, and 645–46; Villehardouin, *La conquête*, vol. 2, pp. 195–263.
36 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 8, ep. 130 and 133, pp. 236–38 and 243–44.
37 Villehardouin, *La conquête*, vol. 2, pp. 273 and 302–04.
38 Villehardouin, *La conquête*, vol. 2, pp. 309–14.
39 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 23–24; Clari, *La conquête*, pp. 107–08.
40 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 32–33.
41 George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 24.
42 Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henry de Constantinople*, edited by Jean Longnon (Paris: Geuthner, 1948), pp. 30 and 48–49.
43 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 11, ep. 202, pp. 333–34; Günter Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212. Überlieferungsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar," *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 395–431, here 411.
44 Valenciennes, *Histoire*, pp. 37–47.
45 Boško Bojović, "Une monarchie hagiographique. La théologie du pouvoir dans la Serbie médiévale (XIIe-XVe siécles)," in *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, edited by Petre Guran (Bucharest: Colegiul Noua Europă, 2001), pp. 61–72; Danica Popović, *Pod okrilem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednovekovnoj Srbiji* [Under the Wing of Sanctity. The Cult of Holy Rulers and Relics in Medieval Serbia] (Belgrade: Balkanološki Institut SANU, 2006), pp. 27–73. See also Chapter 26 in this book.
46 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 82–85; Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 94–96.
47 Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save. Napisao Domentijan* [The Life of St. Sava. Written after Domentijan], edited by Đura Daničić (Belgrade: Državnoj Štamparij, 1860), pp. 141–42.
48 *Borilov Sinodik. Izdanie i prevod* [Synodikon of Boril. Edition and Translation], edited by Anna-Maria Totomanova and Ivan Biliarski (Sofia: PAM, 2010); Anna-Maria Totomanova, "The Synodikon of Orthodoxy in medieval Bulgaria," *Studia Ceranea* 7 (2017), 169–227.
49 Prinzing, "Der Brief," 414–17.
50 Clari, *La conquête*, pp. 107–09; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon,* edited by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, Monumenta Germaniae Historic Scriptores, 33 (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925), pp. 631–950, here p. 886.
51 Bozhilov, *Familiiata*, pp. 72–73; Madgearu, *The Asanids*, pp. 191–93.
52 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 85–87.
53 Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrana dela*, pp. 80–83 and 100–07; Ivana Komatina, "Istorijska podloga chuda sv. Simeona i Zhitiju Simeonovom od Stefana Prvovenchanog" [The historical basis for the miracles performed by St. Simeon in the *Life of St. Simeon* by Stefan the First-Crowned], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 51 (2014), 111–34.
54 George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 33.
55 Sashka Georgieva, "Bulgarian-Hungarian marital diplomacy during the first half of the thirteenth century," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 6 (2015), 339–55, here 344–50; Géza Érszegi, "Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte der bulgarisch-ungarischen Beziehungen während der Herrschaft Borils," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 2 (1975), 91–97, here 94.
56 Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, edited by Ester Pastorello (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1958), p. 287; Ivana Komatina, "Ana Dandolo – prva srpska kraljica?" [Anna Dandolo – the first Serbian queen?], *Zbornik matice srpske za istoriju* 89 (2014), 7–22; Filip von Tricht, "Latin emperors and Serbian queens: Anna and Helena. Genealogical and geopolitical explorations in the post-1204 Byzantine world," *Frankokratia* 1 (2020), 56–107, here 79–88, who argues that she was a niece of Robert de Courtenay, and not of Dandolo.

57 Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split,* edited by Olga Perich, Damir Karbić, Mirijna Matijević Sokol and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2006), p. 162; Dandolo, *Chronica*, 287.
58 Domentjian, *Zhivot Svetoga Save i zhivot Svetoga Simeona* [Life of St. Sava and Life of St. Simeon], edited by Radmila Marinković (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988), pp. 133–42; Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 126–36.
59 *Zakonopravilo Svetoga Save* [The *Nomokanon* of St. Sava], edited by Miodrag Petrović and Ljubica Štavljanin-Đorđević (Belgrade: Istorijski Institut, 2005); Miodrag Petrović, *O Zakonopravilu ili Nomokanonu svetoga Save: rasprave* [The Zakonopravilo or Nomokanon of St. Sava: discussions] (Belgrade: Kultura, 1990).
60 Domentjian, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 143–54; Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 136–52. It is unclear who were the heretics against whom the council was called. Teodosije, a staunch anti-Catholic polemicist, mentions "the Latins," but this is contradicted by the ecclesiastical politics of Sava. He also states that Sava crowned Stefan on the first day of the council, never mentioning the 1217 coronation (Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 141–44). See also Chapter 24 in this book.
61 Demetrius Chomatenos, *Ponemata Diaphora*, edited by Günter Prinzing (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 296–302; Günter Prinzing, "A quasi-patriarch in the state of Epiros: the autocephalous archbishop of 'Boulgaria' (Ohrid) Demetrios Chomatenos," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 41 (2004), 165–82, here 173–74; Vlada Stanković, "Stefan Nemanjić i nibov brat Sava u spisima Dimitrija Chomatina" [Stefan Nemanja and his brother Sava in the letters of Demetrios Chomatenos], in *Vizantijskij svet na Balkanu*, edited by Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović and Radivoj Radić, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Vizantološki Institut SANU, 2012), pp. 111–18.
62 Demetrius Chomatenos, *Ponemata Diaphora*, pp. 370–78; Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 120–21.
63 Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium Historiam Illustrantia*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Officina Societatis Typographicae, 1875), ep. 15, p. 86.
64 Božidar Ferjančić and Ljubomir Maksimović, "Sava Nemanjić between Epiros and Nicaea," *Balcanica* 45 (2014), 37–54; Soterios Kisas, "O vremenu sklapanja braka Stefana Radoslava sa Anom Komninom" [The moment of the marriage between Seafan Radoslav and Anna Comnena], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 18 (1978), 131–39.
65 Đorđe Bubalo, "Da li su kral Stefan Prvovenchanin i negov sin Radoslav bili savladari?" [Were King Stefan the First-Crowned and his son Radoslav co-rulers?], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009), 201–29.
66 Domentjian, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 169–84; Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 170–74.
67 Ljubomir Maksimović, "'Vizantinizmi' kralja Stefana Radoslava" [The "Byzantinisms" of King Stefan Radoslav], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009), 139–47.
68 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 38–41 and 60.
69 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 41–43.
70 English translation of the inscription in Kiril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 425.
71 Madgearu, *The Asanids*, pp. 213–15.
72 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 48–52; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaike*, edited by Jan-Louis van Dieten (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1973), p. 77.
73 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 53–57.
74 George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 56.
75 Francesco dall'Aglio, "Contra perfidum Assanum: Gregorio IX e il progetto di crociata contro Bosnia e Bulgaria," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 121 (2009), 991–1027.
76 Domentijan, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 194–232; Teodosije, *Zhivot Svetoga Save*, pp. 177–217.
77 George Akropolites, *Opera*, p. 64; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 950.
78 Plamen Pavlov and Georgi Atanasov, "Preminavaneto na tatarskata armiia prez Bălgariia (1241–1242 g.)" [The passage of the Mongol army through Bulgaria (1241–1242)], *Voennoistoricheski sbornik* 63 (1994), no. 1, 5–20.
79 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 72–73.
80 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 73–75 and 78.
81 Ivan Bozhilov, *Bălgariia i Dubrovnik. Dogovorat ot 1253 g.* [Bulgaria and Dubrovnik. The Agreement of 1253] (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2010); Vladimir Mošin, Sima Ćirković and Dušan Sindik,

Zbornik srednovekovnikh chirilichikh srednovekovnikh povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika [Collection of Medieval Cyrillic Charters and Letters of Serbia, Bosnia and Dubrovnik], vol. 1 (Belgrade: Istorijski Institut, 2011), pp. 205–06.

82 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 107–14.

83 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 152–53; Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaike*, pp. 93–94; George Pachymeres, *History*, edited by Albert Failler, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984) pp. 58–59; vol. 2, pp. 440–43.

84 Panos Sophoulis, "The Mongol invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015), 251–77.

85 Svetozar Dušanić, "Jedan grosh matapanskog tipa i pitanije pochetka kovanija srpskog novca u srednijem veku" [A groat of the matapan type and the question of the beginning of Serbian minting during the Middle Ages], *Numizmatičar* 14 (1991), 73–78; Miklós Takács, "Sächsische Bergleute im mittelalterlichen Serbien und die 'sächsische Kirche' von Novo Brdo," *Südost-Forschungen* 50 (1991), 31–60.

86 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 138–41 and 201.

87 George Akropolites, *Opera*, pp. 140–49.

88 For a comprehensive account of the sources and the political meaning of this battle, see Deno John Geneakoplos, "Greco-Latin relations on the eve of the Byzantine restoration: the Battle of Pelagonia – 1259," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953), 99–141.

89 For an analysis of the conflict and a discussion of the sources, see Madgearu, *The Asanids*, pp. 248–49.

90 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 300–13; Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaïke*, pp. 113–14.

91 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 440–45 and 544–45; see also Madgearu, *The Asanids*, pp. 255–57.

92 Aleksandar Krstić, "The rival and the vassal of Charles Robert of Anjou: King Vladislav II Nemanjić," *Banatica* 26 (2016), 33–51, here 33–34.

93 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh, napisao arkhiepiskop Danilo i drugi* [Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops, written by the Archbishop Danilo and others], edited by Đura Daničić (Zagreb: Galza, 1866), pp. 15–19.

94 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 1, pp. 302303; vol. 2, pp. 448–49.

95 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 548–53; Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaike*, p. 130.

96 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 552–63.

97 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 566–67; Gregoras, *Historia Rhomaike*, p. 131.

98 Pachymeres, *History*, vol.2, pp. 566–69.

99 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 19–21.

100 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 24–28 and 106–107. According to Danilo, Dragutin resigned willingly, oppressed by the guilt for what he had done to his father: but since Danilo was a supporter of Milutin, his account may be colored by his political bias. According to Pachymeres, the condition for Dragutin's abdication was that after Milutin's death, he would be succeeded by one of the sons of Dragutin (Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 300–01) On Milutin see Vlada Stanković, *Kralj Milutin (1282–1321)* [King Milutin (1282–1321)] (Belgrade: Freska, 2012).

101 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 114–16; Aleksander Uzelac, *Pod senkom psa. Tatari i južnoslovenske zemlje u drugoj polovini XIII veka* [Under the Shadow of the Dog. The Tatars and the South-Slavic Lands in the Second Half of the 13th Century] (Begrade: Utopija, 2015), pp. 118–20 and 204–05; Krstić, "Rival and the vassal," pp. 36–38.

102 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 108–14; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the end of the thirteenth century," *Revista de istorie militară* 5–6 (2011), 9–20, here 10.

103 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 306–07.

104 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 92–93; vol. 4, pp. 290–91.

105 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, p. 318; Aleksander Uzelac, 'Ko je spalio Zhichu?' [Who burned down Žiča?], *Braničevski Glasnik* 6 (2008), 1–13.

106 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 116–19.

107 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 292–93.

108 *Zhivoti kraleva i arkhiepiskopa srpskikh*, pp. 120–22; Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs," 13–15.

109 Pachymeres, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 302–04. Milutin's conjugal life is at times difficult to follow; see Vlada Stanković, "King Milutin and his many marriages (*1254, +November 21, 1321, r. 1282–1321)," in *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe*, edited by Donald Ostrowski and Christian Raffensperger (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 109–20.

110 Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 3, pp. 290–91.

30

THE MONGOLS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Roman Hautala

As a result of the grandiose Western campaign (1236–1242), the Mongols conquered Eastern Europe and founded a mighty center of power in the Lower Volga region, while demanding unconditional submission in all the conquered territories. This campaign was carried out according to the imperial ideology of the first Mongol rulers aspiring to world domination and representing their geopolitical ambitions not just as the fulfillment of the Chinggis Khan's precepts,[1] but as the manifestation of divine will. Thus Ögödei Khan (1186–1241), the third son and immediate successor of Chinggis Khan (1165–1227), claimed in his edict addressed to the Hungarian King Béla IV (1235–1270) in 1237 that he was authorized by the "king of heaven" to have power on the whole earth and destroy all those who opposed that power.[2] Along with a number of other Mongol letters of the 1240s and 1250s, the edict reflected the Mongol perception of the ideal world order being in a state of becoming or implementation through the Mongol conquests aimed at subjugating the universe in accordance with the divine command given to Chinggis Khan and to his immediate successors.[3] It can be said with some certainty that the Mongols of the first half of the 13th century waged a "holy war" on a global scale, although their goal was not to impose their or any other religion on the conquered peoples, but only to establish a "universal peace."[4]

In short, the conquest of Eastern Europe was one of a number of Mongol military campaigns aimed at subjugating the whole world. However, the actual result of the Western campaign was the expansion of the possessions of the grandson of Chinggis Khan, Batu (1205–1256). In 1226,[5] Batu inherited from his father Jochi (1184–1225), who was Chinggis Khan's first son, the largest apanage within the Mongol Empire, which at that time covered almost the entire territory of modern Kazakhstan. That apanage or, more precisely, the "*ulus* of Jochi," as the Persian chronicler Rashīd al-Dīn calls it in several places,[6] was originally considered as an outpost of Mongol expansion in the west. In particular, according to another Persian chronicler named Juwaynī, Jochi and then his son, Batu, had a mission to subjugate the region between the Volga and the Ural rivers, as well as the Volga Bulgharia (between the Kama river in the north and the Ural river in the south), in order to continue further western conquests as far in that direction "as the hoof of [the] Tatar horse had penetrated."[7] The "Tatar horse," according to Juwaynī, referred to the previous reconnaissance raid by the Mongol military commanders Jebe and Sübe'edei, who defeated the Alans and

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Cumans in the Ciscaucasia in 1222 and completely destroyed the combined Cumans and Russian troops in the battle of Kalka north of the Sea of Azov on May 31, 1223. Following such victories, however, Jebe and Sübe'edei had to withdraw to the east.[8]

The beginning of the Western campaign

The reconnaissance raid led by Jebe and Sübe'edei clearly showed that the conquest of Eastern Europe required the involvement of significantly larger forces than they had at their disposal. In 1229, the Mongols resumed military operations in the northwestern part of modern Kazakhstan and were able to take the left bank of the Ural river. After that, having received reinforcements of 30,000 warriors from Mongolia,[9] by 1232, Batu was able to invade the territory of Volga Bulgharia, but was unable to advance to its capital, Biliar.[10] Most evidently, Batu needed significantly larger reinforcements in order to break the resistance of Volga Bulgharia and to continue the offensive to the west. However, a full-scale military campaign in the west became possible only at the end of the Mongol conquest of northern China in 1234. The following year, Ögödei Khan convened a *quriltay* (a general assembly of the Mongol nobility) to discuss the details of the new campaign. He sent to the west the bulk of the Empire's military forces.[11] In other words, the Western campaign was regarded as an Empire-wide military enterprise and its implementation, although placed under the general command of Batu, also involved the sons and grandsons of the four eldest sons of Chinggis Khan. The Mongol army consisted of corps led by the sons of Jochi—Orda, Berke, Shiban and Tangqut; the son of Chaghadai, Baidar and the grandson of Chaghadai, Büri; the sons of Ögödei Khan, Güyüg and Qadan; the sons of Tolui, Möngke and Böchek; as well as the fifth son of Chinggis Khan, Kölgen.[12]

At the beginning of Fall, in 1236, the Mongol army approached the southern borders of Volga Bulgharia and devastated its territory over the next few months.[13] Then the Mongols went down to the south and, having arranged their troops in one line, went through the entire territory of the Lower Volga region destroying any centers of local Cuman resistance.[14] Judging by the testimony of the Chinese chronicle *Yuan shi*, those military operations were carried out during the spring of 1237.[15] Having let his troops rest in the Lower Volga steppes, the following Fall, in 1237, Batu conquered the Burtas people (in the modern Penza region) and the Mordovian Moksha tribe who lived in what is now Mordovia.[16] By the end of Fall, in 1237, all Mongol princes gathered their corps on the southern borders of the Riazan' principality, although Böchek[17] probably headed separate Mongol corps directed, according to Dominican Julian, against the Don Cumans in the steppe north of the Sea of Azov.[18] Batu, in turn, sent an embassy to the nearby Riazan' principality demanding submission and the delivery of a tenth from all properties. After receiving the refusal, the Mongols approached Riazan' on December 16. Five days later, they stormed the walls and took the city, killing the entire urban population along with local prince, Iurii Ingvarevich.[19] The brother of the prince of Riazan', Roman, had left the city before its conquest, in order to gather his troops under the walls of Kolomna and fight the vanguard of the Mongol forces led by Kölgen.[20] This was the only attempt to confront the Mongols on the battlefield during the entire conquest of the Rus' lands. Besides the defeat of Roman's troops, his death and the ensuing ruin of Kolomna, the battle was a relatively significant event due to the fact that one of the Mongol casualties was Kölgen himself—the only son of Chinggis Khan to die on the field battle.[21]

Having devastated Kolomna, the Mongols continued their advance to the north and destroyed the population of Moscow along the way. Then, Batu's army approached

Vladimir—the main city of northeastern Rus'. The city had been left to its own devices by the local prince, Iurii Vsevolodovich. After several days of negotiations, during which Batu tried in vain to persuade the townspeople to surrender, on February 6, 1238, the Mongols quickly built trebuchets and began a fierce shelling of the walls. The next day they broke into Vladimir and killed all those locals whom they did not consider worthy of being enslaved.[22] After the capture of Vladimir, the Mongols were divided into three military corps. The first corps moved east, captured Gorodets on the Volga and continued its advance north until reaching Galich (Mer'skii, now within the Kostroma region of Russia). The second and probably the most numerous Mongol corps went north from Vladimir in search of the fugitive prince, and in the process took Suzdal', Rostov and Iaroslavl' one after the other, before overtaking Iurii Vsevolodovich in his camp on the Sit' river (in the modern Iaroslavl' region). The few troops that the prince had with him were wiped out, and Iurii died, after failing to provide any serious resistance to the Mongols.[23]

The third Mongol corps moved west from Vladimir and took Pereiaslavl', Iur'ev, Dmitrov, Volok Lamskii and Tver' in rapid succession. After that, it invaded the southern borders of the Novgorod principality, approaching Torzhok by February 20. However, here the Mongols unexpectedly encountered fierce resistance and were able to take the town only on March 5.[24] Having ruined Torzhok, the Mongols pursued for some time the surviving townspeople in the direction of Novgorod, but suddenly interrupted the offensive in connection with the approaching spring thaw. As a result, the Mongols hastily headed south along with other Mongol corps and confined themselves to ruining the countryside, as well as destroying small towns, including Kozel'sk (in the eastern part of the Chernigov principality), which stubbornly resisted before being taken by Batu after a seven-week-long siege.[25]

Once in the steppe (apparently west of the River Don), Batu gave his warriors the opportunity to rest during the coming summer but resumed military operations in fall. He again divided his troops into three corps.[26] While the corps led by Möngke (1209–1259) conquered the Circassians in northwestern Ciscaucasia (winter of 1238/1239), the second, larger corps led by Shiban, Böchek and Büri conquered the Crimea. Under the command of Berke, the third corps went against the Cumans on the Dnieper. After futile attempts at resistance, the Cumans fled to the west under chieftain Köten and were allowed to settle in eastern Hungary by King Béla IV.[27]

The conquest of southern and southwestern Rus'

In the summer of 1239, the Mongols took military action against the southern principalities of Rus'. They concomitantly took and destroyed Pereiaslavl' and Chernigov.[28] After that, at the end of 1239, the Mongol army was again divided into two corps, which took military action in two completely different directions. In the winter of 1239/1240, the first corps under the probable command of Batu conquered the Mordovian Erzya tribe (located in the southern half of the modern region of Nizhnii Novgorod). Then it crossed the Oka river and ravaged Murom and the lands in the eastern part of the modern region of Vladimir.[29] Güyüg, Möngke, Qadan and Büri led the second corps against the Alans in the North Caucasus and managed to take the Alan capital Magas (possibly located in the modern Karachay-Cherkessia), albeit with heavy losses.[30]

At the end of those military operations, the Mongols remained inactive until the end of 1240, waiting for the Dnieper to freeze in order to continue the advance on Kiev. That much, at least, results from the letter of an unnamed Hungarian bishop (possibly István, Bishop of Vác) to the Bishop of Paris, William d'Auvergne.[31] The Mongols came to Kiev

only in late November 1240. After building many trebuchets under the city walls, they soon broke through the outer wall. However, after that, they had to take internal fortifications in the center of Kiev near the Church of the Holy Virgin. Eventually, by December 6,[32] the Mongols, who suffered heavy losses during the storming of Kiev, destroyed most of the city's population and buildings.[33] By the time of the Mongol assault, Kiev was in the temporary possession of the prince of Halych, Daniil Romanovich, who nonetheless fled to Hungary before the Mongols attacked the city. Thus, the entire southwestern Rus' was deprived of a dominant prince, and this greatly facilitated the Mongol advance, despite insurmountable resistance in some local towns. While, after the conquest of Kiev, the left wing of the Mongol army moved to Halych and killed its population, Batu with another corps headed toward Vladimir-in-Volhynia and besieged Kolodiazhen whose inhabitants were convinced to surrender, only to be promptly killed. Batu then took Iziaslav and Kamenets, but abandoned the siege of Kremenets and Danilov, because of the fierce resistance his troops met there. Approaching Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Batu stormed the city and killed the entire population, much like he did with the inhabitants of Berest'e. Nonetheless, he refused to storm Kholm.[34]

Invasion of East Central Europe

Apparently, the Mongols already regarded the future attack on Hungary as inevitable on the eve of the invasion of northeastern Rus' (Fall 1237), although they attempted to avoid an open conflict by trying to persuade the Hungarian king to submit voluntarily. In particular, according to the Dominican friar Julian, the Mongol envoys presented an ultimatum for the Hungarian monarch from Ögödei Khan to the prince of Vladimir so that he would hand it over to Julian.[35] Ögödei Khan scolded Béla IV for refusing to submit to his authority, and, more importantly, he insisted that the Hungarian monarch denies asylum to the Cumans. Given that the letter was sent before the Cuman refugees entered Hungary, Ögödei Khan seems to have had in mind the nomads in the southern part of present-day Moldavia (eastern Romania), who were within the jurisdiction of the Cuman bishopric, established under the protectorate of the Hungarian crown by Pope Gregory IX through his bull *Gaudemus in Domino* of March 21, 1228.[36] Later, as mentioned above, Béla IV granted Köten and his Cumans permission to settle in Hungary. Judging by the later edict of Güyüg Khan (1206–1248) addressed to Pope Innocent IV in 1246, the Hungarian king even ordered the execution of the next Mongol envoys that came to his kingdom.[37]

Thus, the attack on Hungary was inevitable from the point of view of the Mongols, and they lingered in southwestern Rus' for a short while. However, it should be noted that numerous corps led by Güyüg and Möngke were already absent from the Mongol army, as Ögödei Khan recalled them to the east in late December 1240 or in early January 1241.[38]

Much like in previous military operations, prior to the invasion of East Central Europe, the Mongols were divided into several corps. The right wing, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, was under the command of Orda and Baidar, and was sent to Poland with the obvious intention of hindering military support to the Kingdom of Hungary from Béla IV's son-in-law, Bolesław the Chaste, the Duke of Cracow at the time of the Mongol invasion,[39] and from the cousin of the Hungarian King, Henry II the Pious, Duke of Silesia.[40] According to the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, the Mongol vanguard ravaged Sandomierz and its environs on February 13, 1241.[41] However, the same vanguard was later defeated near Tursko (between Sandomierz and Cracow) by the troops led by Włodzimierz, the voivode of Cracow, and Pakosław, the voivode of Sandomierz. After that, the Mongols withdrew from Poland,[42]

although the Franciscan C. de Bridia clarifies that before withdrawing, the Mongols were able to inflict a defeat upon the Poles in a second encounter.[43]

The main forces of the Mongols invaded Poland only in March. Under the walls of Sandomierz, they split into two corps.[44] One of them, according to a list of bishops of Cracow, headed northwest to central Poland and ravaged Łęczyca, moving further north into Kuyavia.[45] From there, that corps turned southwest and at Wrocław joined the second corps, according to *Annals of the Chapter of Gniezno*.[46] In turn, along its way to Wrocław, at Chmielnik near Sandomierz, the second corps crushed the forces led by Włodzimierz, the voivode of Cracow.[47] Next to Opole on the Oder river, the Mongols also managed to defeat Władysław, the future Duke of Racibórz and Opole, as well as Bolesław Szepiołka, the nephew of the Silesian duke Henry II the Pious.[48] Wrocław, according to the *Annals of Silesia*, was abandoned by local inhabitants, who either took refuge in the citadel or fled in the city's environs at the news of the Mongols approaching.[49] According to Jan Długosz, the Mongols could not take the citadel by attack.[50]

Henry II the Pious, the duke of Silesia, left his capital to meet the Mongols at Legnica on April 9.[51] Judging by the description of Friar C. de Bridia, the Silesian troops put up serious resistance to the Mongols, although they were utterly defeated. The Silesian duke was executed after the battle.[52] Having won this victory, the Mongols proceeded to ruin systematically the Silesian countryside. Soon, heading southeast, they invaded Moravia in the Opava region between April 20 and May 9, 1241[53] and hastily crossed its territory, stopping for a short time to rob the rural population, but avoiding attacks on fortified towns and fortresses.[54] After that, Orda and Baidar joined the main forces of the Mongols in Transdanubian Hungary.

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, in addition to the corps of Orda and Baidar, who attacked Poland, and the main forces under Batu, who invaded Hungary, two separate Mongol corps under the command of Qadan and Büri "rode off in the direction of the Sasan people," that is Saxon settlers in Transylvania.[55] Qadan, according to Master Roger, penetrated northeastern Transylvania and took Rodna on Easter (March 31)[56] killing 4,000 inhabitants of the town.[57] Continuing through Northern Transylvania, Qadan's corps took Bistrița and Cluj. After that, Qadan went to Oradea and quickly took the city, although to storm the citadel proved to be more difficult than expected. After the capture of Oradea, Qadan's troops marched toward Cenad, which had meanwhile been already ravaged by the corps led by Büri.[58] In turn, Büri's corps approached Cenad through Southern Transylvania defeating the troops of the Transylvanian voivode in Țara Bârsei (at the southeastern tip of Transylvania) and ravaging Sibiu and Alba Iulia.[59] Having thus completed the conquest of Transylvania, the Mongol troops crossed the Tisza and headed to join the main forces of the Mongols in Trans-Danubian Hungary, leaving the necessary number of troops in the west of Transylvania to suppress sporadic resistance.

According to Master Roger, the main forces led by Batu invaded Hungary through the "Rus'ian Gate" (Verecke Pass in the Ukrainian Carpathians, on the border of the modern Transcarpathian and Lviv regions of Ukraine) by March 12, 1241, and swept through enemy territory before stopping in the Eger region.[60] A separate unit of Mongols was sent to Vác and took it on March 17. By March 15, the vanguard forces led by Shiban and Sübe'edei[61] had approached half a day's journey to Pest, where Béla IV's army was located. The Mongols began to attack the Hungarians in small detachments and lured the Béla IV's troops to the Sajó river east of Eger, where Batu's army was ready for battle.[62] The ensuing confrontation took place on April 11, 1241, on the right bank of the river, and is described in a number of

sources. In particular, the *Yuan shi*,[63] John of Plano Carpini[64] and Friar C. de Bridia[65] insist that this was a difficult victory for the Mongols, close to take flight at its beginning. Later, however, they managed to inflict a crushing defeat on the Hungarians, who lost the bulk of their combat potential at the end of the battle.

Subsequently, the Mongols, chasing the surviving Hungarian warriors, approached Pest and took it after a skirmish with the defenders of the city, which lasted for two or three days.[66] According to Béla IV's charter of January 21, 1249, the Mongols tried then to cross the Danube, but ran into vigorous resistance organized by the court judge Pál Geregye.[67] As a result, Batu temporarily stopped moving west and his troops engaged in the systematic ruining of Trans-Danubian Hungary for the remainder of the year.

Judging by the collective letter of the Hungarian prelates and nobles gathered in Székesfehérvár, which they addressed to the Holy See on February 2, 1242, the Mongols were able to cross the frozen Danube successfully at the end of January of that year,[68] and immediately set about besieging Esztergom. According to Master Roger's description, the city fell a few days later, and the Mongols killed all the townspeople, but were not able to take the local citadel.[69] A separate corps led by Qadan was also unable to take Székesfehérvár due to the spring thaw and quickly moved instead to Croatia in pursuit of Béla IV.[70] Meanwhile, the bulk of the army led by Batu began a slow retreat from Hungary down the Danube toward Bulgaria, plundering Syrmia on its way in the north part of what is now Serbia.

Not finding Béla IV in Zagreb and learning that he had fled to the Dalmatian coast, Qadan continued the pursuit of the Hungarian King and tried to besiege Trogir, but soon abandoned the attack and left Dalmatia to join Batu in northwestern Bulgaria by early May.[71] Judging by the words of the Jacobite prelate Bar Hebraeus, the Mongols then ravaged the whole of Bulgaria, although the details of these military operations remain completely unknown.[72] Rashīd al-Dīn, in turn, clarifies that the Mongols left Bulgaria only at the beginning of Spring 1243.[73] Because of that, one needs to treat with a certain distrust the information provided by John of Plano Carpini[74] and C. de Bridia,[75] according to which the Mongols interrupted the campaign in Hungary and returned to the east immediately after learning about the death of Ögödei Khan in Mongolia in December 1241. Apparently, Batu allowed the Mongol troops to return to the east only when he considered the military campaign in the west completed.

The ulus of Jochi after the Western campaign

At the end of the Western campaign, Batu became the ruler of the largest apanage of the Mongol Empire, the borders of which remained unchanged over the next century. Judging by the words of John of Plano Carpini, the eastern part of Batu's possessions, from the Irtysh river in the east to the Ural river in the west, was under the autonomous rule of his brothers, Orda and Shiban (and probably other brothers). In turn, the central part of Batu's possessions, according to John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, was located on the left bank of the Volga between its delta in the south and what is now the region of Saratov of Russia in the north. The western part of Batu's possessions extended west from the Volga up to the Danube Delta, and its territory was distributed among Batu's relatives.[76] All these steppe regions were under the direct control of the sons and descendants of Jochi, as well as their relatives or close associates responsible for the military mobilization of nomads if necessary and for their taxation as well as daily administration in peacetime. The subjugated Cumans made up the bulk of those nomads, although a number of Mongolian and Turkic clans from

Central Asia chose to remain in Batu's possessions and did not follow their fellow tribesmen who returned east at the end of the Western campaign.[77]

The degree of submission of the sedentary peoples conquered during the Western campaign varied on the basis of circumstances. If the Mordovian tribes retained autonomy,[78] then Volga Bulgharia with its new capital, Bolgar, was directly subordinated to the Jochids. The foothills of the North Caucasus in the modern Stavropol' region of Russia and the northern half of Dagestan were also under the direct control of Batu's relatives. The Alans in what is now the Northern Ossetia, however, continued to resist the Mongols,[79] and they were conquered only in the winter of 1277/1278 during a massive operation involving auxiliary troops from Rostov, Iaroslavl', Gorodets and other princes of northeastern Rus'. The main achievement of that campaign was the conquest of the Alan city of Tatartup (Dediakov) at the entrance to the Darial Gorge.[80] Circassians on the northeastern coast of the Black Sea enjoyed extensive autonomy, and the Greeks in southern Crimea retained the right to self-government, although the city leaders of Sudak considered it their duty to bring an annual tribute to the court of Batu, in person.[81]

The (Second) Bulgarian Empire, apparently, recognized its dependence immediately after the conquest of 1242, and the first written evidence of the payment of tribute by the Bulgarians appears in 1247.[82] Subsequently, from the second half of the 1260s until the end of the 13th century, Bulgaria was directly influenced by the neighboring Mongol apanage between the Dniester and the Danube, led by Batu's great-nephew, Nogai. Nogai repeatedly intervened in the internal affairs of Bulgaria, as, for example, in the last year of the reign of Constantine Tih (d. 1277), as well as during the next three years of the interregnum. In 1292, he allowed himself to expel George Terter I (1280–1292) and appoint at the head of the Empire a more loyal ruler of the Sredna Gora region, Smilets (1292–1298). Nogai's troops, pursuing George Terter, invaded the Byzantine lands and plundered Thrace, just as they did in the fall of 1285, in the first years of the reign of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328). Nogai's relations with the previous emperor, Michael VIII (1261–1282), on the contrary, were very friendly, especially after Nogai's marriage to Michael VIII's daughter Euphrosyne shortly after the Mongol invasion of 1272.[83]

The prince of Vladimir, Iaroslav Vsevolodovich (d. 1246), hastened to express his submission to Batu upon the latter's return from Bulgaria. In 1243, he went in person to the Mongol court in the Lower Volga region to receive from his new lord the confirmation of seniority over other Rus' princes. After that, the following year, Batu received the princes of Uglich, Rostov and Iaroslavl' at his court. In the spring of 1246, he also approved Daniil Romanovich's right to rule over Halych, when Daniil came to the Mongol court in the Lower Volga region. Subsequently, a number of Rus' princes came to Batu and his successors, when seeking the khan's confirmation instead of that of the prince of Vladimir. Batu and his successors believed it to be their personal prerogative to confirm the senior Vladimir princes (who after that received the right to appoint minor princes), although Iaroslav Vsevolodovich and his sons, Aleksandr (Nevskii) and Andrei, had to undertake the trip to Mongolia[84] for a second, more substantial confirmation of power.[85]

In particular, Aleksandr and Andrei went to the imperial court in 1248 to challenge their uncle Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich's right to the Vladimir throne. Four years later, Aleksandr Nevskii came to Batu to challenge the same right of his brother Andrei. In 1252, Aleksandr Nevskii returned from Batu with Mongol reinforcements, which helped him take control of the Vladimir throne, but ruined its surroundings. Subsequently, Rus' princes often went to the khan's court in the Volga region in order to achieve victory over their competitors.

For example, in the winter of 1281/1282, the son of Aleksandr Nevskii, Andrei, Prince of Gorodets, returned from Möngke-Temür (r. 1267–1282) with the military assistance led by Kavgadii and Alchedai. The Mongols helped Andrei expel his brother and rival, Dmitrii, but plundered the environs of Murom, Vladimir, Iur'ev, Suzdal', Pereiaslavl', Rostov, Tver', Torzhok and Novgorod. Dmitrii Aleksandrovich, for his part, turned to Nogai for help and, thanks to his military support, was able to regain the Vladimir throne in 1284. The conflict between the two brothers, who led the two warring factions of the Rus' princes, dragged on for a decade and ended only with the decisive military support from Toqta Khan (1291–1312) for Andrei, who became ruler of Vladimir with the assistance of troops from the Volga region led by Toqta Khan's son, Tödägän. The Mongols plundered Vladimir during the invasion, as well as several other cities of northeastern Rus'.[86]

The dependence of the Rus' princes, therefore, was expressed in the need to obtain the khan's approval for the senior prince in Vladimir, as well as, in some cases, for minor princes. Another aspect of dependence was the obligation to pay an annual tribute, which was collected from local residents either by the princes themselves or by the special agents of the khan, to which Russian sources refer as Baskaki.[87] Apparently, in the Kiev land and probably in the principality of Chernigov, a tribute was collected from all males, regardless of age, starting in 1246.[88] Each individual prince of northeastern Rus' paid a tribute according to a personal agreement with Batu until its total value was determined during the census of the entire male adult population in 1257–1259 both in northeastern Rus' and in the Novgorod principality.[89] The principalities of Halych and Volhynia also paid an annual tribute after Daniil Romanovich's visit to Batu in 1246, although its amount was probably smaller than that of other Rus' principalities.[90] In return, however, the khans demanded that the princes of Halych and Volhynia provide military assistance for Mongol invasions of Hungary and Poland, both of which retained their independence, despite the defeats of 1241. Indeed, the princes of Halych and Volhynia took part in the invasion of Hungary in 1285, as well as in attacks on Poland in 1259/60, 1280, 1287/8 and probably 1293.[91]

Concerning the attack on Poland in the winter of 1259/60, the *Annals of the Chapter of Cracow* claim that the Mongols caused significantly more damage to the lands of Sandomierz and Cracow this time than during the 1241 attack. Judging by the bull of Pope Alexander IV of October 14, 1259, the Hungarian king Béla IV was confident that his kingdom could also be attacked in the foreseeable future. When the envoys of Berke, the new ruler of the *ulus* of Jochi (1259–1267), arrived in France in 1260 demanding the official subordination of the French King Louis IX, there was no doubt that the Mongols would continue their conquests in the west.[92] Nevertheless, Berke soon had to abandon his aggressive plans and to devote all attention to the internal conflict in the Mongol Empire, which would eventually lead to its dissolution into several khanates. After the death in August 1259 of Möngke, the last ruler of the united Mongol Empire, his two younger brothers, Qubilai and Arigh Böke, began to dispute each other's claims to the throne. Berke chose to support (if only indirectly) Arigh Böke, although he did not intervene in the conflict. After some hesitation, the third brother of the late Möngke, Hülegü (1217–1265), chose Qubilai's side and declared himself ruler of Iran and Iraq, which had been conquered only a year and a half before the death of Möngke. Hülegü's decision was openly challenged by three Jochid princes (Balaqan, Tutar and Quli), who had given him significant support during prior conquests, but now condemned Hülegü's intention to deprive them, like Berke, of the proceeds from the conquered lands. The subsequent execution of those Jochid princes on Hülegü's orders led to two large but indecisive clashes in the Caucasus between the armies of Berke and Hülegü (1262/1263 and 1265/1266). In 1263, in parallel with military operations in the Caucasus, Berke sent

a diplomatic embassy to Egypt with an appeal addressed to the Mamluk sultan Baybars (1260–1277) for a combined attack against Hülegü.[93]

The conclusion of a military alliance with the Egyptian Mamluks (who had repeatedly showed disobedience to the Mongol rulers) against his cousin Hülegü clearly indicated that Berke had become an independent ruler, separating his possessions from the disintegrated Mongol Empire. At the same time, Berke abandoned the previous ideology of world domination, and concentrated on his own political interests and the exploitation of the economic resources of those lands that were already under his command. In an effort to increase government revenues, Berke and his successors did everything possible to attract merchants from all over Eurasia to the *ulus* of Jochi. The commercial taxes collected in that ulus gradually began to become one of the most important sources of revenue for the Jochid treasury. The rapid development of trade in the second half of the 13th century led to the establishment of dozens of new cities, primarily in the northern Black Sea region, the Lower Volga region and in the Northern Caucasus,[94] as well as the growth of the general well-being of the subjects of the *ulus* of Jochi, which ensured the prosperous existence of the *ulus* until the crisis of the second half of the 14th century.

Notes

1 As claimed by the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, according to whom the Mongols, following the command of Chinggis Khan, did not make peace with anyone until the official expression of submission. See Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, edited by Enrico Menestò, Maria C. Lungarotti, Luciano Petech and Claudio Leonardi (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989), pp. 284–85 and 293.

2 Heinrich Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237): und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 6 (1956), 125–202, here 179.

3 Eric Voegelin, "The Mongol orders of submission to European powers, 1245–1255," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1941), 378–413, here 403–04.

4 Reuven Amitai, *Holy War and Rapprochement: Studies in the Relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Mongol Ilkhanate (1260–1335)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 40–42.

5 This date is specified by the Central Asian chronicler Jamāl al-Qarshī; see *Istoriia Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* [The history of Kazakhstan in Persian sources], edited by Shodmon Kh. Vokhidov, B. B. Aminov, A. K. Muminov and M. Kh. Abuseitova, vol. 1 (Almaty: "Daik-Press", 2005), p. 120.

6 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, *Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998), pp. 352, 381–82 and 435. The modern name "Golden Horde" appeared in Russian sources only in the mid-16th century, when the *ulus* of Jochi no longer existed. See Charles J. Halperin, "*Stepennaia kniga* on the reign of Ivan IV: Omissions from degree 17," *Slavonic and East European Review* 89 (2011), 56–75, here 58–59; *Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve (Kazanskii letopisets)* [The history of the Kazan Khanate (the Kazan Chronicle)], edited by Georgii Z. Kuntsevich (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia I. N. Skorokhodova, 1903), col. 195.

7 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, translated by John A. Boyle, 2nd edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 42.

8 Jebe and Sübe'edei invaded Eastern Europe through the Caucasus at a time when Mongol forces led by Chinggis Khan were fighting in Eastern Iran. See *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh. Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, translated by Donald S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 222–24; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* [Novgorod First Chronicle of the Old and New Edition], edited by Arsenii N. Nasonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1950), pp. 61–63; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* [The Hypathian Chronicle], edited by Aleksei A. Shakhmatov (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908), col. 740–45;

Suzdal'skaia letopis' po Lavrent'evskomu spisku [The Suzdal annals according to the Laurentian manuscript], edited by Efim F. Karskii, 2nd edition (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1927), col. 445–47.

9 For these reinforcements led by commanders Köketei and Sönitei, see Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, p. 190. For the correct reading of Sönitei's name, see Thomas T. Allsen, "Prelude to the Western campaigns: Mongol military operations in the Volga-Ural region, 1217–1237," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), 5–24, here 14 with note 37.

10 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 453 and 459.

11 *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, translated by Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden/Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 201–02 (wrongly *sub anno* 1228); Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, p. 199; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 324.

12 Among the Mongol military commanders who were not of the Chinggis Khan's family, but who actually headed the field operations, sources primarily mention Sübe'edei and Boroldai. Roman P. Khrapachevskii, *Zolotaia Orda v istochnikakh* [The Golden Horde in the sources], vol. 3 (Moscow: Tsentr po izucheniiu voennoi i obshchei istorii, 2009), pp. 230–33 and 242; Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, p. 269; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 325 and 352; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 784–85.

13 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 460; Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, p. 269.

14 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 326.

15 Khrapachevskii, *Zolotaia Orda*, pp. 173–74, 181 and 208.

16 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 326.

17 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 326–27 does not mention his name in this context.

18 Dörrie, "Drei Texte," p. 175.

19 *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, pp. 74–75; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 778–79; Khrapachevskii, *Zolotaia Orda*, pp. 181, 208 and 242; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 326–27.

20 *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 75; *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 460; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 779.

21 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 327.

22 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 460–64; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 780; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 75; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 327.

23 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 464–67; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 76; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 779; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 327.

24 *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 76; *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 464.

25 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 780–81; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 327.

26 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 327.

27 Master Roger's *Carmen miserabile* mistakenly dates this migration to 1242, instead of 1239; see *Anonymus and Master Roger: The Deeds of the Hungarians and the Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, edited and translated by László Veszprémy, Martyn Rady and János M. Bak (Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 136–41.

28 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 469. The *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* clearly indicates that the siege and assault of Chernigov coincided in time with the attack of the corps led by Möngke on Pereiaslavl' (*Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 781–82). Because of that, the dates of March 3 and October 18 indicated in the late chronicles of Avraamka and Pskov (*First* and *Third Chronicles*) for the capture of Pereiaslavl' and Chernigov, respectively, are dubious. See *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi letopis'iu Avraamki* [The collection of chronicles known as the Chronicle of Avraamka], edited by Afanasii F. Bychkov and Konstantin N. Bestuzhev-Riumin (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia F. Eleonskogo, 1889), col. 51; *Pskovskie letopisi* [The Pskov Chronicles], edited by Arsenii N. Nasonov, 2 vols. (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1941 and 1955), vol. 1, p. 12 and vol. 2, p. 79. Möngke's corps conducted military operations in the Ciscaucasia in the winter of 1238/1239 and beginning with the late fall of 1239. The only time Möngke could have possibly attacked Pereiaslavl' was therefore between the two campaigns, that is, in the summer of 1239.

29 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 470.

30 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 327 and 402; Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, pp. 269–70; Khrapachevskii, *Zolotaia Orda*, pp. 175, 178, 242 and 244–46.

31 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 6 (London: Longman, 1882), p. 75; Annals of Waverly, in *Annales monastici*, edited by Henry R. Luard, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865), p. 324.

32 This date is specified by the *Laurentian Chronicle* (*Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 470).

33 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 784–85; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 331; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, p. 82. John of Plano Carpini, who visited Kiev four years later, counted there only two hundred houses (Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 271) attributing the deplorable state of the city to the recent Mongol massacre. See also C. de Bridia, *Hystoria Tartarorum*, edited by Alf Önnerfors (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), p. 19.
34 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 782, 785–86 and 788–89; Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 331.
35 Julian was in Vladimir at the time the Mongol embassy arrived.
36 *Fontes. Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem juris canonici orientalis. Series III. Vol. III: Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)*, edited by Aloysius L. Tăutu (Rome: Typis pontificae universitatis gregorianae, 1950), p. 208.
37 *Sinica Franciscana*, edited by Anastasius van den Wyngaert, vol. 1 (Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1929), p. 143; Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la papauté," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 23 (1922–23), 3–30, here 22.
38 For the exact date, see *Yuan shi* (Khrapachevskii, *Zolotaia Orda*, p. 176). See also Rashīd al-Dīn, who indicates the correct year 1241 for Möngke's return to the east (Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 402), but also (wrongly) 1240 (Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 328, 331 and 352). The *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* clearly indicates the fact that Güyüg and Möngke participated in the siege of Kiev (*Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 785). This can only mean that they went east after the fall of the city.
39 Gerard Labuda, "Wojna z Tatarami w roku 1241" [The war against Tatars in 1241], *Przeglad historyczny* 2 (1959), 189–224, here 193.
40 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 331. Master Roger confirms Baidar's participation in the invasion of Poland (*Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 164–65), while John of Plano Carpini (Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 266) and C. de Bridia (*Hystoria Tartarorum*, p. 18) mention Orda's name in this connection.
41 *Kronika Wielkopolska*, edited by Brygida Kürbis (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), p. 87. See also *Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, vol. 3, edited by August Bielowski (Lwów: W Komisie Księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878), p. 9; *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, edited by Brygida Kürbis (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), p. 5; Annals of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, edited by Herrmann Cardauns, in *Historici Germaniae saeculi XII*, MGH SS 22 (Hanover: Hahn, 1872), pp. 531–47, here p. 535.
42 *Pomniki*, p. 358.
43 *Hystoria Tartarorum*, pp. 19–20. See also Jan Długosz. *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae. Liber septimus. Liber octavus*, edited by Danuta Turkowska, Maria Kowalczyk and Christina Pieradzka (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), p. 13.
44 Długosz. *Annales*, p. 13.
45 *Pomniki*, p. 358.
46 *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, p. 5.
47 See *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, in *Pomniki*, p. 358, with the incorrect assertion that this battle took place at Tarczek near Sandomierz. In reality, the Polish troops were defeated at Tarczek by the first Mongol corps moving to central Poland; see Stefan Krakowski, *Polska w walce z najazdami tatarskimi w XIII wieku* [Poland in the fight against Tartar invasions in the 13th century] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1956), pp. 136–37). See also *Annals of Silesia*, in *Pomniki*, p. 678.
48 *Kronika Wielkopolska*, p. 87 mistakes Bolesław Szepiołka for the duke of Cracow, Bolesław, who had left Poland before the battle (Labuda, "Wojna z Tatarami," p. 193). See also Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 331.
49 *Pomniki*, p. 678.
50 Długosz. *Annales*, p. 18.
51 *Pomniki*, pp. 643, 678–79 and 725; Annals of Lubusz, in *Annales aevi Suevici*, edited by Georg H. Pertz, MGH SS 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866), p. 549.
52 *Hystoria Tartarorum*, p. 20. According to Jan Długosz, on the contrary, the duke died on the battlefield (Długosz. *Annales*, p. 23). The Polish Templars also lost 500 men in the battle, as the Master of the Temple in France, Ponce d'Albon, informed the French King Louis IX in his letter of 1241; see *Ex historiae regum Franciae continuatione Parisiensi*, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, in *Ex rerum Francogallicarum scriptoribus. Ex historiis auctorum Flandrensium Francogallica lingua scriptis*, MGH SS 26 (Hanover: Hahn, 1882), pp. 604–10, here p. 604.

53 *Pomniki*, pp. 358–59 and 679.
54 Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, p. 82; Annals of St. Pantaleon in Cologne, p. 535.
55 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 332.
56 This date is specified by the 13th-century record in the Echternach codex Latin 8917 at the National Library of France in Paris; see the Annals of Friesach, edited by Ludwig Weiland, in *Chronica minora saec. XII et XIII. Gesta saec. XII et XIII*, MGH SS 24 (Hanover: Hahn, 1879), pp. 65–67, here p. 65 with note.
57 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 164–67.
58 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 198–203 and 210–11.
59 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 166–67; Annals of Friesach, p. 65 with note. The third Mongol corps led by Böchek, which had inflicted a defeat on the Vlachs south of the Carpathians, joined Büri in Alba Iulia (Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 332).
60 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 160–61 and 164–65. See also Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum pontificum atque Spalatensium*, edited by Olga Perić, translated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana M. Sokol, James R. Sweeney (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), pp. 258–59.
61 Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, p. 270 indicates that this unit was under Shiban's command. *Yuan shi* attributes the subsequent luring maneuver to Sübe'edei; see Stephen Pow and Jingjing Liao, "Subutai: sorting fact from fiction surrounding the Mongol Empire's greatest general (with translations of Subutai's two biographies in the Yuan Shi)," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7 (2018), 37–76, here 65.
62 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 168–71, 174–75 and 178–80; Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 260–61.
63 Pow and Liao, "Subutai," pp. 65–67.
64 Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 271–72.
65 *Hystoria Tartarorum*, pp. 20–21.
66 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 274–77.
67 *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 4, edited by Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1906), p. 383.
68 Fedor Schneider, "Ein Schreiben der Ungarn an die Kurie aus der letzten Zeit des Tatareneinfalles (2. Februar 1242)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 36 (1915), no. 4, 661–70, here 668–70.
69 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 216–19.
70 *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 218–19; Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 288–91.
71 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 290–95 and 298–303; *Anonymus and Master Roger*, pp. 214–15.
72 *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj (1225–1286) the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, vol. 1, translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Amsterdam: APA—Philo Press, 1976), p. 398.
73 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, p. 332.
74 Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 322.
75 *Hystoria Tartarorum*, p. 21.
76 Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 307, 309 and 314–15; Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia (Itinerarium)*, edited by Paolo Chiesa (Torino: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 2011), pp. 48, 70, 86, 88 and 90.
77 See the summary list of tribes and clans of mixed Turkic Mongolian origin, whose presence was attested in the 13th–15th centuries in both the western and eastern parts of the *ulus* of Jochi, in Damir Iskhakov, "Klanovaia struktura" [Clan structure], in *Istoriia tatar s drevneishikh vremen v semi tomakh*, edited by Mirkasym Usmanov, vol. 3 (Kazan': Institut istorii imeni Shigabutdina Mardzhani Akademii nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, 2009), pp. 324–37, here p. 337; Sergei G. Kliashtornyi and Tursun I. Sultanov, *Gosudarstva i narody evraziiskikh stepei. Ot drevnosti k novomu vremeni* [States and peoples of the Eurasian steppes: from antiquity to modern times] (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 2009), p. 257.
78 Vladimir Napol'skikh and Vladimir Churakov, "Finno-ugorskie narody Srednego Povolzh'ia i Predural'ia k nachalu XIII v." [Finno-Ugric peoples of the Middle Volga and Cis-Urals to the early 13th century], in *Istoriia tatar s drevneishikh vremen v semi tomakh*, edited by Mirkasym Usmanov (Kazan': Institut istorii imeni Shigabutdina Mardzhani Akademii nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, 2009), pp. 470–77, here 475.

79 Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 290, 295 and 297; Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 70.
80 *Simeonovskaia letopis'* [The Simeon Chronicle], edited by Aleksandr E. Presniakov (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1913), p. 75.
81 Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 10 and 12.
82 *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, edited by Augustin Theiner, vol. 1 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), p. 231 (wrongly *sub anno* 1254); Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 10.
83 Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, edited and translated by Albert Failler, 5 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984–2000), vol. 2, pp. 416–19, 442–47, 550–53 and 588–91; vol. 3, pp. 92–93; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Zolotaia Orda i Balkany (XIII–XIV veka)" [The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13th to 14th centuries)], in *Zolotaia Orda v mirovoi istorii*, edited by Rafail' S. Hakimov, Vadim V. Trepavlov, Marie Favereau, Il'nur M. Mirgaleev and Roman Hautala (Kazan': Institut istorii imeni Shigabutdina Mardzhani Akademii nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, 2016), pp. 384–403, here pp. 388–92.
84 Aleksandr and Andrei actually visited Güyüg's widow, Oghul Qaimish, in the Emil-Qobaq region in present-day Northern Xinjiang.
85 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 470–75; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, pp. 79–80; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 805–08; Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 303, 319, 323 and 330–31.
86 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 473; *Prodolzhenie Suzdal'skoi letopisi po Akademicheskomu spisku* [The Continuation of the Suzdalian Chronicle according to the Academic Manuscript], edited by Efim F. Karskii, 2nd edition (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1928), col. 526; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, pp. 325–26; *Novgorodskaia chetvertaia letopis'* [The Novgorod Fourth Chronicle], edited by Aleksei A. Shakhmatov, vol. 1 (Petrograd: Tipografiia Ia. Bashmakov, 1915), p. 246; *Simeonovskaia letopis'*, pp. 78–79 and 82; *Pskovskie i Sofiiskie letopisi* [The Pskov and Sofia Chronicles] (St. Petersburg: Eduard Prats, 1851), pp. 186 and 201; *Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Patriarshei ili Nikonovskoi letopis'iu (prodolzhenie)* [The collection of chronicles known as the Patriarch or Nikon Chronicle (continued)], edited by Afanasii F. Bychkov (St. Petersburg: V tipografii ministerstva vnutrennikh del, 1885), pp. 159–61, 165–66 and 168–69; *L'vovskaia letopis'* [The Lviv Chronicle], edited by Sergei A. Adrianov (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1910), pp. 169–70.
87 *Letopisnyi sbornik*, p. 162.
88 Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 285–87.
89 *Suzdal'skaia letopis'*, col. 474–75; *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis'*, p. 82.
90 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 805–08.
91 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 849–52, 881–82, 888, 893 and 897–98; Długosz, *Annales*, p. 277.
92 *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, edited by Zofia Kozlowska-Budkowa (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1978), p. 88; *Vetera monumenta*, pp. 239–41; *Chronica minor auctore minorita Erphordiensi*, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, in *Chronica minora saec. XII et XIII. Gesta saec. XII et XIII*, MGH SS 24 (Hanover: Hahn, 1879), pp. 178–204, here p. 202.
93 Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, pp. 350, 361–62, 416, 421, 425–35, 506, 511–12 and 518–19; Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, "History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc' hitherto ascribed to Marak'ia the Monk: the Armenian text edited with an English translation and notes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949), nos. 3–4, 269–399, here 341; Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens. Kiracos de Gantzac, XIII^e S., Histoire d'Arménie; Oukhtanès d'Ourha, X^e S., Histoire en trois parties* (St. Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie impériale de sciences, 1870), p. 192; *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordy* [Collection of materials related to the Golden Horde history], edited by Vladimir G. Tiesenhausen, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1884), pp. 58–59, 73–75, 152–53, 188–89 and 203; vol. 2 vol. 2 (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1941), pp. 80–81, 92 and 99–100.
94 Vadim L. Egorov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia Zolotoi Ordy v XIII–XIV vv.* [The historical geography of the Golden Horde of the 13th and 14th centuries] (Moscow: Krasand, 2010), pp. 79–139.

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